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# THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

## A HISTORY FOR THE PEOPLE

BY THE

VERY REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.

*Dean of Gloucester*

VOL. I.

*THE BRITISH AND ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH*

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*To VICTORIA, QUEEN and EMPRESS, these Chronicles of THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, written for the People over whom She and Her Illustrious Ancestors have ruled for more than a thousand years, are, by Her own gracious Permission, Dedicated.**

* *When the Earlier Impressions of this Work were first printed, the revered Queen was still with us.*

# CONTENTS.


| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|---|---|
| Introduction | 1 |
| I.—The Beginnings of British Christianity | 11 |
| II.—The Ancient British Church during the Anglo-Saxon Conquest | 22 |
| III.—Celtic-British Monasticism and its Work | 31 |
| IV.—The Work of the Early Irish (Celtic) Church | 52 |
| V.—The Roman Mission of Augustine | 79 |
| VI.—The Struggle of Christianity in Northern, Midland, and Eastern England | 112 |
| VII.—The Coming of Aidan | 128 |
| VIII.—Work of the Celtic Missionaries in England | 145 |
| IX.—Hilda's Holy House at Whitby | 164 |
| X.—The Council of Whitby. Downfall of the Celtic Church | 178 |
| XI.—Wilfrid and Theodore. Growing Power of Rome | 199 |
| XII.—Cuthbert, the last Great Celtic Saint | 233 |
| XIII.—Literature and Art in the Early English Church | 246 |
| XIV.—English Christianity in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries | 280 |
| XV.—The Frankish Empire and the English Church | 312 |
| XVI.—The Coming of the Danes | 332 |
| XVII.—England's Hero King | 368 |
| XVIII.—Alfred's Work for the English Church and English Literature | 383 |
| XIX.—A Great Anglo-Saxon Churchman and his Times | 407 |
| XX.—The Anglo-Saxon Church at the End of the Tenth Century | 446 |

EXCURSUS A.

| | |
|---|---|
| Contemporary Authorities for the History of the Church of Britain in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries | 469 |

EXCURSUS B.

| | |
|---|---|
| On the Word "Mass" | 472 |

# LIST OF PLATES.


Map Illustrating Centres of Early Religious Life in Great Britain . *Frontis.*

St. Albans Cathedral . . . . . *To face page* 14

Rochester Castle . . . . . „ 99

Whitby Abbey, from Larpool . . . . . „ 167

Lion of St. Mark, an Illumination from the Book of Durrow . „ 290

Lichfield Cathedral . . . . . „ 329

Abbot's Bridge, Bury St. Edmunds . . . . . „ 363

Page from the Ethelwold Benedictional, Showing the Annunciation . . . . . „ 423

CENTRES OF EARLY RELIGIOUS LIFE IN
GREAT BRITAIN
England, Seventh & Eighth Centuries.
Ireland, Sixth & Seventh Centuries.
Racial divisions at Bede's death 735
Angles
Saxons
Scots
Britons or Welsh
Picts
Jutes
Religious centres thus: Armagh
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Orcades I.s (Orkneys)
Mare Pictieum
Mortlach
Inverness
Monymusk
Aberdeen
Brechin
Dunkeld
Scone
St Andrews
Iona
Dunblane
Abernethy
Kilmarnock
Glasgow
Melrose
Coldingham
Lindisfarne
Farne I.s
Tynemouth
Jarrow
Hexham
Lindisfarne
Bangor
Anglesey
Bardsey
Llanbadarn
Llandaff
Llancarfan
Llantwit
Menevia
St David's
Caerleon
Glastonbury
Malmesbury
Sherborne
Winchester
Selsey
Chichester
Wells
Exeter
Tavistock
Sherborne
Cornwall
Devonia
Vectis
I. of Wight
Cassiterides
Scilly I.s
Ireland
Armagh
Clonas
Kells
Bangor
Tara
Clonfada
Clonard
Clonmacnoise
Clonfert
Kildare
Glendalough
Dairrow
Leighlin
Birr
Mungret
Cashel
Ferns
Lismore
Leo
Mayo
Elphin
Tuam
Derry
Donegal
Mercia
Lichfield
Lindisfarne
Lincoln
Bardney
Repton
Medeshamstead
Ely
Dunwich
Elmham
Canterbury
Rochester
Oxford
Worcester
Gloucester
Malmesbury
Winchester
Selsey
Chichester
Sherborne
Exeter
Tavistock
Glastonbury
Wells
Llandaff
Llancarfan
Llantwit
Menevia
Caerleon
Bangor
Anglesey
Chester
Lichfield
Lindisfarne
Jarrow
Hexham
Melrose
Coldingham
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Tynemouth
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Llanbadarn
Llandaff
Llancarfan
Llantwit
Menevia

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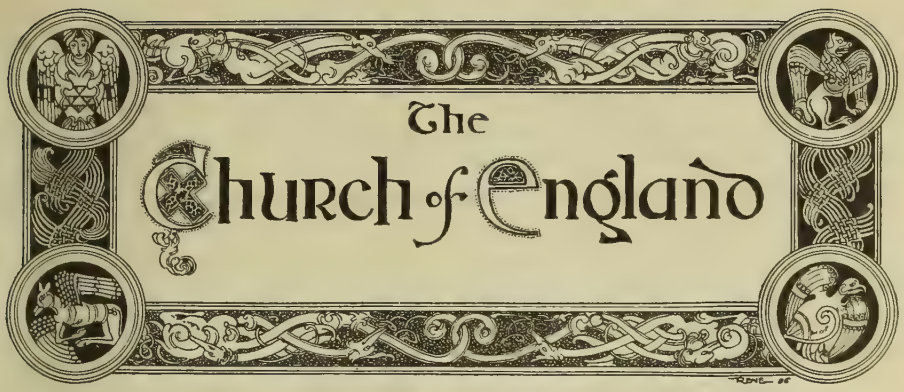



## INTRODUCTION.

IN no country of Christendom is the story of the Church so closely bound up with its national life and progress as in England: in no other country has it played so prominent a part. Among the various influences that have combined to make the England of the nineteenth century, with its boundless power and its measureless responsibilities, the Church must rank as the first and chiefest.

Very dim are the memories of the first two or three hundred years of the life of the Church in our island, for a great and crushing calamity passed over the Britain known to the Roman Empire. A long-drawn-out invasion, a cruel conquest, such as perhaps no other Christian land has been subjected to, swept away well-nigh every vestige of its work, almost every trace of its life. The patient zeal of the lynx-eyed antiquary, and the painful industry of the tireless scholar, just enable us to gather memories sufficient to give an outlined picture of a storied past; but the hands of ruthless destroyers have effectually prevented us from giving any more than a faint sketch of the Church as it existed while the Romans dwelt in our midst, and during the prolonged period of awful conquest and destruction that ensued when the Roman armies had finally left us.

The story then goes on to a period richer in materials for a writer, during which the Church of the conquered became the Church of the conquerors. It tells us how Rome, with her immemorial traditions and restless energy, first endeavoured to make the victorious Anglo-Saxons Christian, but how from various causes her noble efforts made but little way among the pagan North-folk in England. Then it becomes brighter and more animated, as it unfolds to us how missionaries of the race of the vanquished Britons, from Scotland and Ireland, were completely successful where Rome had failed, and then relates how, after their

success, Rome came again upon the scene, and showed the Northmen, now become Christians, how to build up and to organise a really great church in England. The tale grows more and more marvellous, as it tells us how intensely earnest were many of these pagan conquerors, converted to the faith of the people they had conquered, for the cause of the Christ they had learnt to love: how Christianity flourished and developed among them; how a Church with its wide and blessed influences, with its far-reaching civilising power, grew up in this distant and remote island, so learned that from the whole of northern and western Europe, scholars came to be instructed in all manner of secular lore as well as in religion, in the schools of Canterbury, Jarrow, and York.

Alas! that concerning this flourishing Anglo-Saxon Church we should have to tell of yet another storm which overwhelmed it for a time; a storm so desolating in its effects that it well-nigh destroyed the Church, which before this calamity was so learned, so powerful, and so beneficent. We must relate how once more England was ravaged by another race of pagan Northmen; kinsmen these new-comers —so well known as Danish Vikings—but none the less bitter and relentless foes of those Northmen who had first conquered Britain, and who, after conquering, had received with joy the religion of the men they had vanquished.

This cloud too, however, after a sad interval of misery and woe, gradually passed; and the chronicle will at this point have as its central figure one of the true heroes of our island story; one whose deeds and words in the battlefield and in the state, as well as in the Church, generation after generation have sung and told. For King Alfred the Great was not only a mighty warrior and profound statesman; he was also a great churchman, and occupies a distinct place in the history we are about to tell.

For more than a century and a half from the days of Alfred, the records we possess of the Anglo-Saxon Church are of peculiar interest to Englishmen. These records not only speak of it as powerful and united, as a mighty influence for good in the land (with its periods, of course, of special vigour and of comparative inaction), but they show us a Church remarkable for its independence, not only in government and in organisation, but also in thought. Although in communion with Western Christendom and with Latin Christianity; although admitting in a general way the authority of the Roman Pontiff; although supplying a constant stream of pilgrims to the shrines of the Eternal City, and generous contributions to the support of these English pilgrims Romewards, and even lavish gifts to the Bishop of the apostolic see; the Church of Alfred, the Church of the Saxon kings of his house, the Church of primates like Dunstan and Odo, Elfric and Stigand, was notwithstanding practically independent. She stood positively alone among Western churches in her proud insular freedom. She was free in her constitution, independent in her teaching, differing gravely from some of the teachings of Rome; resting ever upon the traditions of her own famous school of York, traditions handed down by Bede and Bede's famous masters, rather than upon the more recent developments of Roman doctrine.

As the history moves onwards, its task will now be to trace the strange and marvellous career of Norman conquest, which so powerfully influenced the course of events in the church, as in the world; to show how it peculiarly affected our island's religious history, by uniting it for a season with the Latin Christianity of Rome and the continent of Europe, and thus depriving it of the characteristic features so dear to the Englishmen of its age—its freedom in thought and independence in government. As the great drama proceeds, it will be seen how this fusion of the Church of Alfred and of Dunstan with the widespread Latin communion of Rome and the continent of Europe, was utterly at variance with the spirit of England and her people. It will appear how soon really began that long struggle, culminating in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, which restored the Church of England to the position of independence and freedom she loves so well; which gave back to her the precious treasure of pure and primitive doctrine which was her proud inheritance from the days of Alfred and his house—ay, and from long before Alfred—from the times of the Christian children of the Vikings, when heroes like Edwin and Oswald and Edgar played so well their part as makers of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

In the course of this story of the church so dear to every lover of England, not a few pictures must be painted of men who were chief actors in the eventful drama; of men who have won, as they deserved, a place in the hearts of their fellow countrymen, a name in the golden book of her most illustrious and most patriotic sons. Some few of these were what men are pleased to call heroes, some fewer saints; but all of them, saints and heroes, were full of faults, and their work was marred with errors and mistakes. Yet in spite of their faults the heroes will be seen to have been, after all, true heroes, and their work, marred though it was, good work: the saints also true saints in our own acceptation of the word, and their work, even with its earthly admixture, to have been, as we believe, acceptable to the Master.

Now and then it will be found that our portraits differ widely from the popular ideal. Dunstan, for instance, will appear different from and a grander character than the Dunstan of our child-memories, which present only the recollection of a pettish workman in his forge engaged in silly combats with the Evil One, or else picture him as an overbearing, tyrannical priest, cruel and remorseless in his selfish vengeance. Edward the Confessor, the saint king, will stand out in our pages as a venerable and a noble figure, not as the weak and vacillating, relic-loving and superstitious monarch of many historians and romancists.

Not improbably one school of critics may find fault with our description of the monastic orders, with our pictures of the saintly men who lived and worked in their fair cloisters, and prayed in their glorious abbeys—cloisters and abbeys desecrated and ruined all too soon; perhaps may be indignant when they read our description of the splendid and successful efforts of the mendicant friars, true disciples of Francis and of Dominic, to sweeten the sad existence, and to elevate the unhappy lives of the poorer masses in the great cities of the Middle Ages. Another school will perhaps

be moved to anger as they turn over the pages of our narrative and find in it an apology for the earliest of the Reformers, Wyclif; find that this truest of Englishmen, who gave us the first English Bible, is painted, in spite of shortcomings and mistakes, as one of the noblest and most learned of our English churchmen. But our present work belongs to no one school of thought, to no party either in Church or State. It simply tells the true story as the writer found it in the ancient chronicles and memoirs; it paints the portraits of the chief actors in the drama just as they appeared to him, as he read and pondered for himself the contemporary records of their work and days.

Slowly and reluctantly we leave at last the many-coloured chronicles of the Middle Ages which tell us of the days of chivalry and knightly prowess; of holy wars—holy, alas! only in the ideal; of gorgeous pageants, lordly castles, and picturesque cities; of churches such as the world had never seen before—will perhaps never see again; which tell us of the ages when monastic orders played their great, and on the whole beneficent part in the life of the church. As we close our history of church life in the England of the Middle Ages, we pass at once into another atmosphere of thought, and it is with mingled feelings that we tell of the changes brought about by the Reformation of the sixteenth century, with its lights and shadows, so pitiful often in its details, so glorious for England in its general results.

It is but a maimed truth—indeed, it is scarcely a truth at all—which traces the Reformation in England to the fancy of King Henry VIII. for the beautiful Anne Boleyn; to his passionate desire for a divorce from the stately Spanish princess, the wife of his youth; or to the vulgar greed of the same irresponsible monarch and his powerful satellites, which coveted the spoils of the glorious abbeys, and the long-accumulated wealth of the Benedictine and his brother servants of God. These vulgar passions were, after all, but very small influences in bringing about the change which passed over the Church of England—the change men call the Reformation.

The Reformation was, in truth and reality, a Renaissance of English doctrine, English thought, English freedom in Church government. Far from having the effect which some superficial writers endeavour to ascribe to it — viz., the *destruction* of the Church in England, it resulted in the *restoration* of the Church of England. It was a period of stress and storm, of sorrow, and often of confusion; a period in which much happened that every lover of England and of religion must mourn over. But in the providence of God, when the clouds of trial and trouble had passed away, the Church of England appeared again, more English than ever; more than ever the church of the primitive ages, more truly the church of the people —the old church which even in its darkest hour was generally loved and honoured by the nation—but strengthened, purified, popularised, so to speak; more capable of the indefinite expansion and adaptability which has been its lot through the times of the dynasties of Tudor, Stuart, and Guelph; but still the Church of the living God, which, with all its shortcomings and its errors, has made our England free and

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO GREAT BRITAIN.

*(From the Painting by J. R. Herbert, R.A.)*

great and strong. The Reformation was the revolt of the Church of the people from a foreign yoke, which had oppressed and weakened religion, and marred its holy influence in our island for several centuries. More than this, it was an uprising of the English people against grave errors in doctrine, and strange superstitions which were blotting out not a few of the distinctive truths of the Christian faith; errors and superstitions absolutely unknown to the primitive church.

Much happened, many events took place, in the fifteenth century in England which contributed to the momentous change of the sixteenth century. Foremost among these events was that sad war of rival dynasties, known as the Wars of the Roses, that long-drawn-out conflict between the kindred royal Houses of York and Lancaster; that cruel war waged by Englishmen against Englishmen, stained by bloody battles, scarred by pitiless State murders. When at last the wild fury of the "Roses" war had spent itself, the mighty baronage of England was gone; it had been literally swept away. The next class, composed of county squires, town traders, and other citizens beneath the baronage, a class which was gradually growing with the growth of England in wealth and importance, was in the fifteenth century still a comparatively new order, and more or less under the influence of the baronage. As the barons disappeared, it, too, for a time was practically effaced as a power in the State.

Thus the Church was left alone with the Sovereign, now enormously enriched by the confiscation of the estates of the fallen barons. And the Church of the fifteenth century, great and imposing and wealthy as it seemed, lacked real power. It was sadly wanting in spiritual earnestness. Lollardism in its deeper and nobler aspects had stolen away the people's hearts from the Church. Wyclif's teaching, and especially Wyclif's English Bible, had penetrated deeper into the homes of England than the hierarchy chose to think. The Church, too, had never recovered the awful losses inflicted upon it by the plague of 1349, and by subsequent visitations of the same dread scourge: the yawning gaps made by the Angel of Death in its ranks had never been really filled up. Face to face, then, with a king armed with power never possessed by the proudest and ablest of Norman, Angevin, or Plantagenet monarchs, stood the still magnificent and stately, but sorely enfeebled mediæval Church. Only these two mighty wielders of influence remained in England—the Church and the Crown—when the long and bloody rivalry of the "Roses" was hushed in the presence of the House of Tudor.

The royal power was rapidly and firmly consolidated by the first Tudor sovereign, and while he reigned, the Church grew gradually weaker. The various causes which were sapping its vitality, were ceaselessly at work; and when his brilliant and versatile son Henry VIII. became king, all was ready for the crash of the Reformation. "The Mediæval Church of England," writes Stubbs, "stood before the self-willed dictator, too splendid in wealth, fame, and honour to be allowed to share the dominion that he claimed. It was no longer a mediator, but a competitor for power. The royal self-will itself furnished the occasion

for a struggle, and the political claims of the Church proved their weakness by the greatness of the fall." It was part of the Divine providence that at this supreme moment of the contest between the Crown, with its enormously augmented powers, and the Church, with its ancient influence so enfeebled, the throne of England was filled with such conspicuously able occupants as the Tudor sovereigns—Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Queen Elizabeth.

Strange to say, at this very moment one division of the Church's forces — the monastic orders—became powerless, or well-nigh powerless. To the Church of which during so many centuries they had been the great strength, they became a source of positive weakness ; and a faithful history of the Church, in those pages which recite the downfall in England of the Benedictine and Cistercian monks, and the mendicant friars of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, while repelling many of the false and exaggerated reports (which have been too easily believed) of their life and conduct, must still dwell upon the causes which led to their ruin and utter collapse.

Among these causes, first of all the waning power of Rome, ever the powerful patron and devoted friend of the monastic orders, must be remembered. After the removal of the home of the popes from Rome to Avignon, where for a long period the popes were purely French in policy, the national hatred of England for its old rival, France, reacted with strange force on the position of the monastic orders, who were bound to Rome by no ordinary ties. In England they never recovered the popularity which they lost in that age ; while the fast fading influence of the Papacy, consequent on the scandalous schism which followed the long Papal residence at Avignon, prevented any real assistance from being given to its too faithful monkish garrisons in our distant island.

But other undreamed-of influences were working at this period against the monk and the friar. The most brilliant of French romancists pictures a scholar-priest in the days of King Louis XI., with a printed book (then a startling novelty) in his hand, gazing sorrowfully at the mighty pile of Notre Dame, at Paris – one of the noblest examples in Europe of Gothic architecture—and exclaiming, "The book will kill the building!" The prophetic words of the ecclesiastic, telling of the doom of mediæval architecture, would have been even more directly true of mediæval monasticism. In the days when the self-willed Tudor king succeeded to the throne, the work of the monastic orders was virtually done ; the need for their labour in the conservation and spread of literature, existed no longer. The printing press, which already in the early years of Henry VIII. had become a vast power, had effectually superseded the monk and the friar as a producer of books or a popular teacher. Looking back from the vantage ground of the closing years of the nineteenth century, even a true defender of the monastic orders must acknowledge that in the new world of the Tudor dynasty there was no place for the monastery of the Middle Ages, no work for monk and friar. But none the less must he regret the ways and the method by which an arbitrary king and an ungrateful people swept away a vast institution which had done such splendid work for

England and the Church. The recital of the cruel, ruthless ruin of the monastic orders will for ever be a dark page in the chronicles of that Reformation which has contributed so largely toward the making of the Church of England.

A brighter page in the momentous Reformation drama is that which tells how "Greece arose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand"; how from the fallen city of Constantinople and the ruined eastern empire, in 1453, Greek exiles brought to Italy (especially to Florence) the science and literature of the older world; how from Florence the "new learning" soon reached Oxford, and the early years of the sixteenth century witnessed the publication of the New Testament in its original language. Then arose that honoured school of critics and commentators which unfolded the long-lost meaning of many of the words and sayings of the Divine Founder of Christianity, and so helped the patient scholars of the Reformation to restore to the teaching of the Church the primitive doctrines of our most holy faith.

The Reformation necessarily occupies a considerable space in our history, a space out of proportion to the time occupied by the events specially connected with it. For its importance cannot be over-estimated. It rudely tore away the veil which Lanfranc and the Normans had so carefully thrown over the ancient teaching and practices of the Anglo-Saxon Church—teaching and practices mostly based on an immemorial antiquity—whose obscuration had been, on the whole, ever strange to and unloved by the English people. But the recital is by no means concluded when it has told how the yoke of Rome was shaken off. The Marian reaction in favour of mediæval Christianity and foreign guidance, which immediately followed, is an interesting and instructive episode, but it is only an episode. The reign of Mary's sister and successor, Elizabeth, however, is a period of the highest importance in the making of the Church of England, scarcely second in interest to the reign of Henry VIII., who commenced the Reformation work. Forced almost against her will, by the circumstances of her environment, to be a Protestant queen, the last and noblest of the Tudors, with her learned and scholarly advisers, revised the Anglican formularies of religion, and somewhat sullenly accepted the position, since filled by all who followed her on the British throne, as supreme governor on earth of the Church of England.

Another curious and striking study will be the tracing of the rise of the two great parties into which the people of the reformed Church soon divided themselves—the Puritans and the High Church Anglicans. Under the now well-known names of Churchmen and Nonconformists, these parties exist to this day, with many and varied developments, somewhat as they were when Elizabeth the Tudor and James and Charles the Stuarts were sovereigns. The Puritans, it will be seen, taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Anglican party under leaders of the school of Laud, gained for a time the upper hand, and in the days of the Commonwealth, tyrannised with an unloved tyranny over the religious life of England; but, although in some respects their peculiar doctrines and teaching answered

"THE ACQUITTAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS," 1688.
(*From the Painting by J. R. Herbert, R.A.*)

to men's higher aspirations, it is clear that the Puritans never found the key to English hearts. After a brief supremacy, they in their turn gave way to the supporters of what is generally known as the Anglican system, restored by the great divines of the Tudor Sovereigns after the model of primitive tradition; the complete independence of the Church from all Roman and foreign interference, however, ever forming a prominent feature in this Anglican system, which has been accepted as the national religion of our country.

The existence, however, of a large body of earnest and religious men outside the pale of the Church of England, but inside the broader pale of the Church of Christ, must never be ignored by the fair historian. While deploring the schism which separates so many devout souls from the communion of our national Church, and grieving over the partial blindness which veils from their eyes the beauty and the strength of our great historic Church of England—the Church of Aidan and Cuthbert, of Wilfrid and Dunstan, of Anselm and Langton, of Grosseteste and Wyclif, of Cranmer and Ridley, of Hooker and Pearson—the faithful and loyal churchman will never forget to do justice to the successors of the sturdy and honest, though mistaken Puritans, who did good work and true in the days of the unhappy Stuarts, and who in our day and time are fighting in noble rivalry with the Church of England in the never-ending campaign against sin and shame, against the abominations and corruptions of the heathen world, both at home and beyond the seas. The presence of the true and spiritual Nonconformist among us is a source of strength, not of weakness, to the Church whose eventful history is to be told in these pages.

The concluding chapters of our work must relate the last important revival of Church life in England. Not once or twice in the long and many-coloured history, the melancholy record of decay in spiritual fervour and intellectual activity occurs and recurs; a decay, however, always succeeded by a period of splendid activities and reawakened zeal and devotion. Such a golden period of reawakened devotion and energy has occurred in this present nineteenth century, shared in alike by both the great parties into which the Anglican Church is divided. It has been shared in by the earnest men who love and reverence the traditions of their saintly fathers with a beautiful and touching devotion, which perhaps now and again shades into something like superstition, and even formalism; shared in also by those who, while fervent lovers of Christ and imitators of His servant Paul, are perhaps too ready to despise traditions, however holy, and customs and rites, however saintly and venerable. The present golden age of spiritual fervour and intellectual activity is the outcome of the restless work alike of High Churchmen and Low Churchmen, whose healthy rivalry is not the least among the sources of the life and power of the immemorial Church of England, and both of whom alike share her heritage of the past.

# CHAPTER I.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH CHRISTIANITY.

Obscurity of Early British Church History—St. Alban, the first British Martyr—Subsequent Prosperity of the British Church—Early Legends as to its Origin—Historical Notices—Traces of the Early Church—Reasons for their Scarcity—Ruthless Character of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, and almost complete Extermination of Christianity in England.

"THE Church of Britain, for the first three hundred years of its existence shows like a valley wrapt in mists, across which some fitful lights irregularly gleam."* One of those rare gleams of light is the beautiful story of St. Alban, which helps us in some measure to understand the history of the last years of the third century. It is one of the many striking records of brave and patient suffering for the Christian faith which are treasured up in different lands—records which, for the most part, have a foundation of truth underlying the superstructure of marvellous and incredible events often piled by later chroniclers over the first true, simple story. In this instance the legend, no doubt, faithfully represented an incident in the Decian, or in one of the later persecutions of Christians in our island.

The great Norman abbey of St. Albans, still in its scarred but stately beauty one of the glories of England, replaced in the far back twelfth century a yet older sanctuary. History tells us how Offa, king of the Mercians, in the year of our Lord 793, had established on the spot a famous monastery which, owing to its sacred tradition, possessed peculiar privileges. Offa, no doubt, built his monks' home round the "beautiful church" which Bede writes of some fifty years before Offa's days. The vast and splendid Norman abbey, the monastic buildings of Offa, the "beautiful church of Bede," marked in succession the sacred spot where the first Christian martyr in Britain of whom we possess a record, in pain and suffering passed to his rest.

The story as Bede tells it, when stripped of its useless marvellous adjuncts, is a simple one. A Christian presbyter in Britain, proscribed and hunted down by the stern edict emanating from the seat of government in Rome, asked hospitality and a temporary refuge from a Roman-British provincial named Alban, living in Verulam. Dean Milman believes Alban to have been a Roman officer stationed there. From the first day, many of these Roman soldiers seem to have been kindly disposed to the "Faith." Like the centurion who guarded the Divine Martyr on the cross, and bowed in much reverence as he watched the brave and patient sufferer, so Alban was touched to the heart by the conduct of the

* Prof. Bright.

proscribed and hunted Christian whom he sheltered and concealed. He soon adopted with intense earnestness the religion of his guest; and when the messenger of the Government discovered the poor presbyter's hiding-place, and peremptorily demanded that Alban should give him up, then charged with the grave offence of attempting to conceal a proscribed and sacrilegious rebel against the Emperor. Alban not only refused to betray the hiding-place of his guest, but publicly declared that he, too, was one of the proscribed Christians. The Roman judge then

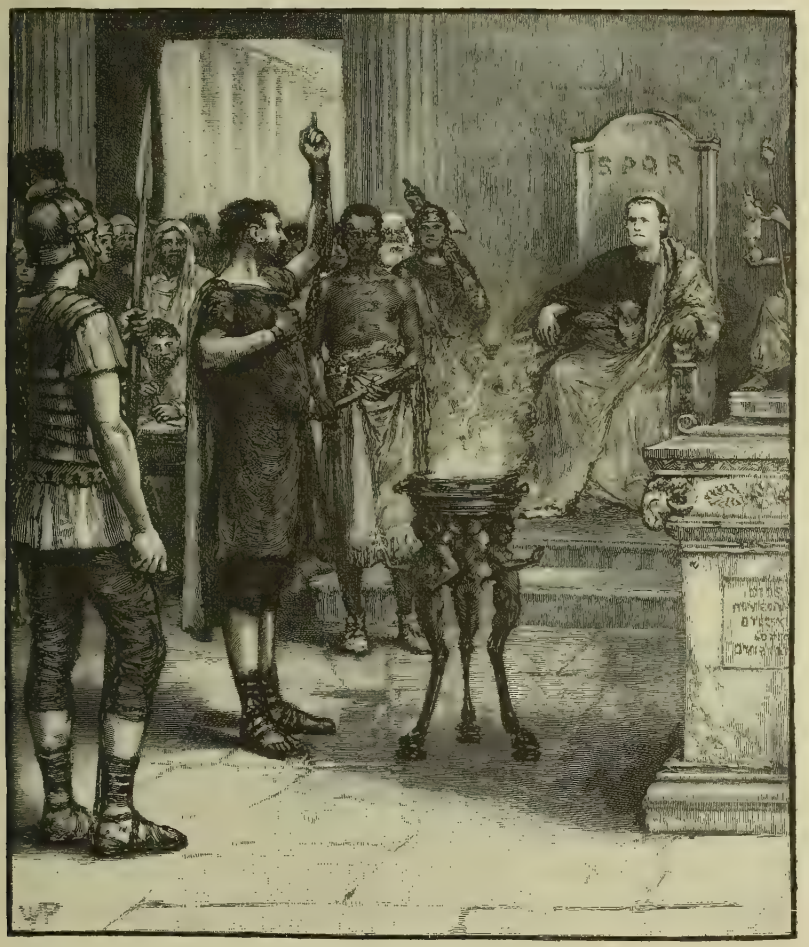
*Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.*

ST. ALBANS ABBEY.

Alban refused. The Roman soldier's arrest naturally followed.

The scene of the trial was a striking one. Led into the presence of the Imperial magistrate, who was sitting surrounded by all the stately insignia with which Rome was in the habit of investing her great officers, the altar of sacrifice before him, the statue of the Emperor and the images of the gods were solemnly brought into the magistrate's presence; the incense and the wine to accompany the supplication were placed ready. The soldier Alban was urged him to purge himself of his crime against the State, by sprinkling incense on the altar before the images of the Emperor and the gods adored by Rome. Alban refused, boldly saying, "I am a Christian, and I worship and adore the true and living God, Who created all things." Persisting in his refusal, he was scourged. He bore the torture of that cruel punishment patiently, says the old record, or "rather joyfully, for our Lord's sake," and was then led out to death. His head was struck off in a spot called Holmhurst—a woody

place, where the "beautiful church" was afterwards built to his memory, and where now the grey and massive Abbey of St. Albans stands.




TRIAL OF ST ALBAN (*p.* 12)

The same old writer,* to whom we owe so many pages of true history, closes his little recital of the memorable death of the martyr, by relating how in the same dread persecution in Britain, "many more of both sexes suffered, who, when they had endured sundry torments, and their limbs had been torn after an unheard-of manner, yielded their souls up, to enjoy in the heavenly city a reward for the sufferings they had passed through." He further relates how "after a time the storm of persecution ceased, and the faithful Christians of our island 'rebuilt the churches levelled to the ground,' celebrating festivals,

* Bede.

and performing their sacred rites with clean heart and mouth; and how the peace continued in the churches of Britain until the day of the Arian madness, which, having corrupted the whole world, infected this island also." This peace in the churches continued for nearly a century after the martyrdom of St. Alban, until about A.D. 394, when the disputes connected with the heresy of Pelagius* on the subject of man's free-will began to distract the Church of Britain.

What now do we know of the laying of the early stones of this Christianity, which must have taken so great a hold upon the Roman-British provincials long before the close of the third century, when the great persecution we have just been speaking of harried so cruelly Christian Britain, levelling its many churches to the ground?

The beautiful mediæval romance which tells us how St. Philip sent his friend Joseph of Arimathæa from Gaul into Britain, belongs to a Norman school of teachers. No Saxon writer alludes to it. William of Malmesbury, who tells the story, relates how Joseph of Arimathæa, with twelve companions, fixed himself at Glastonbury, then called Ynis-vitryn, the Glassy Isle. It was encompassed by watery marshes and sluggish streams. There, the legend goes on to say, Joseph made his staff take root in the earth and grow into the famous Holy Thorn. From Glastonbury as a centre, the faith of Christ spread over the island. Though this legend apparently owes its genesis, or at least its preservation, to Norman sources in the twelfth century, it is certain that Glastonbury had been a place renowned for sanctity many generations before the Norman Conquest; it was evidently a famous sanctuary as early as the fifth century. We hear of the greatest and most successful of the Celtic missionaries, St. Patrick, making it for a time his home; and, as some think, it contains his grave.

But though the preaching of Joseph of Arimathæa in Britain belongs to legendary history, there is no doubt but that Christianity was introduced into Britain at a very early period. Tertullian's statement, written as early as A.D. 196-201, that "places in Britain not yet visited by Romans were subjected to Christ," shows that the great North African scholar believed that Christianity had already penetrated even beyond the limits of Roman conquest in Britain. It must be remembered that when Tertullian wrote *scarcely one hundred years had elapsed since St. John had passed away.* As early as A.D. 314 there is no doubt that three British bishops, attended by an equal number of presbyters and deacons, were present at the great Council of Arles, in the south of France, and their signatures are appended to the canons enacted at that famous assembly. This would indicate that, two hundred years after the death of St. John, not only was Christianity

* This Pelagius was a native of our island, probably a monk, but attached to no community; he taught and wrote at the end of the fourth and in the early years of the fifth century. His heresy consisted in the affirmation of the "Freedom of the Human Will," in opposition to the Catholic teaching of the "Power of Divine Grace." His most famous opponent has been St. Augustine. The Pelagian tenets were condemned, with more or less severity, in various provincial Councils and Synods, and formally by the voice of the Catholic Church in the General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431.

*Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.*

ST. ALBANS CATHEDRAL.

known in Britain, but that a formally-organised church, with a regular hierarchy, existed in the island. Only a few years later, British bishops probably were present at the Church councils of Sardica* and of Ariminium.† Bede also relates how a little earlier in the same century, A.D. 304, the persecution of the Emperor Diocletian reached Britain, and how many persons there, with the constancy of martyrs, died in the confession of their faith. The same historian, too, dwells on the fact that numbers of the faithful in Britain, in the course of this persecution, hid themselves in woods and caves, and that these, after the time of trial was ended, appeared again in public, and rebuilt their churches which had been levelled with the ground.

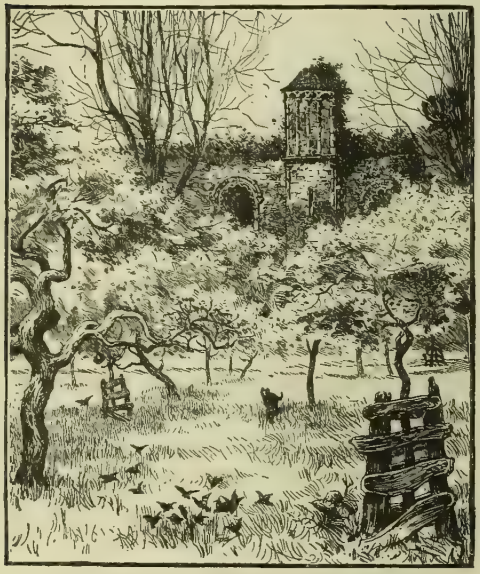
Such notices as these, by writers in different lands, the records of chroniclers of church councils, and others, amply justify the historian's deliberate opinion that "there can be no doubt that conquered and half-civilised Britain, like the rest of the Roman Empire, gradually received through the second and third centuries the faith of Christ; the depth of her Christian cultivation appears from her fertility in saints and heretics."‡ The rare and somewhat doubtful legends which speak of the beginnings of British Christianity are, after all, of little importance in the face of facts like these, which tell us authoritatively that a considerable Christian church existed in Britain from very early days, though the exact circumstances in which the first preachers of the faith carried on their work in the island are, and must remain, unknown.

One tradition seems never to have been absent from the early British church; it comes out again and again, and in some way accounts for the strange obstinacy with which they held to certain peculiar rites and customs, which differed from the general rites and customs of western Christendom. The British Christians traced these peculiar practices—of small interest in themselves, but which, as we shall see, in the seventh and eighth centuries acquired a fictitious importance in the unhappy rivalry between the Celtic and Roman churches—to the teaching of St. John and his pupils. It is, therefore, highly probable that the Roman-British provincials received the faith in the first instance from men who came from Jerusalem or Ephesus—from men who had listened to the voice of John. The legend of Joseph of Arimathæa at Glastonbury, not improbably was originally part of the same ancient tradition.

Another curious and interesting fact in connection with these few early memories of the church in Britain is its cordial alliance with the native Druidism—that strange mystic faith with which the first missionaries must have come into daily contact. A kind of alliance seems to have existed between Christianity and Druidism; the Christian teachers evidently took possession of the holy places of the island, consecrating them to a new and a better worship. Bangor, a name appropriated in Britain and in Ireland to several famous and ancient monastic foundations, signifies, according to many interpretations, "the Great Circle," thus connecting these places

* Sofia in Bulgaria.
† Rimini.
‡ Dean Milman: "Latin Christianity."

with Druidical worship and Druidical remains, and showing how Christianity had occupied and superseded them. The close connection between the Druid bard and the Christian teacher will appear when we come to relate the dark story of the fifth and sixth centuries, when the



ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, GLASTONBURY.

Anglo-Saxons were doing their hard and cruel work in Britain.

After the great Decian persecution had ceased, the story of the British church emerges into a partial light out of the obscurity which had hitherto veiled it. In the year 305 the Emperor Diocletian, wearied with absolute power, carried out a long cherished design, and, abdicating, retired for rest into his beautiful villa-palace of Salona, on the Adriatic. Constantius and Galerius, who, as assistant-emperors—each bearing the title of Cæsar—had been rulers in a subordinate capacity, now divided the vast Empire. Constantius' share was the West; and, though he carried out the persecuting edicts of Diocletian, he is described even by Christian writers as a man of courtesy and clemency. On succeeding to supreme power, however, he professed himself a Christian, and under the sunshine of Imperial favour, the churches ruined during the late persecution were rebuilt, and the scattered congregations were again permitted to worship publicly. Constantius himself soon died (A.D. 306), and was buried at York (Eboracum), but Constantine, his son, the Christian Emperor, succeeded. His mother, the famous Helena, was probably of British lineage; some suppose her to have been the daughter of a British prince, but more trustworthy tradition relates that she sprang from the people. We still possess no formal record of the British church, but the presence, already alluded to, of British bishops at the Council of Arles (A.D. 314), at that of Sardica in 347, and at that of Ariminium in A.D. 359, tells us that the British church was reckoned in the first half of the fourth century as a power in Christendom.

Hilary of Poitiers indeed congratulates his British brethren on their freedom from all contagion of the heresy of Arius.* St.

* The distinctive tenet of this heretic's teaching was "the denial of the Saviour's godhead." Arius himself taught in the early years of the fourth century; his doctrines were formally condemned in the first General Council of Nice, A.D. 325. His views, and a modification of them under the general title of Semi-Arianism, have appeared and reappeared in all the Christian ages, but have ever met with the sternest condemnation on the part of the Catholic Church. The present "Unitarians" hold the same doctrinal views, but possess only a very limited influence compared with the Arians of the patristic age.

Athanasius alludes to the inhabitants of the island as among his orthodox supporters, as among those faithful ones who, when many fell away, remained steadfastly loyal to the Catholic faith. St. Chrysostom, too, writes of the British Isles as professing the Christian faith, and especially mentions the churches and altars there erected. St. Jerome also names our island with approval; "for Britain," he says, "worships the same Christ, observes the same rule of truth with other Christian countries."

Early in the fifth century we read of Ninian, a native of the Cumbrian district in North Britain, after having studied at Rome, erecting in the wild districts of the south of Scotland, on the promontory called Whithorne, the home of the marauding Pictish tribes, a missionary establishment known as the White House (Candida Casa). It was this Ninian—of whose life and labours we possess scarcely any information—who in after times, strangely enough, was revered as the apostle of the southern Picts. He died in 432.

ASSEMBLING FOR DRUIDICAL WORSHIP.

This is well-nigh all the history we possess of the British church of the first days. We have, however, enough of these scant relics to assure us of its existence. It was probably numerous and influential; it was certainly earnest and devoted. It possessed a regular organisation; it was ruled by bishops who were acknowledged as the successors of the Apostles by the great churches of Western Christendom; but we possess no details, on which we can

certainly depend, of its history, or of the position which it held among the Roman officials or soldiers.

The visible traces of Roman-British Christianity in the England with which we are acquainted are few indeed. A few stones marked with the Christian monogram in Roman Villas, a few tiles marked I.H.S., here and there a tombstone recording that a Christian slept below, complete the scanty list. Traces of some ecclesiastical Romano-British work have been discovered at Lyminge in Kent, and at Brixworth. In the excavations at Silchester, near Reading—destroyed in the sixth century, probably by Ceawlin, the West-Saxon King—the foundations, fairly perfect, of a British church of the fourth and fifth century have been found, with the sanctuary pavement intact (p. 19), and similar precious "finds" may with tolerable certainty be looked for. But up to the present time very scanty are the gleanings of British remains which can with any certainty be identified as Christian; though, in spite of the scanty contemporary historical mention and the fewness of relics of ancient British Christianity, we have good reason to believe that the British church before the coming of the North-folk was a flourishing and influential community, well instructed in Divine truth, earnest and devout. The reasons for this belief will be more properly dealt with and discussed as the story of the Church proceeds.

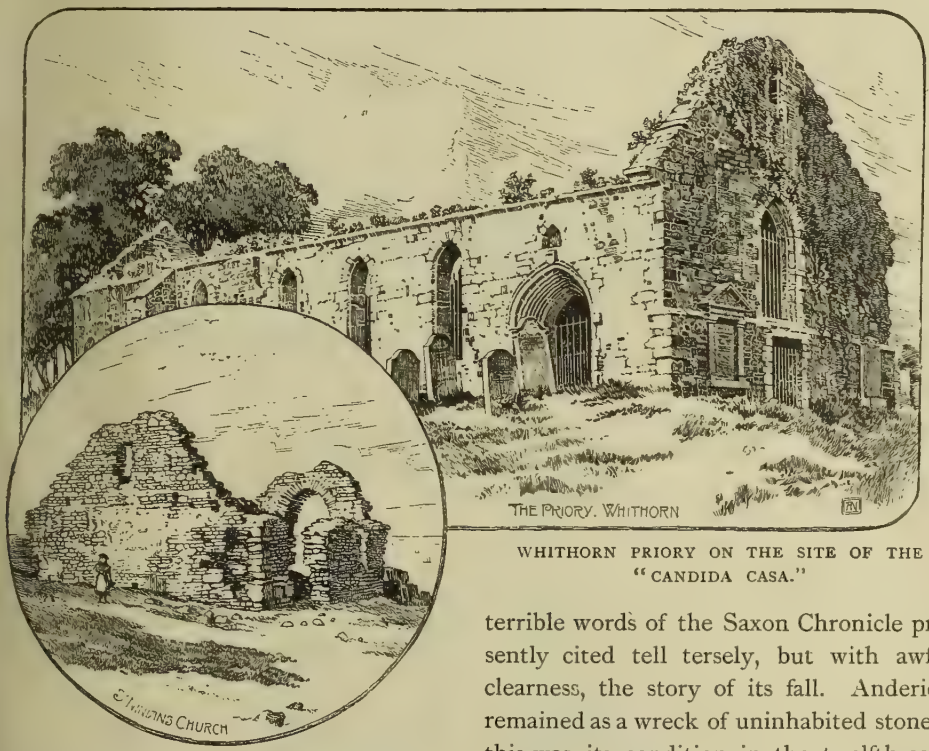
The paucity of relics of our ancient church can easily be accounted for. Over our island in the fifth and sixth centuries swept a desolating flood of barbarian conquerors, who, in their slow but cruel march—it lasted roughly 150 to 200 years—spared nothing; all was destroyed. The old life of Britain—its cities, its people, its faith—vanished as though it had never existed. Only a poor remnant of the people, carrying with them their faith, had found a refuge in the west of the island (including Devon and Cornwall), and in Cumberland (Strathclyde). It will be deeply interesting to see what they carried with them of Christianity, when we come to speak of these dispossessed ones in detail.

Men are coming at length to see—now that the awful scenes of the Northmen's invasion are fairly studied among us—that the British people who were swept away by the invaders were not that timorous easily-conquered folk most men have imagined them. Their struggle against the barbarian was no weak and unworthy one. "Nowhere throughout the whole circuit of the Roman world, was so long, so desperate a resistance offered to the assailants of the Empire as by Britain." A popular belief ascribes if not cowardice, at least supineness to the British inhabitants of our island after the departure of the Roman legionaries; and the northern invaders are generally supposed to have had, on the whole, an easy task before them when they proceeded to take possession of the country. The contrary, however, was the case. Of all the nations under the dominion of the Roman Empire, it is the Britons alone whose long and bitter struggle with the northern barbarian has a history; and that history lasted well-nigh two centuries.

The chronicles of that dreary period are most meagre, but taken into account with the ruins which we can still trace,

it is clear that every district was hotly fought for. Farm by farm, village by village, town by town, was only won after stubborn fighting. The defenders—at least, as many as survived the bloody work—suddenly withdrew a little space, and then stoutly endeavoured again to stay the conqueror's onward march. The fault in the resistance of the allied British-Provincials was want of union among themselves, not lack of patriotism or of splendid courage.

The prolonged and stubborn defence of the British people left only burned and desolate towns. "Every Roman station and house in the north shows traces of having been destroyed by fire."* Similar havoc and utter destruction can be traced in the south and midlands. The fate of Anderida in Sussex is a good instance of the doom of the southern cities. The terrible words of the Saxon Chronicle presently cited tell tersely, but with awful clearness, the story of its fall. Anderida remained as a wreck of uninhabited stones: this was its condition in the twelfth century; its square of walls remains lonely and uninhabited still.




WHITHORN PRIORY ON THE SITE OF THE "CANDIDA CASA."

RUINS OF ANCIENT CHURCH (ON THE ISLAND OF WHITHORN LOCALLY KNOWN AS ST. NINIAN'S CHURCH).
(*Photos: Messrs. W. Hunter & Son, Newton-Stewart.*)

Nowhere perhaps in the island, though, do we possess so striking an object-lesson, teaching us the pathetic details of the true story of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum), the famous Roman-British city near our modern Reading. A vast weird wall of remote

* Canon Raine.

antiquity—imposing still in its ruin—encloses a large area of ploughed land, golden in the summer months with waving corn. The patient industry of modern antiquaries has uncovered parts of the enclosure surrounded by these ancient walls, and with little difficulty we can trace the foundations of the streets, the shops, the temples, the forum, the basilica of the once flourishing Silchester, showing well-nigh everywhere the marks of the terrible fire which no doubt closely followed the sack and plunder of the renowned Roman-British city.

*Photo: S. V. White, Reading.*

EXCAVATED REMAINS OF AN EARLY BRITISH CHURCH, SILCHESTER.

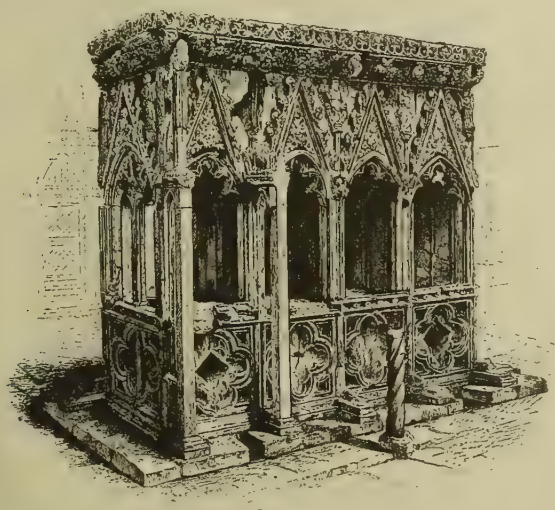
The fate of Silchester was the fate of every city east of the Severn, in southern, in middle and eastern England. The result of the Anglo-Saxon invasion was that well-nigh every Roman and every Briton vanished out of the land. Their cities were utterly destroyed: this was especially the case in the east and south. The very memory of the people had perished. The British tongue, the language of the mass of the people even under Roman rule, though it lived on as the tongue of the fugitives in Wales and the remote West, has left hardly a trace in England proper.

What now of *the faith?* What of that Christianity which had lived and flourished for some four hundred years in Britain? "Nothing brings home to us so vividly the change which had passed over the conquered country, as the *entire disappearance* of the older religion." When Rome long afterwards sought to renew its contact with Britain, it was as with a heathen country. When missionaries at last made their way into its bounds, there is no record of their having found a single

Christian; in the whole of the conquered land (east of the Severn) Christianity had disappeared. The church, and the organisation of the church, had vanished as though it had never been. This will account for the extreme paucity of relics of the ancient British Church.

To dwell again for an instant on one detail of the vanished church, it is true that Church historians largely attribute the absence of the Celtic saints among the dedications of the Saxon and Norman churches, to the influence of Bishop Wilfrid, of Archbishop Theodore, and of the Roman school in the seventh and eighth centuries. There is no doubt but that between the Celtic disciples of the great Irish and Scottish missionaries Columba and Aidan, and those who received their Christianity from Roman teachers, such as Augustine, Paulinus, and Wilfrid, a bitter animosity existed; and as the Roman school gradually became supreme in the latter half of the seventh century, many harsh measures, intended to obliterate Celtic influence in the church, were devised by the ever-growing party of Rome. Yet this animosity would never account for the complete wiping out of all vestiges of the old British Christianity. Nothing but the unexampled character of the Anglo-Saxon conquest could have accomplished so complete a work of obliteration.

We have, therefore, from the absence of visible remains, or the paucity of contemporary records, no grounds for entertaining the too common idea that the British Church before the coming of the Saxon and the Angle, was either numerically weak, or deficient in organisation, or of small influence or importance. We cannot endorse the words of a famous historian of our Church, who considers "that Christianity had struck but feeble roots in the land before the coming of the Northmen."



ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE, ST. ALBANS ABBEY.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH DURING THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST.

Invasion of England by the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, A.D. 449-485—Terrible and complete Extermination of the British Inhabitants—Sources of Information concerning that Period—Sack of a City described by Gildas—The British Bards—Their Testimony to Christian Faith and Organisation—And to Corruption of Life and Manners among the Britons.

AT the close of the sixth century the borderland of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes * ran from Ettrick across Cheviot, along the Yorkshire moors to the Peak of Derbyshire ; thence by the Forest of Arden to the mouth of the Severn ; then across the Severn estuary by Mendip through the woods of Dorset to the sea. Britain was virtually conquered and parcelled out. The wild land to westward and northward, whither the remnant of the Britons had taken refuge, had little to tempt the invader.

The Roman legions were finally withdrawn by the Emperor Honorius about A.D. 409. It was about forty years after their departure that the terrible northerners began their conquest in real earnest. The Jutes, under Hengist and Horsa, landed in the Isle of Thanet in 449. By the year 475 Kent was completely conquered ; Ella and the south Saxons had overrun Sussex before 491. During the same period the East Saxons had made themselves masters of the country north of the mouth of the Thames ; the Angles, in 480, conquered all the district of the east known subsequently as East Anglia. The latter tribe very soon afterwards penetrated northward, and founded Angle or Engle kingdoms stretching from the Firth of Forth to the river Humber. Another division of these Angles had subjugated Middle England—afterwards known as Mercia, by the year 560. In the meantime, between A.D. 514 and 552, the West Saxons, under Cerdic and Cynric, slowly drove the Britons westward. The pitched battle of Deorham, in 577, followed by the fall and sack of the cities of Bath

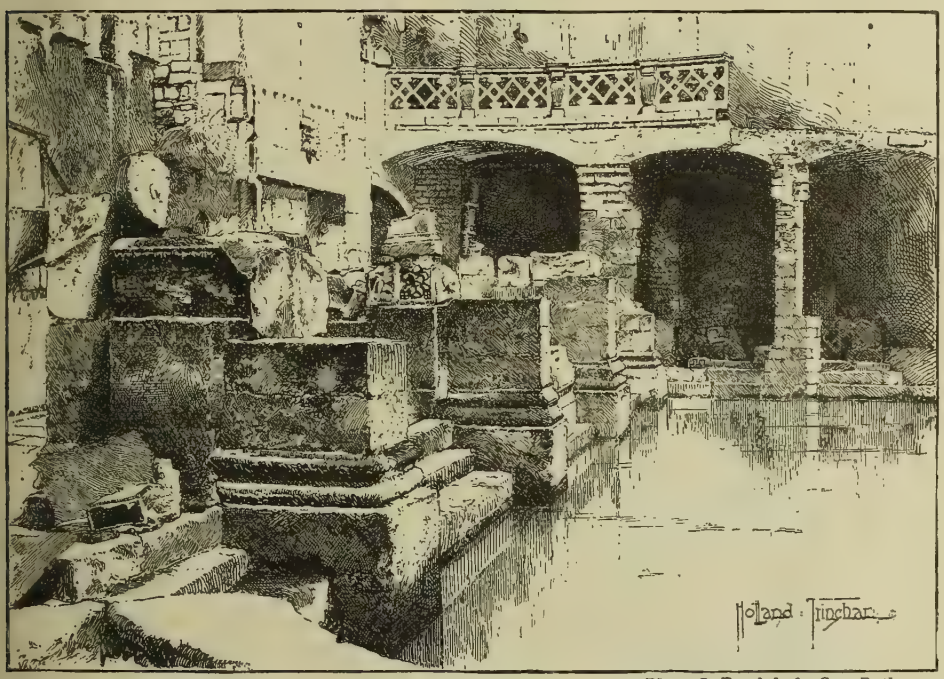
* The geographical signification of these tribal names is given at length on page 112, chapter VI. On the term *Angle*, we would observe that the spellings "Angle" or "Engle" are interchangeable. They are used to designate the same people, who dwelt originally along the Elbe and on the banks of the Weser, and also on the narrow neck of land which parts the Baltic from the North Sea. These "Angles," or "Engles," roughly made up the conquering tribes who occupied Northumbria and Deira (Yorkshire), Middle Britain (Mercia), and the eastern counties (East Anglia). It is not possible to adopt always the same term when speaking of them, for the terms Engle-land, England, Englishman, compel us frequently to use the word "Engle"; while such widely used and comprehensive expressions as Anglo-Saxon, Anglican, etc., seem to call us back to the other name "Angle." Again, the settlers in that great district of our island known as the Eastern Counties, have given to that district the name of East Anglia, an appellation current among us to this day.

Gloucester, and Cirencester, threw the western part of the island open to the invaders, and before A.D. 585 the conquest of the west country was completed.

Such a bald chronicle of the successive landings of fresh hordes of North-folk, of bloody battles, of sieges, and the fall and ruin of fair cities, tells curtly the long-drawn-out agony of the British in their unequal conflict. The Saxon Chronicle, copied probably from contemporary records in the scriptorium or writing-chamber of the monastery at Winchester, if referred to, would add but little further information save perhaps some such harrowing details, couched in the fewest possible words, as these following :—

A.D. 456. This year, Hengist and Æsc slew four troops of Britons with the edge of the sword in the place which is named Creecanford [Crayford].

A.D. 457. This year, Hengist and Æsc his son fought against the Britons, and slew there [at Crayford] four thousand men, and the Britons then forsook Kent, and fled to London.



*Photo, J. Dugdale & Co., Bath.*

EXCAVATED REMAINS OF ROMAN BATH AT BATH.

A.D. 491. This year Aella and Cissa besieged Andredceaster [Anderida in Sussex], and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left.

A.D. 577. This year Cuthwine and Ceawlin the West-Saxons fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings, Conmail, and Candidan and Farinmael, at the place which is called Deorham, and took three cities from them, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath.

Reading these short, dreary descriptions,

the student hurries quickly on, forgetting what a scene of utter misery and desolation is covered by the curt record of the fall of Anderida, where *all* that were within that hapless city perished by famine, or the sword, or in the flames of their ruined houses. Four lines are sufficient to describe the stricken field of Deorham, which sealed the fate of the west of Britain, and to paint the sack and destruction of the three beautiful cities of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester. Bath and Gloucester from various causes recovered after a century of desolation, the "awful morrow" of the fight at Deorham. Cirencester never won back its old position, and remains a small country town to this day —about a third of its former size.

But what of *the Church of Britain* during these awful days? What is its eventful story during these 150 years of perhaps the most cruel and most desolating conquest recorded in history? It must be remembered that the country after the conquest showed no sign of British or Roman life; that in the history we owe to Bede, written shortly after the Northmen had finished their terrible work, we meet with no British or Roman names at all; that amidst the hundreds of men and women whom Bede records as living and acting in the new England there is not one whose name is not certainly English; that as the conquest passed over them, the towns of Roman Britain sank into ruins; that with this desolating conquest the British towns all disappear. The language of the Britons also vanished. The Celtic words in our earlier English are few, and mostly words of domestic use, such as basket, which may well have crept in from the female slaves who must here and there have been seized by the invaders. And as with the names and towns and language, so too with the faith of Britain: *it perished utterly.*

What now is the true story of this vanishing away of British Christianity? That it existed once, a mighty influence, we shall be able to show from the meagre relics of its literature; that it was once strong, and full of noble purpose and restless striving, we are in a still stronger position to assert, as we can point to the enduring work and matchless energy of the poor fugitives who, after a splendid and protracted resistance, escaped, few in number and stripped of everything but their faith, into the desolate fastnesses of the wild and barren west. The resurrection and life of the Celtic church after the crushing disaster which apparently overwhelmed it with complete and utter ruin, is, indeed, a story worth telling—a story which no Englishman can surely read unmoved; without, indeed, a thrill of pride and thankfulness.

We possess four well-known and authentic documents; the first of them written during the terrible events which took place in the course of the 150 years of the conquest of the Britons, by one who was evidently an eye-witness of the deeds and disasters of which he writes; the other three composed shortly after the events in question, when information was procurable from eye-witnesses, or from those who had conversed with eye-witnesses of at least a portion of the tragedy. The first are the works of Gildas. They consist of two pieces—the *Historia* and the *Epistola*—but they may be viewed as

forming one treatise. The second, third, and fourth consist of the History of Nennius, the earlier portion of the Saxon Chronicle, and the important History of Bede.

But besides these three often-quoted histories and the meagre earlier records of the Saxon Chronicle, there exist a few poems of great antiquity in the ancient dialect of Wales, whose theme is the war between the Britons and their Saxon and Angle foes. The poems are few in number, and the more ancient songs might be contained in the compass of a small volume. They are the work professedly of three bards, who lived and wrote in the sixth century; and the poems are, in the majority of cases, probably the work of men who seem to have been eye-witnesses of the events they sing. If these are genuine in such a story as we are now telling they are, of course, of the highest value and of the deepest interest.

LANDING OF THE JUTES.

The foundation stories of the famous mediæval Arthurian romance appear in them, and the *real* King Arthur, who lived and warred in the first quarter of the sixth century, is found among the British heroes of our ancient songs; but he is a very

different Arthur from the blameless king who is the centre figure of the various Arthurian romances of the Trouveurs of the brilliant court of Henry II. in the twelfth century. In the old bardic poems here referred to, Arthur is spoken of as a well-known and famous warrior-king; but he is only one —and not even the favourite one—of a group of chieftains who warred in those desperate but hopeless campaigns; indeed, only five of our poems mention him at all. But one fact is deserving of special notice, the Arthur of "Nennius" and of the "bardic songs" is pre-eminently a Christian leader.

The ancient poems to which we are here referring as contemporary pieces of history,* are mostly descriptive of battle scenes; several of them are death-songs of famous chiefs. They are deeply coloured with profound melancholy; they breathe throughout a hopeless lamentation for the calamities of a ruined people; scarcely a ray of hope lights up these sombre and melancholy folk-songs, whose sad burden throughout is lamentation and mourning and woe. We feel that they are mutilated, here and there altered, often re-edited, even re-cast; at times the old dialect is untranslatable; but, notwithstanding these drawbacks, they possess a peculiar beauty of their own, a passionate and a restless force and power like no other known poetry. They tell the story of the awful agony of the Britons in a way no dry chronicle, no mere historical memoirs, could hope to do. The reader who patiently studies these strange songs feels they are the real outcome of the hearts of patriot sharers in the deadly war; for the poet, while dwelling in weird, and even at times in glowing language, upon the splendid devotion of his national heroes, never attempts to conceal their weaknesses, never tries to draw a veil over their mistakes, their backsliding, their sins. No language is too glowing when the ancient British song-men hymn the prowess and the splendid valour of their heroic fellow-countrymen; but no words are too severe when they deplore the vices which these truth-telling lovers of their lost country were conscious had much to do with the fatal national disasters. Only British eye-witnesses of the deeds and disasters—the theme of these strange poems—could possibly have drawn such a picture as these bardic folk-songs present to us.

But the important witness which these contemporary poets of the long-drawn-out war which resulted in the conquest of Britain, bear to the Christianity of the British people before the conquest of the Anglo-Saxon, is what we have here especially to dwell on. The patriot bards of the sixth and seventh centuries were evidently Christians, writing of and to Christian people.

Gildas (*circa* 550-560)—the genuineness of whose history is now absolutely undoubted, and who wrote, too, with

* The question of the critical value of these war songs of the Bards, is discussed at some length in Excursus A, "The Contemporary Authorities for the history of the Church of Britain in the 6th and 7th centuries," at the end of the volume. While on the one hand the rare MSS. containing them belong to a post-Norman age, the internal evidence supplied by the poems themselves is of such a nature as to enable scholars to agree in the main with the conclusions of Sharon Turner, Dr. Guest, Villemarqué, Mr. Green, and Professor Skene, who use some of these poems as authentic pieces of contemporary history.

the authority of an eye-witness of some of the scenes he chronicles—describes, in words somewhat turgid and rhetorical, the sack of a British city by an Anglo-Saxon army. Here the Christian aspect of the doomed city appears especially to have been the dominant thought in the mind of Gildas, and Gildas, it should be remembered, was far from being an indiscriminate admirer of the religion and morality of his fellow-countrymen. He lashed what he looked upon as their backslidings with an unsparing pen; with a pen so merciless, indeed, that his words of bitter fault-finding have been even looked upon as not a little exaggerated. But in spite of this anger at the errors of the church of his countrymen, the Christian aspect of the city whose fall he describes, is very remarkable, and evidently points to the fact that in these British cities, before the Saxon conquest, the "Faith of Christ" had obtained a recognised position and a widespread influence. His description of a doomed city is as follows :—

"All the columns" (he speaks of the assaults of the enemy as though they were especially made on the church or temple of God) "were levelled with the ground by the frequent strokes of the battering-ram, all the husbandmen routed, together with the bishops, priests, and people, whilst the sword gleamed and the flames crackled round them on every side; lamentable to behold, in the midst of the street lay the tops of lofty towers, tumbled to the ground; stones of high walls, holy altars, fragments of human bodies covered with livid clots of coagulated blood, looking as if they had been squeezed together in a press, and with no chance of being buried, save in the ruins of the houses or in the ravening bellies of wild beasts and birds." The stern, curt language of the Saxon Chronicle, describing, for instance, the fall of Anderida in Sussex, as already cited on p. 19, shows this description was not exaggerated.

It was in the course of this terrible and protracted agony of the Britons, that the bardic poems—the folk-songs of the people who were so slowly, and only after a long and determined resistance, either exterminated or a poor remnant driven into the fastnesses of the west—were probably composed. The historical poems of the British bards were no doubt animated rather by a Pagan than a Christian spirit —the spirit of bitter hatred of a merciless foe. But in spite of the Pagan vengeful spirit which lives along the pages of these strange sad poems, Christian allusions crop up in them here and there; comparatively few in number it is true, but still amply sufficient to show that the bardic writers were well instructed in the faith of Christ, and wrote for people equally well instructed, otherwise many of the allusions would be simply meaningless. The bitter, protracted war of extermination, the relentless cruelties of the Anglo-Saxon invaders, the persuasion, ever growing stronger and stronger, that the country they loved so passionately was lost to them for ever, had, so to speak, dried up in our British songmen well-nigh all the spirit of Christianity; but still Christian ideas and Christian words and terms lingered in their minds, and even a cursory examination of these ancient folk-songs brings to light such allusions as the following :—

"May he find a complete reception
With the Trinity in perfect Unity."
*Gododin, Poems : Book of Aneurin.*

"No one will be satisfied
With the power of the Trinity."
*Gododin, Poems : Book of Taliesin.*

"In the name of the God of Trinity."
*Death Song of Erof : Book of Taliesin.*

"May the Trinity grant me
Mercy in the Day of Judgment."
*Book of Taliesin.*

References to the invocation of the Trinity are to be met with frequently in these poems. Baptism is mentioned several times in such passages as—

"Ercwlf chief of baptism—
Ercwlf said . . ."
*Death Song of Erof : Book of Taliesin.*

"I saw great anxiety
Among the hosts of baptism."
*Urien Reged : Red Book of Hergerst.*

"With blades full of vigour in defence of baptism."
*Gododin : Book of Aneurin.*

"I will enrich the praises of baptism,
At the baptism of the Ruler the worshippers wondered."
*Book of Taliesin.*

"Joyful, the bards of baptism.
Whilst thy life continues."
*Urien Reged : Book of Taliesin.*

There are several mentions of *Christ* and of *Jesus* :

"I will pray to the Lord, the Great Supreme,
That I be not wretched, Christ be my portion."
*Arthur the Guledig : Book of Taliesin.*

"Erof, the Cruel, caused
Treacheries to Jesus."
*Book of Taliesin.*

"There was a calling on the Creator,
Upon Christ for causes ;
Until the eternal
Should relieve those whom he had made."
*Gododin : Book of Aneurin.*

"Who was Confessor
To the gracious Son of Mary."
*Red Book of Hergerst.*

There are also allusions to the "Great Son of Mary," and the "Gracious Son of Mary" in the Book of Taliesin.

"Let him who offends Christ sleep not ;
Let not a man sleep, for the sake of the passion
Of the Son of God, but wake up at early dawn,
And he will obtain heaven and forgiveness."
*Attributed to Elaeth, a Royal Bard of the 6th or 7th Century : Black Book of Carmarthen.*

In the great *Gododin* poem (Book of Aneurin) we read :—

"He gave gold to the altar."

The *Gododin* contains the words—

"Firmly did he clasp in his hands a blue blade,
A shaft ponderous as a chief priest's crozier ;"

and in the same group of poems we find also the statement—

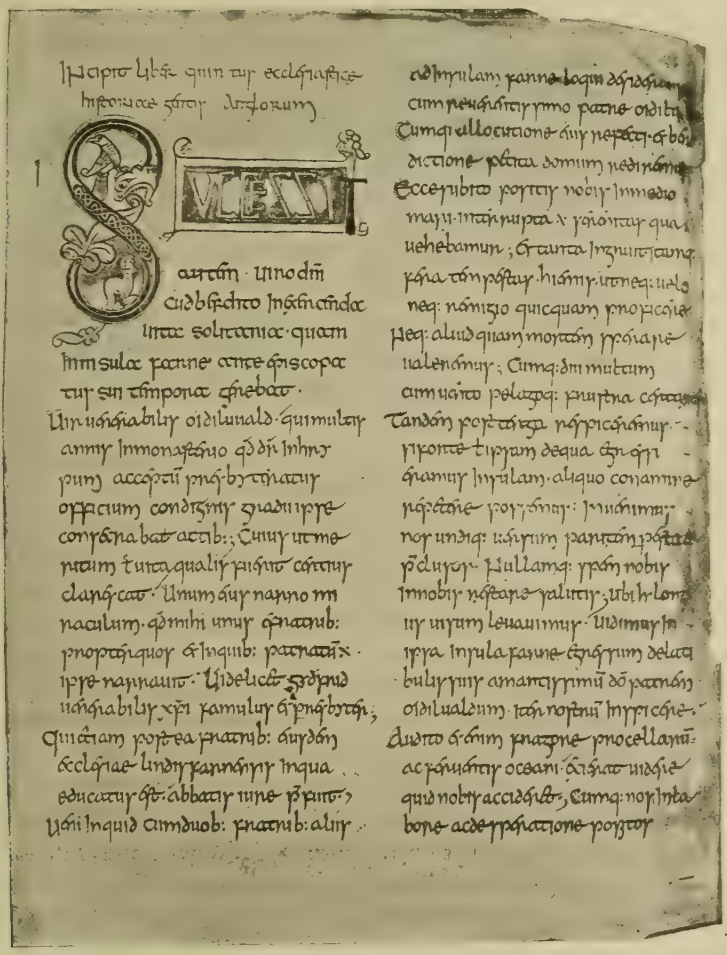
"Since he has received the Communion, he shall be interred."

These quotations are taken from historical songs—from war-songs for the most part attributed to the three great bards, Aneurin, Taliesin, and Llywarch-Hên, who were contemporary witnesses of the deadly contest between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxon invaders, and they by no means exhaust the Christian allusions imbedded in the ancient relics of British poetry. They are especially interesting and important to us—are these folk-songs—in our inquiry into the existence and influence of Christianity during the sad days of the conquest of North-men.

The words, however, of Gildas, written during the same period of deep gloom and suffering, are yet more important, and throw a strong light upon the question of the position which the religion of

Christ held among the British peoples before the coming of the North-folk conquerors.

were debased by worldly, and even vicious habits; they were neglectful of their holy functions, and were guilty of graver sins.



AN EARLY HISTORICAL RECORD: PAGE FROM MS. COPY OF BEDE'S "ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY," 8TH CENTURY (*British Museum*).

Gildas, the contemporary prose historian of this sad age, in his *Epistola*, draws a singularly dark picture of the state of Britain at the period of the conquest. According to Gildas, the princes were tyrannical, avaricious, sensual. The clergy

Simony was practised among the priests, and even with the bishops was this sin not unknown. The best among them were cowardly, or at least careless, in the matter of rebuking sin. He cites Eli as an instance of this neglect to rebuke open sin.

He begins his scathing diatribe against the church of his people with the bitter words: "Britain has priests, but they are foolish." Still, even this vehement accuser of his hapless nation owns that Britain yet contained a few good pastors. It is generally considered by most serious scholars that Gildas' accusations are exaggerated, but they certainly prove the existence of a considerable and influential church at the time of the invasion of the North-men. The testimony of the above-quoted folk-songs of the national bardic writers—Aneurin, Taliesin, and Llywarch-Hên—to some extent supports the witness of Gildas the prose writer, in the matter of the falling away of the British nation from the practice of Christian living in the years of the conquest. For these sombre and touching poems, which treated of the national disasters in that sad age of ruin and calamity, while bearing ample testimony to the reckless bravery and splendid devotion of the heroic warriors of the Britons, contain too many a reference to a spirit of vengeance and of cruelty, alas! everywhere present; contain, too, many a bitter reproach, many a solemn warning, connected with the vices which these truth-telling patriot song-men felt had much to do with the fatal national disasters. They dwell again and again upon that vice which had grown into a national sin—the love of revelling and of drunkenness.

Thus in the *Gododin* poem of the bard Aneurin we read:

"The Warriors went to Cattraeth, they were famous;
Wine and mead from gold had been their liquor.
Of three heroes, and three score and three hundred
Wearing the golden torques,
There escaped only three from the sword."
*Canto XXI.*

"Men went to Cattraeth . . .
Pale mead had been their feast, and was their poison." *Canto V.*

"By the light of the rushes they drank the sparkling mead;
Pleasant was its taste, long was its woe."
*Canto XV.*

"I drank wine and mead in Mordai,
And because I drank I fell by the side of the rampart;
The fate of allurement." *Canto XX.*

There are many similar allusions to this vice in the poem.

There seems no question but that the fierce relentless war which went on, year after year, sapping the life-blood of the British peoples, destroying all their earthly hopes and onlooks, weakened at the same time their religious fervour. Such a bitter "life-or-death" contest would, alas! too surely stir up all the slumbering, fierce passions of human nature, by exciting the bitterest feelings of hopeless anger, unsatisfied revenge, and intense hatred of their remorseless foes. This hatred was so indiscriminate and relentless that Bede, quoting from Gildas, tells us that the Britons, "among other most wicked actions not to be expressed, added this, that they never preached the faith to the Saxons or English who dwelt among them."

## CHAPTER III.

### CELTIC-BRITISH MONASTICISM AND ITS WORK.

Power of Christianity in Ancient Wales—Its Testimony to the early British Church—Ireland evangelised from Wales—and England again from Ireland—Immense Power and Activity of the Irish Church—St. Patrick—His vast Influence and Success—Subsequent Decline in religious Fervour, and revival from Britain—St. Bridget—Sketch of the Irish Monasteries—Abbots and Bishops—Life and Work in the Irish Monasteries.

BUT although many—perhaps the majority—of the British peoples fell away, in this their day of sore trial and utter ruin from Christianity and from all that its holy teaching presses home to men, still it is certain that there was a goodly remnant among the fugitives who had taken shelter in the mountains and valleys of Wales, who were conspicuous as servants of God. Nay more, it is an acknowledged fact that among that poor remnant, in a country destitute of great cities, and of all the appliances of wealth, civilisation, and culture, religion flourished in an extraordinary degree. We see the strange sight of even great monasteries devoted to religious culture and learning in that poor colony of exiles; we find these great religious communities able to aid in no small degree, even to guide, the singular and marvellous springing up and development of religion and learning in that sad age, which we shall soon have to study in the neighbouring Ireland.

We read among the "York" traditions—in which are probably the germs of truth—that when the torrent of Angle invaders became so strong as to sweep the British out of York for ever, the last British bishop of the old imperial city, Tadiocus, when he saw the hostile armies pouring in, joined Theonas, bishop of London, and fled for his life to Wales. After this the names "Welsh" and "British" are identical.

In the story of Christianity in Wales, a few names, and certain interesting particulars respecting great monastic foundations and eminent men connected with them, still survive. The fact that these vast monastic communities sprang up and flourished in the latter half of the fifth and in the sixth century rests on undoubted testimony; and the knowledge which we certainly possess that they owed, if not their foundation, certainly their subsequent singular prosperity and influence to the fugitives from Christian Britain, is an evidence none can gainsay of the existence of a learned and influential church in Britain before the Anglo-Saxon conquest.

We find great monasteries, which were at the same time colleges for study and devotion, in this age—that is, in the period between A.D. 500 and 600—flourishing in that poor and barren Wales, a country with few cities, a scanty population, certainly without wealth or culture. Such a

marked activity on the part of these Christian fugitives in Wales and Ireland, as is shown in the foundation and rapid development of these great religious and educational communities—a remarkable development, indeed, when the circumstances of the founders are taken into consideration—seems to tell us that these poor fugitives were reproducing what to a great measure had existed in their own country before its subjugation.

We hear of monasteries such as Bangor Iscoed, in the south-east corner of Flintshire, a community said to contain positively more than 2,000 monks at the time of its sudden and total desolation in the eighth century. Another great house was that Bangor on the Menai Strait, of which Daniel was the first abbot and bishop, by a custom well known and common in these Celtic foundations. Another holy house, of Bangor, founded by Kentigern, once bishop of Glasgow, whence he had probably been driven by the Angle invasion, existed at the junction of the Clwyd and Elwy. It was an immense monastery, inhabited, we are told, by 965 monks, 300 of whom, being illiterate, cultivated the fields; 300 fulfilled literary work in the interior of the house; and the 365 others celebrated divine service without intermission. This great foundation was called after St. Asaph, the successor of the first founder, St. Kentigern. Many years earlier than St. Asaph, Dubricius, who is placed by early tradition in the last years of the fifth and early part of the sixth century, and who traditionally was consecrated by Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, founded the famous house of Llandaff in South Wales, in which the renowned and loved David, afterwards bishop, the patron-saint of Wales, was trained. This David is said to have lived to the age of 100 years, and was buried in the Monastery of Menevia (St. Davids), which he had built in the remotest extremity of South Wales, where "the cathedral that bears his name presents so unique and pathetic a combination of indefeasible majesty and irreversible decay." There David, surrounded by the reverence of all, in reality the chief of the remnant of the British people, died in 544.* A beautiful tradition, perhaps based on fact, says that, when dying, David had a vision in which he saw Christ, and breathed his last, crying, "Lord, take me up after Thee."

St. Cadoc's great monastery of Llancarvan, founded apparently soon after the year 522, must not be omitted in this bare enumeration of some of the vast religious establishments which owe their foundation to the Britons who escaped from the conquering Saxon or Angle. Llancarvan, too, became a famous religious and literary school; it was resorted to by many who were not training for the life of a "religious." It became for a lengthened period the favourite school for the sons of British chiefs.

We know that these important and vast religious and educational communities came into existence, and gradually developed in the period when the remnant of British Christians, flying before the Angle and Saxon, found a home in Wales; but we know very little in detail of these vast Welsh monasteries beyond the names of the founders and of the more distinguished

* Canon Bright places his death some fifty years later than the date adopted in the text.

of their inmates. The traditions are too vague, and contain too much of the marvellous for us to rely upon them, when seeking for material for a serious history of a British Church in Wales. More weighty is the undoubted, simple fact, that when Augustine paid his celebrated and unfortunate visit to the banks of the Severn, he found the population to the west of the river, *Christian;* that he was met in conference by several British bishops and by a company of learned monks, who represented the Christian church of the ancient people.

More weighty still is the fact of the undoubted influence which this British church in Wales exercised upon that great and world-renowned Christian community, which sprang up in the same period (fifth and sixth centuries) in the neighbouring Ireland.

CELTIC MONASTIC LIFE.

Montalembert, in his picturesque and devotional "Monks of the West," speaking of the influence of the British church in

Wales upon Ireland, relates with his accustomed charm, mixing up legend and history as is his custom, the curious story of the monk Modonnoc, a Briton of the house which St. David had founded on the wild west coast of the Atlantic, known as Menevia, later as St. Davids. Towards the end of his days Modonnoc embarked for Ireland, and all the bees of Menevia followed him. Three times, says the story, he turned back, endeavouring to free himself from his strange companions, but in vain ; the bees loved the old man too well, and persisted in accompanying the monk across the sea, and thus the culture of bees was introduced into Ireland, where it speedily became a source of wealth to the country.

Such stories as these probably have some foundation of truth. There are others of similar import ; but we rest our assertion respecting knowledge of this far-reaching and undoubted influence which the British Christians in Wales exercised in Ireland, upon the fact, allowed by all the leading Irish scholars, that Finnian, the founder of the school and monastery of Clonard, in 520, the most famous of the great Irish monks of the sixth century—Finnian, who was known as the tutor or foster-father of Ireland's world-renowned saints, and others of the so-called "second order of saints," who were the real founders of the famous Irish monastic schools, received their training from Wales at the hands of St. David and other Welsh saints. Finnian was the associate or disciple of the three Britons, David, Cadoc, and Gildas, who occupy the first place among the teachers of the British Church in Wales. From these famous Welshmen (Britons) the Irish scholars also received their liturgies, about the middle of the sixth century. These facts, that many of the great Irish saints received their ecclesiastical education in Wales, and that Wales also furnished the Irish church with liturgies, rest upon no mere tradition, but upon genuine documents, well known and quoted by Irish scholars.

It was certainly from the ancient British church in Wales that Ireland received that fresh impulse, after the death of St. Patrick, which led to the development of the renowned monastic schools in Ireland. Nor is it too much to say that the preparation of Columba, the great Celtic missionary, for the work of his life—namely, the carrying to Iona and North Britain that Irish Christianity, which laid the foundations of English Christianity—was derived in a large measure from Britain, from that poor remnant of the Church which, having escaped from the deadly sword of the Anglo-Saxon, had found shelter in the monasteries of Wales.

No story of the Church of England can be truly told without dwelling for a little upon the beginnings of Christianity in the sister-isle of Ireland. The debt England owes to Ireland can never be exaggerated. There is no fair-minded Anglo-Saxon historian but would acknowledge now that the Christianity of England was owing rather to the Irish work of Columba in Iona and North Britain, than to the Roman work of Augustine in Canterbury. It is equally clear, too, that Ireland in the first instance received the faith from Britain through Patrick, the North Briton; and again, that after the first

fervour excited by the early preaching of Patrick had died down, Ireland for a second time received from Britain a new religious impulse—nay more, that it received definite Christian teaching, formal Christian liturgies, from the ancient British church which had found a refuge from the storm of the North-men's conquest in the mountains of Wales.

It was after the second period of assistance from the British church of the refugees in Wales, that Ireland began the great evangelising work in our island, in what was then the land of the Angles and Saxons. Nor was the mission work of the Irish church confined to England; it laboured, too, on the continent of Europe, and its self-denying work there was crowned, as we shall see, with extraordinary success. Of the work and influence of the ancient British church in Ireland, during the wonderful development of Christianity there, we have ample contemporary evidence.

There were reasons why Anglo-Saxon Britain could never have received the "faith" directly from the Christian refugees in Wales. The antipathy between the survivors of the British and the North-folk (who, with such awful cruelty and pitiless severity, had driven the conquered from their lands and homes) was, alas! so bitter that no impulse to tell the story of the Cross and Redemption to their merciless supplanters seems ever to have fired the hearts of the Christian refugees in Wales. We may deplore, and possibly condemn, this want of human love and divine forgiveness; but perhaps we shall never be able fairly to picture to ourselves the relations which existed between the British and their northern conquerors. We can only dimly imagine now, the hatred, bitter and ineradicable, which in the fifth and sixth centuries existed between the Northern conquerors and the poor remnant of the vanquished and dispossessed inhabitants of Britain.

In the providence of God the intense hate which existed between the races—the conquered and the conqueror, the Celt and the Northman—was not allowed to interfere in the long run with the blessed work of evangelisation. Celtic Britain told the story of the Cross to Celtic Ireland; and Celtic Ireland soon repeated the same glad story to the children of the North-folk conquerors, and thus, as we shall see, the pagan Britain of the Anglo-Saxons in its turn became Christian.

The annals of Christendom contain many a strange recital, many a marvellous history of the spread of the faith of the Crucified, but nowhere is a more marvellous history told than the story of the reception and sudden growth of the faith in Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries; indeed, were it not based upon the amplest and most assured testimonies, it would be read rather as a romance than as a serious history. A student who for the first time came upon the wonderful recital of the rapid rise and the strange greatness of the power and influence of the religion of Jesus during the fifth and sixth centuries in the hitherto unknown island of the western ocean, would naturally lay the record down, and at once ask whether he had not been reading the feverish dreams of an imaginative enthusiast.

But he would find on research that the general statements which had so amazed

THE CLONMACNOIS CROZIER.

(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.*)

him — referring to great Irish monasteries containing 2,000 or 3,000 inmates; to a vast network of religious influences; to many books claiming Irishmen as their writers; to beautiful works of art created for religious purposes; and, above all, to burning and successful missionary zeal in many lands — were abundantly corroborated in many ways, and from many unsuspected sources. They are borne out by monumental remains and names connected with them in all parts of Ireland and of Scotland, by notices in serious and trustworthy ancient writers in foreign lands, such as by the Venerable Bede in England, by men of the type of St. Bernard on the continent of Europe. He would find it corroborated, too, by the many remains of Irish literature, some of it, of course, mixed with incredible legendary details, but at the same time containing undoubted historic facts; and this, too, after the wholesale destruction (so far as it could be effected) by the Danes in the ninth and following centuries of many such records. He would find it borne witness to by the existence also of contemporary Latin writings. All this mass of evidence of different kinds, from many lands, in various languages, would assure the amazed student that the story of the Christian church of Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries, the mother of the Church of England, was no mere romance, but serious history.

No Roman legionary ever set his foot on that great and beautiful island, whose blue mountains can be dimly seen from some of the northern headlands of Britain. Alone in the western world—save in the regions of the inhospitable north or in the wild regions which lie to the extreme east of modern Europe—was Ireland free from

[*Photo: W. G. Moore, Dublin.*

THE TARA BROOCH.

(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.*)

Roman influences, Roman garrisons, Roman development. Latin was an unknown tongue there before the fifth century,

and the gods of Greece and Rome had never been heard of in the Celtic island. The famous Roman general Agricola, who commanded in Britain in the last quarter of the first century, had planned an invasion of the neighbouring isle, but he was recalled, and his design was never carried out by any of his successors. Ireland remained free, and was ever classed by the Romans as a barbarous island.

It was a country of clans, the members of which derived their name from an ancestor who was regarded in a certain sense as still the head. In Ireland the tribal life which the Celts had originally brought with them from the Asian plains, went on with little change or modification. The clans, though severally independent, acknowledged the authority of an over-king, who in early times resided at Tara, but his rule was nominal. "Usages," we are reminded, "which elsewhere marked a remote

MAP OF IRELAND IN THE SIXTH CENTURY
(*showing monastic centres*).

antiquity, lingered on here into historic time."

A few, but only a very few legends are preserved which tell us anything of Christianity in Ireland before the fifth century. We hear of a Cormac-mac-Art in the third century directing that his grave should not be made among his pagan ancestors ; we read of Druids watching the progress of Christianity across the narrow channel, and prophesying the triumph of the new faith across the stormy sea. Kieran of Saigin, a native of southern Ireland, in the fourth century is termed the first-born of the Irish saints. It seems probable that in the third and fourth centuries isolated and accidental visits made by Christian merchants had raised up here and there, in the south and south-east of Ireland, some few Christian families. But it is not until the fifth century that we reach the solid ground of authentic history.

About A.D. 373, at Ailclyde, now Dumbarton, the great Irish evangelist, Patrick, was born. We have an immense amount of legendary lore bearing upon this remarkable and well-loved teacher ; and possessing as we do a few contemporary documents apparently free from fables and marvels, and as to the genuineness of which no serious doubt exists, Irish historians have been able to sift the more legendary accounts, and to present us with a probably accurate picture of the life and work of this gifted man, whose influence in his own time was so enormous, and to whom, indirectly, the Church of England owes its being. His father was a Roman magistrate in north Britain in the last days of the Roman rule. When Patrick was only sixteen years old, he was carried off by one of the numerous pirate bands who were then plaguing all the coasts of the wide Roman empire, and for some six years he remained in captivity, the slave of a petty king in the north of Ireland, to whom he had been sold by his captors. Patrick was a Christian, and as he watched his master's cattle—he tells the story himself—prayer gave him strength to endure the hardships of his sad lot. At length he escaped from his captors ; but in his recovered freedom, and again in the peaceful seclusion of his father's house at Dumbarton, he longed once more to return to the country of his captivity, was eager to carry the gospel to the people he had learned to love, whose language he had acquired, and with whose ways he was familiar. One night in his father's house he heard a voice speaking to him in a dream, and the voice said to him: "We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk still among us." He obeyed what he considered a supernatural summons, and the date of his return to Ireland as missionary is generally given as A.D. 397.

For some thirty-two years he laboured among the people he longed so intensely to win, with passionate earnestness and varying success. Round his long missionary life has gathered—as we have remarked—a cloud of legendary history, mingled with credible statements. In no land has the apostle who first brought the story of the Cross been regarded with the veneration which has been given to the great Irish saint ; and the interest, even in our time, shows no symptom of flagging. Lives of St. Patrick are still being written by scholars and devout men of various

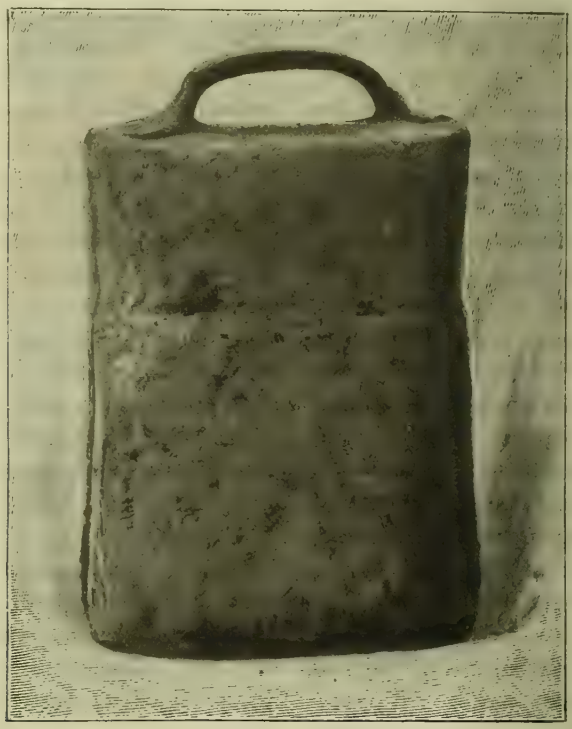
communions, nor are his biographers and panegyrists by any means confined to his own grateful countrymen. But nowhere, perhaps, have the results of his marvellous work been more strikingly summed up than by the English scholar* who was taken too soon from our midst. "The Church they [St. Patrick and his companions] founded, grew up purely Irish in spirit as in form. The Celtic passion, like the Celtic anarchy, stamped itself on Irish religion. There was something strangely picturesque in its asceticism, in its terrible penances, its life-long fasts, its sudden contrasts of wrath and pity, the sweetness and tenderness of its legends and hymns, the awful vindictiveness of its curses. But in good as in ill, its type of moral conduct was utterly unlike that which Christianity elsewhere developed. It was wanting in moral earnestness, in the sense of human dignity, in self-command; it recognised spiritual excellence in a rigid abstinence from sensual excess, and the repetition of countless hymns and countless litanies. But, on the other hand, Ireland gave to Christianity a force, a passionateness, a restless energy such as it had never before known. It threw around it something of the grace, the witchery, the romance of the Irish temper. It coloured even its tenderness with the peculiar pathos of the Celt."

There is no doubt but that the preaching of St. Patrick had a wonderful, possibly an unprecedented success: when the accounts of his life-work are stripped of the marvellous and the incredible, there still remains a historic groundwork of true records of what he really accomplished during his thirty years of labours. He found an Ireland devoted to strange idolatrous customs and heathen rites, which effectually barred all progress in civilisation; he left an Ireland, if not largely converted to Christianity, at least kindly disposed to the religion of Jesus. It was not, of course, the Christian Ireland of legendary history, for at the period of his death many of the people remained unconverted. Not a few—it is evident—still continued to regard him and his preaching with hostility; for in his "Confession," a book which the severest critic is compelled to regard as genuine, he represents himself as in daily expectation of being put to death. But his influence with the petty kings and tribal chieftains seems to have been really very great; as a rule, it was to them he addressed himself in the first instance. The chieftain once secure, the clan as a matter of course were disposed to follow in his steps.

This is the probable explanation of such legends as tell of the great baptism at Tara of several thousands on one occasion. There seems, however, no reason to doubt that the simultaneous profession of Christianity by great multitudes happened more than once during the stirring and eventful life of the fervid apostle of the Irish. One of his latest and most thoughtful biographers tells us with great force that "the people may not have adopted the outward profession of Christianity (which was all, perhaps, that in the first instance they adopted) from any clear or intellectual appreciation of its superiority to their former religion"; but to obtain from the people even an *outward* profession

* Mr. J. R. Green.

of Christianity was an important step towards its ultimate success, for it secured toleration at least for Christian institutions. It enabled Patrick and the early missionaries to plant in every tribe, churches, schools, and religious communities, which dwelling round them, who, watching their self-denying, holy lives, then began to listen to their teaching, and thus, certainly within the century succeeding the death of the great missionary, Ireland became generally a Christian country.



[*Photo: W. G. Moore, Dublin.*

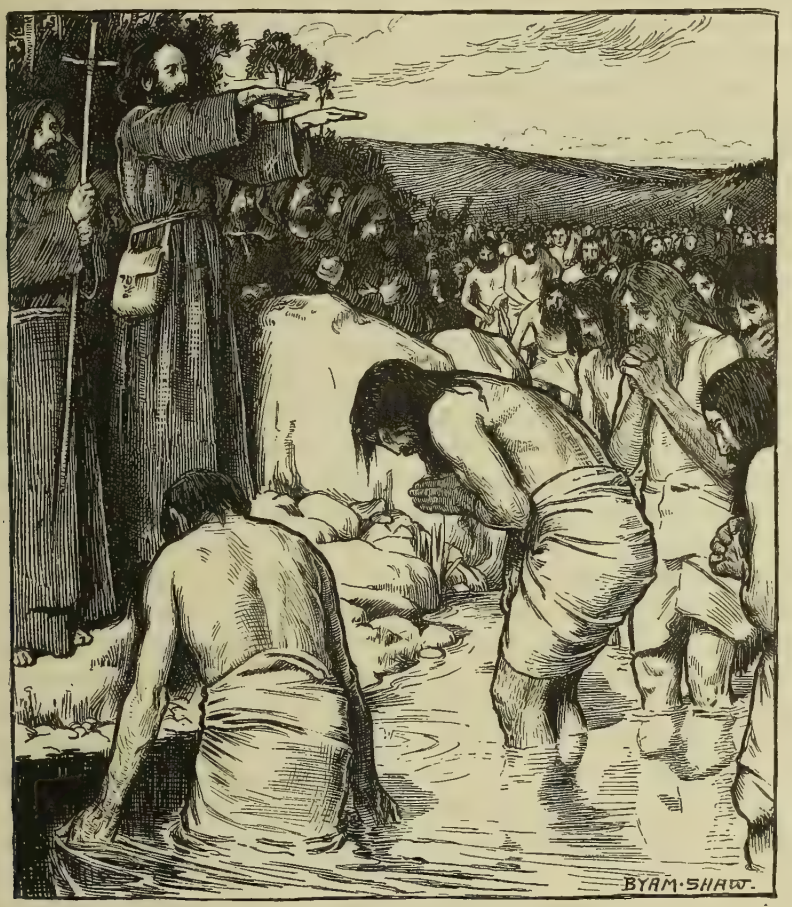
ST. PATRICK'S BELL.

(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.*)

in a comparatively short space of time after he had passed away, grew into those vast monasteries and schools of which we shall presently speak, and which became the wonder and admiration of western Christendom. These colonies of holy men, perhaps at first only tolerated, soon won the hearts of the semi-barbarous people

There is no doubt that this fervid and devoted man was much more than the mere passionate preacher. He was the successful imitator of the wisdom as well as of the faith of St. Paul. Patrick, in good truth, became "all things to all men." Dwelling as he did in the midst of rude and barbaric tribes, so different

from the generality of the people of western Europe, he seems to have ever dealt very tenderly with their cherished usages and long-inherited prejudices; he adopted




THE BAPTISM AT TARA.

their language, and Christianised rather than swept away their ancient customs. It was Christianity he introduced, but it remained ever an Irish, a national Christianity; it differed markedly from the Christianity of other nations—not in any of the great fundamental articles of belief, but rather in the outer framework and setting of those momentous articles.

The great work done by Patrick and his pupils was enduring; the Celtic Christianity of which Patrick and his first missionaries were the wise and devoted master builders, possessed a strange power —such a power as the heathen world had never experienced since the days of the first preachers of the faith, and has rarely seen again. Within a hundred years of the

death of the Irish apostle, the barbarous and half-savage land, the scene of his self-denying labours, became the home of famous schools, to which not only the inhabitants of Britain — that remote island of the wild western seas—resorted, but it positively became the educational home of crowds of eager students of various ranks from all parts of cultured western Europe. "For a time it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed; as if the older Celtic race, that Roman and German had driven before them, had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors; for a time it seemed as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the churches of the west." This strange result, however, was not to come to pass, and the marvellous Celtic church, when in God's providence it had once quickened with new life that Christianity which seemed to be well-nigh everywhere languishing and even dying, suddenly came to an end, and gave place again to that older and more stately church, which at one time it appeared likely to sweep away and supplant.

Two of the contemporaries or immediate successors of Patrick claim a special mention.

Benignus, the early follower and life-long companion of Patrick, is spoken of as the "Singer of Psalms." He became bishop of Armagh, and is accounted the special apostle of Connaught; he only survived his loved master five years, dying in 468.

Around Bridget, whose memory among the Irish people is venerated with a devotion only second to that of Patrick, has gathered a vast mass of legendary lore, but when disentangled from incredible tradition, the story of this eminent saint is found to be based on authentic sources. She was a pupil of some of the hearers and disciples of Patrick, whose winding-sheet she is said to have made. This last tradition is, however, baseless, for she hardly could have known Patrick. Her career must be dated in the years 450-523. What is certain about Bridget is her pure and devoted life, her conspicuous ability, and determination to raise and elevate her sex. The women of Ireland of her day occupied a low and comparatively degraded position; but owing to Bridget's noble labours and saintly example, there is no doubt but that from her time her sisters began to attain in Ireland and in many other countries the place and influence which the divine Founder of our faith had claimed and won for them.

Bridget founded the double monastery (monks and nuns) of Kildare, a mighty religious foundation which subsequently had affiliated houses of monks and nuns all over Ireland. The double monastery of Kildare was the prototype of Hilda's house of Whitby, and of many other double monasteries of Celtic origin, which at a later time exercised so great an influence in Anglo-Saxon England, as well as on the continent of Europe. With some ingenuity and perhaps with a certain amount of truth, the French writer Ozanam attributes the chivalry of the French character to this association of the sexes in the great double monasteries of monks and nuns founded under Irish influence in France.

But to return to Ireland and the church of Patrick. Patrick died in 463. We possess a very ancient document, dating certainly from the eighth century, which somewhat fancifully divides into three periods the time between the rise of Patrick's influence and the year of our Lord 666, the date of the third visitation of the deadly Yellow Plague which was so fatal a scourge, in the British isles especially. The document in question, "A Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland according to their different periods," although a genuine writing of the eighth century, is more or less a fanciful description of what really happened to Ireland in those two eventful centuries. Roughly, it divides the Irish saints into three distinct classes or orders, which may be described as secular, monastic, and hermits.

The saints of *the first order*—the secular—which continued for about a century after Patrick's death, were all bishops—says our ancient writing—350 in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick; one mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear, one Easter on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox. They did not refuse the service and society of women; for they feared not temptation, because founded on Christ the Rock.

*The second order*—the monastic—consisted of few bishops and many presbyters. They had one head—our Lord; their Easter and tonsure were as in the first order, but they refused the service of women, separating them from their monasteries. These received their ritual and teaching from the ancient British church in Wales.

*The third order* of saints—the hermits—consisted of presbyters and a few bishops; they dwelt in deserts and lived on alms; their food consisted of herbs and water. They continued until the great mortality in 666.

The picture painted in this venerable document is of course fanciful, but it gives a fair, though rough representation of Irish religion, during the first two hundred years of Christianity in the "Island of Saints." Taken in conjunction with other records and remains, we gather from it that there was a decline in religious fervour some time after the death of Patrick; that a new spirit was infused into Irish Christianity by missionaries from the ancient British church in Wales; that the religious communities founded by Patrick and the first preachers of the gospel, thus reinforced from Britain, received an enormous development, and became, as time went on, the vast monastic houses so celebrated in the history of western Christendom. It is with them and their life and work that we shall have especially to do, as it was from these great "houses" that Celtic Christianity received so marvellous an impulse; as it was from them that the religion of the Crucified was re-introduced into the pagan Britain of the Anglo-Saxons.

While much that is connected with the Irish church remains uncertain, and to a degree inexplicable, for want of detailed information, the fact of the existence and the enormous influence of its great religious communities upon the life, not only of Ireland and north Britain, but of western Europe generally, is indisputable, and rests upon the solid basis of authentic history.

The sixth century, within a hundred years of the death of Patrick, witnessed the foundation and extraordinarily rapid development of these monasteries and schools, the special and important feature of Irish Christianity. The number of such communities, their enormous size, their wide-spread influence—far beyond the comparatively narrow limits of Ireland — claim a somewhat detailed description, especially as the peculiarity of these singular world-famous establishments belongs not to fanciful tradition, but to the domain of serious history. It was to these great religious houses that northern and central Britain owed the re-introduction of Christianity.

The monastic system seems to have arisen about the third century, when numbers of Christians were driven from their city homes into the desert by the Decian and other persecutions, who still retained and elaborated their ascetic and associated mode of life when the actual pressure was removed. The primitive Irish monasteries with which we are here concerned were of the same type as those of Egypt and Syria, and utterly unlike those mediæval communities, the ruins of whose vast houses, with the dependent

*Photo: T. Hoban, Athlone.*

DOORWAY, CLONMACNOIS.

buildings, are still to be seen in Ireland, in England, and on the continent of Europe. In Ireland we must picture to ourselves—when we think of the monasteries of Clonmacnois and Clonard, of Moville and Bangor (in Ulster) in the sixth century—a number of scattered huts or cells grouped round a church or oratory of humble character, surrounded by a rough stone wall or by an earthen rampart with a ditch, and on the top of the rampart a palisade, partly to seclude the inmates and partly for protection against enemies. The cells were mere rough wooden or wattled huts, sometimes, though more rarely, of stone, and generally of beehive form. The

THE CRUCIFIXION, FROM A CELTIC BRONZE, PROBABLY FROM CLONMACNOIS.

(*Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.*)

little church or oratory in the centre was invariably oblong, without a chancel; the doorways of the huts were often so low that a man would have to creep through, and the interior of these primitive simple dwellings contained only the roughest furniture. Although stone was sometimes used, the greater number of these early monastic foundations—the churches, the monks' cells, and the other buildings—which must have been often of very considerable size, such as kitchens, refectories, writing-rooms, etc., as a rule were constructed simply of wood, wattles, and clay, and so have perished ages ago. Not a trace, for instance, remains of St. Columba's famous monastery at Iona, which was built before the close of the same sixth century.

Besides the church, there were a few public buildings in these great Irish communities, such as a kitchen and a refectory, with a guest-house for strangers; there were also storehouses, mills, and workshops, and almost certainly some large rooms solely for writing or study. The art of illuminating, extensively cultivated in these "Cities of the Saints," as they were termed, no doubt grew by degrees; but manuscripts were copied, and to a certain degree ornamented, in the earliest years of these foundations, and the scribes must have had some scriptorium or writing-chamber, where they had abundance of light; their own little beehive cells must have been too dark for any such work.

Each monastery, with its dependent houses, appears to have had a rule of its own, though these rules had a general resemblance in the most important points. The Abbot, or Co-arb as he was often termed in Ireland, was the supreme head of each monastic family, including the daughter houses. The abbot was sometimes a bishop, but usually a simple priest, with one or even more bishops as members of the community subject to him. These subject bishops occupied a peculiar position in the community; they alone performed episcopal functions, and were treated with honour and respect as belonging to a higher order. We find abbesses such as St. Bridget with such episcopal chaplains; these chaplains being always absolutely subject to the authority of the abbot or abbess of the "house." This strange Irish system was one of monastic territorial jurisdiction rather than one of diocesan episcopacy; but episcopacy was always held to be essential to the very existence of the church.

The number of these subject bishops, to our modern view, seems to have been enormous; indeed, the degree or order of the episcopacy was frequently conferred in recognition of the pre-eminence in sanctity or learning of some distinguished ecclesiastic, who nevertheless continued to live either as a hermit or as the head of a school in his monastery, without necessarily taking upon him the charge of any diocese or district, or even of a church. But the peculiar functions of his episcopal rank were never overlooked. The bishops were always applied to for the consecration of churches, for the ordaining to the ecclesiastical degrees, or holy orders; they alone confirmed, and also gave the more solemn benedictions, and administered the Holy Communion with peculiar rites of greater pomp and ceremony.

An interesting example of the peculiar position held by the bishop in one of

these great Irish monasteries is afforded by the records of St. Bridget's double monastery of Kildare. Bishop Condlaed, who was appointed by this famous abbess to assist her in her work, on one occasion had gone to Brittany and had brought back with him certain foreign vestments which he used at special functions. But the abbess, always sympathising with distress, and perhaps, too, not caring for foreign innovations, cut these up and made clothes of them for the poor. On another occasion Bishop Condlaed expressed a desire to visit Rome. Now Rome was then the home of art, and Condlaed was not only her bishop but her chief artist. He was one of those workers in gold and silver and other metals, who have left beautiful specimens of ecclesiastical art for the admiration of the present age. On his applying to the abbess for permission for the journey, she refused to grant it. He disobeyed her commands, and on his way thither, the record tells us, he was devoured by wolves. This death of Bishop Condlaed was interpreted as a judgment for disobedience, because he tried to go to Rome in violation of an order of Bridget.

An abbot or abbess of a great monastery like Clonmacnois, Clonard, or Kildare, ranked among the powers of the land. Kings quailed before their spiritual threats. Occasionally they or their officers even led kinsfolk and tribesmen to the field.

The number of monks and students in some of these Irish monasteries appears to have been enormous. In certain cases 3,000 does not seem to have been an exaggerated estimate. The monastic school of St. Finnian at Clonard is reputed to have had that number within its enclosure at one time. Bede, writing of another famous Celtic monastery — the British (Welsh) Bangor—gives the number of inmates as 2,100. These great numbers were probably not reached till the fame of the monastery as a teaching school had penetrated far into the continent of Europe; for we read, for instance, of many foreigners resorting to such a school as the monastery of Armagh, and grouping their huts in the monastic enclosure according to nationality.

The food of these great "families of saints" was extremely simple, and was prepared in large cauldrons, in the same manner as we read in the Old Testament that food used to be prepared for the sons of the Prophets. Many of their disciples were employed in agricultural pursuits; they sowed and ground the corn used in their "house," they fished in the river, and had milk in abundance from their cows in the rich Irish pastures. The ordinary dress of a monk in these vast communities—the like of which the world had never seen before—was a coarse woollen wrapper or cowl, with a cord or strap round the loins, over a tunic or undergarment. The monk, as a rule, slept in his clothes on a straw mat in his cell, with, perhaps, a skin over him. The tonsure—peculiar to these Celtic houses—was made by shaving off all the hair in front of a line drawn across from ear to ear. The services in these monastic churches do not seem to have materially differed from the ordinary Western use which we are acquainted with in the mediæval monasteries of the Benedictine and other Orders, save in unimportant details.

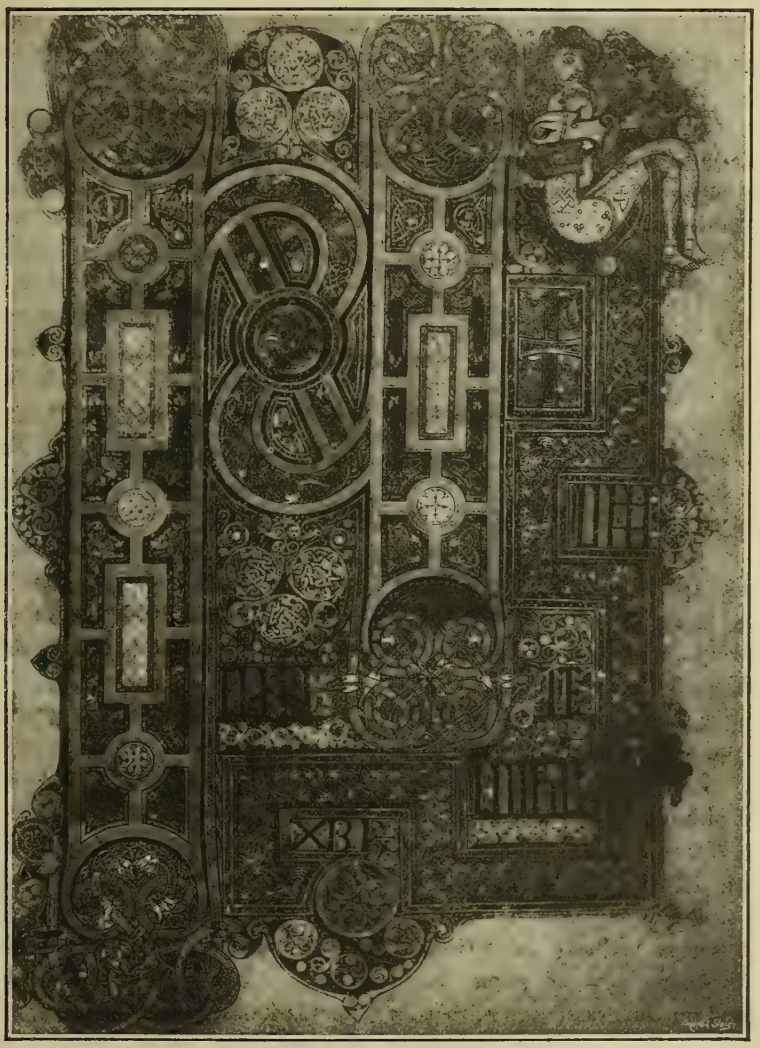
The employments of the inmates of these Irish religious houses of course included all manner of field work; vast farming and grazing grounds, the gifts of kings and chieftains, were attached to these monasteries. But the principal work outside the solemn, constantly-recurring duty of prayer and praise, was literary work of various kinds. Indeed, the special *raison d'être* of an Irish monastery of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries was writing books, copying books, illuminating books; the study of Holy Scripture and theology; and above all, teaching and instructing the young of many lands.

In these wonderful seminaries of a distant and almost unknown island in the midst of the stormy Atlantic sea—whither, in these far-back ages, students numbering their thousands used to resort from the continent of Europe—Holy Scripture was, of course, a principal object of study. The Psalms were often learnt by heart. Latin, which before the days of St. Patrick in the fifth century was an unknown tongue, never heard save perhaps in the rare case of families of some merchant settlers in the extreme south of the island, became in these monastic cities a living language. Greek and even Hebrew were studied there.

*Photo: T. Hoban, Athlone.*

TOWER AND CROSS: CLONMACNOIS.

Writing formed, however, a large portion of the occupation of the monks and the scholars. We read of waxed tablets, styles, skins, inkhorns. The art of illumination was evidently extensively practised in these quiet, remote, but thronged, holy homes of prayer and study. In spite of the ravages of the Danes, and the wholesale destruction of the Viking pirates in the ninth and tenth centuries, a few magnificent specimens of the patient care and unwearied industry of these monk



AN INITIAL FROM THE BOOK OF KELLS.
(*Trinity College, Dublin.*)

artists still survive. The Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow, beautiful and elaborate pieces of artistic workmanship, have been attributed to the famous Columba himself. The "Book of Kells" is a tolerably pure copy of the Vulgate, modified with additions. "It is impossible to give any idea of the splendour and elaboration of its ornamental pages and letters, or of the extreme minuteness of the work, which often requires a lens to trace it; yet these minute lines are as firm as if drawn by a machine, and as free as if they were the growth of Nature." * The more carefully and elaborately ornamented manuscripts were kept in satchels of embossed leather, into which they would just fit; these had long straps to hang them on the wall or round the neck.

To give anything like a mere catalogue of these vast Irish monasteries would be wearisome; three or four of the best-known, however, may just be named.

The monastic school of Clonard, founded by St. Finnian, became one of the most famous of these great sixth-century Irish seminaries. Finnian was trained by refugee monks and bishops of the ancient British church in Wales. In this house, as already mentioned, the monks and students numbered as many as 3,000 at one time. Instruction seems to have been usually given in the open air, the pupils being seated around on the grassy slopes, so that a vast congregation of scholars could hear the lecturer's words. The famous founder of this illustrious school died somewhere about A.D. 550.

But Clonfert, founded by Brendan the navigator, so called from his love of travel, had a yet greater fame than even Clonard, and was said to have been even more frequented by students. St. Brendan died at the advanced age of ninety-four, in the year 577.

The school of Moville, at the head of Strangford Lough in Down, acquired at one period the greatest reputation on the continent of Europe. The abbots of Moville for about 200 years appear to have been bishops. After a time, however, the foreign fame of Moville was eclipsed by the reputation of the Irish Bangor, an enormous and renowned community founded by St. Comgall in Ulster, in 559. St. Bernard writes of this house as being "the head of many monasteries, a holy place, fruitful of saints; one of whom, named Luan, alone is reported to have been the founder of 100 monasteries." Its pupils are said to have been scattered over Ireland and Scotland, and poured over the continent like a flood.

One more of these renowned monasteries and schools, which flourished in the Ireland of the sixth and two following centuries with a lustre never equalled before or after, must be mentioned. The house of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois was founded in 544-548. The God's Acre of this monastery remained famous as a sacred burying-place for several centuries after its foundation. As a school it was celebrated far and wide. The scholar Alcuin, whom one great writer calls the "intellectual Prime Minister of Charlemagne," was a pupil of its head teacher, and, after he had attained the position of the foremost scholar in Europe, he addressed a letter to his old master at Clonmacnois, couched

* Adamnan, Life of Columba. Oxford edition, 1894.

in terms implying the utmost respect and deference. Alcuin sent an alms to his Irish house, and a quantity of olive oil, then a rare commodity in Ireland, to be distributed among the bishops for sacramental purposes.

This sketch of the Irish monastic church of the fifth and sixth centuries, organised by the ancient British church sheltered in Wales, will be fittingly closed with the following hymn, translated from the "Antiphonary of Bangor," the great religious house of Ulster, founded in 559 by St. Comgall; the monastery whence proceeded St. Columban and his companions, whose work and extraordinary success on the continent of Europe will be briefly told in the next chapter. The "Antiphonary," which contains this characteristic and striking hymn, is a splendid relic of the last quarter of the seventh century. It was written in Bangor in Ulster, and has been for 1,200 years absent from Ireland, where it was executed; it is now one of the treasures of the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

HYMN OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

(*From the Antiphonary of Bangor in Ulster*).

"The holy valiant deeds of sacred fathers
Based on the matchless Church of Benchor;
The noble deeds of abbots, their number, times, and names
Of never ending lustre. Hear, brothers, great their deserts,
Whom the Lord hath gathered to the mansions of His heavenly kingdom.

"Christ loved Comgill; well, too did he the Lord;
He held Beogna dear; He graced the ruler Aedh;
He chose the holy Sillan, a famous teacher of the world.
Whom the Lord hath gathered to the mansions of His heavenly kingdom.

"He made Finten accepted, an heir generous renowned;
He rendered Maclaisre illustrious, the chief of all abbots;
With a sacred torch He enlightened Segene,
A great Physician of Scripture,
Whom the Lord hath gathered to the mansions of His heavenly kingdom.

"Bercenus was a distinguished man; Cumine also had grace;
Columba a congenial shepherd; Aidan without complaint;
Baithene a worthy ruler; Crotan a chief President,
Whom the Lord hath gathered to the mansions of His heavenly kingdom.

"To these so excellent succeeded Caman, a man to be beloved by all,
Singing praises to Christ he now sits on high. That Cronan
The fifteenth may lay hold on life, the Lord preserve him,
Whom the Lord will gather to the mansions of His heavenly kingdom.

"The truest merits of these holy abbots
Meet for Comgill most exalted we invoke,
That we may blot out all our offences
Through Jesus Christ, who reigns for ages everlasting."

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE WORK OF THE EARLY IRISH (CELTIC) CHURCH.

Marked Spiritual Power of the Celtic Church—St. Columban, and his Network of Monasteries on the Continent of Europe—Luxeuil—Austerity of the Columban Rule—Reasons why replaced by the Benedictine—Double Monasteries—Their subsequent Decline—Pagan England—Columba—His Rank and Influence in Ireland—Bitter Quarrel with the King, and sanguinary Battle thence resulting—Columba's Remorse—Apparent Change in his Character—Adamnan's Biography—Columba's Mission to Britain—Iona—Wonderful Success of the Mission—Columba's Personality—His Versatility—Holiness of his Character—His Death—Creed of the Church in Columba's time.

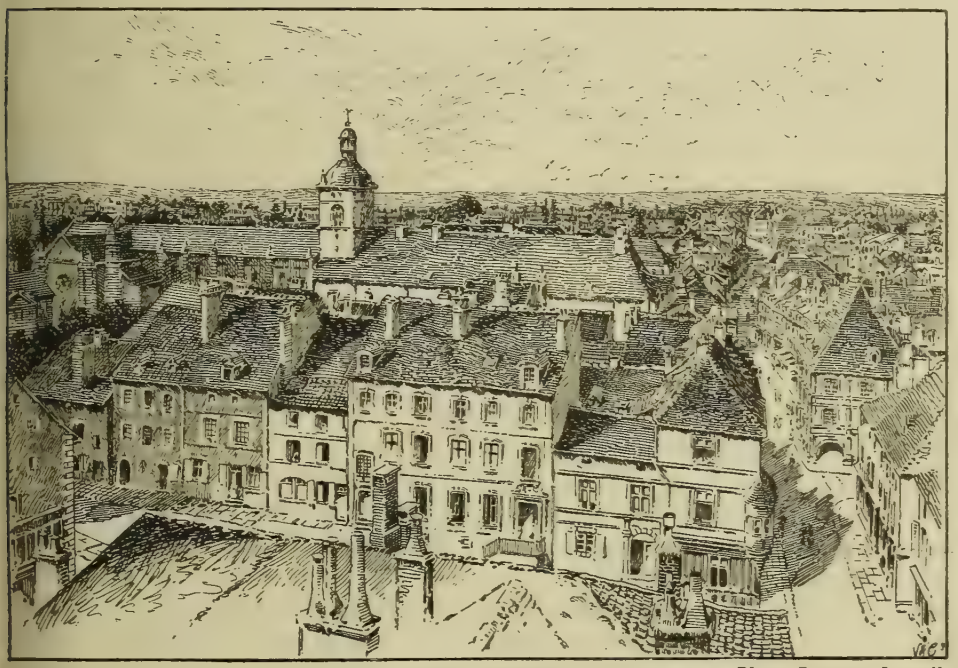
THE story of the church in Ireland in the sixth century, the result of the preaching and influence of the ancient British Church, reads like a romance. Its wonderfully rapid progress among the native population; its vast monastic institutions; the widespread work and influence of these communities; all this, as we have said, reads more like the recital of a dream than a chapter of sober history. But the account of the work of some of the Irish monks, trained in the monastic schools on which we have been dwelling, and the results of that work on the continent of Europe, is an even more marvellous story.

It must be told very briefly, for it leads us far away from Ireland or Britain; but it cannot be ignored, for it tells us who and what were the men trained in the ancient monasteries of our Church. It throws a strong light upon the spiritual power which must have dwelt in the Celtic church of our fathers in Ireland and in Britain—that Celtic church, the mother of the Church of England; and, also, it must never be forgotten that the impulse which stirred up the Irish people to do these mighty, far-reaching works, came from the old British Church. The first burning love for Christ lit by British missionaries, when dying out was ever kept alive by the constant visits of teachers from the west of Britain; the doctrines and subsequently completed organisation of Christian life in Ireland proceeded from the same source.

Christianity in this sixth century was, we are well aware, at its lowest ebb in many of the provinces of the dying Roman empire. The barbarous races who had settled in many provinces were still pagan, or, at least, very imperfectly instructed in Christianity; the old provincial inhabitants, impoverished and depressed, made but little way in the work of evangelising their conquerors. But a new impulse was given to the religion of the Crucified in these half Christian, half pagan provinces in the heart of the old Roman empire of the West, by an Irish monk who had been educated in the monastery of Bangor in Ulster, under the learned and saintly Comgall.

What decided the young monk Columban to leave Bangor, his loved home of prayer and study on the shores of the Atlantic, no one knows. Some mysterious impulse seems to have urged him to seek

a new habitation and a larger sphere of work in distant lands; perhaps the idea of founding another "Bangor" among the half pagan conquerors of the western Empire, decided him and twelve friends to undertake their strange and seemingly wild mission. They went not as preachers of the gospel, but only as monks who would show by their own austere lives "how to climb the rugged path," as they understood it, which leads to the city of God. They slowly wandered south, telling as they went their simple story; and as they went, seem to have been met generally with kindness, and by some of the Frankish chiefs were even generously welcomed. Eventually the Irish monks of Bangor settled at the foot of the Vosges Mountains, in the province which is now known as Alsace, in a desolate spot near the site of the Roman town of Anegratis, then a heap of ruins. Many disciples joined the little Irish band of monks; the first settlement soon was unable to contain them, and a second monastery became necessary.



LUXEUIL (1896). *Photo: Pattegay, Luxeuil.*

About eight miles from their first home, not far from the city now known as Besançon, among the ruins of the once fair Roman town of Luxovium (celebrated for its warm springs), a site was chosen for the new house. The forest around was strewn with the wrecks of marble statues and other remains of a great and wealthy health resort; amid these relics of the past arose the rough huts and little church of the Irish monastery of Luxeuil, soon to

be famous throughout the western world. A third monastery under Columban was soon founded in the same district, at a place called Fontaines.

The life lived by the stranger Irish monks in their three houses, their extreme austerities, the lofty ideal they presented, had, by the very sharpness of its contrast with the excesses and self-indulgence of that barbarous age,* a peculiar attraction for the Frankish and Burgundian warriors who had taken possession of the Vosges country. Disciples in great numbers, rich and poor, collected round the saintly Irish monk. He gradually became a power in the land, and dared publicly to rebuke the more conspicuous vices of the kings and princes; no threats affrighted him, and his fame grew with each succeeding year. He was surrounded by companions as earnest and capable as himself; among them were men like St. Gall and St. Deicola, whose names have gone down in history among those who have played a distinguished part in influencing the course of events.

Continued reinforcements from the great Irish monasteries, whose rapid rise we have already briefly sketched, enabled Columban to make fresh, and ever fresh, settlements. It is, indeed, a wondrous story. From those rough groups of huts and poor churches erected by the friendless, homeless, landless children of the ancient British Church in Ireland, sprang, in an incredibly short space of time, that mighty network monastic establishments, owning the ru of Columban the monk, of the Irish Ba gor, which extended from Luxeuil in t Vosges, southward to the Lake of Gene and the Lake of Zurich; far to the nor and north-west to the shores of what have named the English Channel and t North Sea, where the chain of his co munities stretched from the Seine to t Scheldt. Many of the most famous mona teries of central and northern Europ which played so great a part in mediæv history for several eventful centuries, we founded by Columban and his companion They were dotted over western German Switzerland, France, and the Low Cou tries; not a few of those great religio houses where the lamp of religion a learning was kept brightly burning duri several hundred stormy years of wars a confusion and trouble, were the afte fruits of the prayers and labours Columban and his noble band of worke The student of history, as he reads t many-coloured, saddening chronicles the Middle Ages, and pauses with admi tion and surprise as he comes upon t noble record of Remiremont and Vandrille, Fontenelle, Jumièges, and Riquier; of Sithiu and St. Omer; Kempten, and Bobbio, and, greatest all, St. Gallen, remembers with astonis ment that all these mighty foundatic to which Christianity and culture o so deep a debt, were the undoubted wo of St. Columban and his Irish discipl to whom the foundation of these numer and influential communities is owi That ancient British Church, whose p fugitives in Wales had accomplished

* This was probably the cause in great measure, as well as the partial justification, of monasticism. Even its false and exaggerated ideal, so long as it was really lived up to, was a protest against the impurity and licence around, which outweighed much evil. The subject will be discussed at more length when the suppression of the monasteries in the sixteenth century comes to be treated.

vast and so permanent a work in Ireland, and, through Ireland, not only in conquered pagan Britain, but on the broad continent of Western Europe — this ancient British Church before the Saxon conquest, of which we know so little, must verily have been a power greater, grander, nobler, than modern writers of history have usually chosen to paint it.

To return now for a short space to Columban the Irishman and the mother house of Luxeuil. In a comparatively short time after its foundation, Columban's monastery attained to the climax of its greatness and prosperity. Under the government of its second abbot, St. Eustace, between the years 610-625, it became the monastic capital of all the countries under Frankish rule. Through this seventh century it was the most celebrated school of Christendom, and the most frequented. The children of the noblest Frank and Burgundian families crowded to it; the most famous cities of the south provinces of Gaul—such as Lyons, Autun, Strasbourg — sent their youth thither. Every year saw the rise of some religious house, peopled and founded by the children of Luxeuil, and numberless sees sought as bishops men trained in this world-famous centre. Ecclesiastical writers proudly enumerated twenty-one of the alumni of Luxeuil, who received after death the honours of canonisation.

Under the presidency of Walbert, the third abbot, the house was made exempt from all episcopal authority, by an act of Pope John IV. (A.D. 641). In Walbert's abbacy the permanent garrison of the monastic citadel of Luxeuil amounted to 600 monks. Missionaries, solitary or in parties, were constantly issuing forth to found new monastic colonies at a distance, who were to live under the stern grave "rule" devised by Columban.

This "rule," extraordinarily ascetic in character, no doubt gave to the Christianity preached by the monks of Luxeuil a force, a passion, a restless, resistless energy such as had not been known before since the first ages of the faith. But its extreme severity made life too hard, too difficult for ordinary men and women. When the first fervour inspired by its founder and his immediate pupils died down with the lives of these eminent saints, the next generation sought a somewhat easier rule, and sheltered themselves under the great shadow of Benedict and the teachers of his famous Order, who preached also a strict, self-denying life, but one infinitely easier to aim at than the utter abnegation and suppression of self insisted on by the Irish Columban, and by Gall and Deicola, his life-long friends.

The rule of Luxeuil, devised by the Irish Columban, among other peculiarly harsh requirements for its monks, insisted upon an absolute and passive obedience to the presiding officers of the house. There was no reservation here as in the case of the Benedictines. Perfect silence was also imposed upon the brethren except for useful and necessary causes. In the matter of food, the rule prescribed the most austere diet conceivable with the preservation of health. Benedict granted meat to the weak and ailing, and even a small measure of wine (this injunction was afterwards too much relaxed among the Benedictines). Columban

allowed for the sickly as for the healthy, only pulse meal, moistened with water, and a small loaf. The monks of Luxeuil and its crowd of daughter houses, were to eat only in the evening; fasting was to be a daily exercise, like work, prayer, or reading. Fish, however, was not entirely prohibited.

These excessive severities at first discouraged no one. His army of disciples increased day by day, the sanctuaries they founded far away from Luxeuil became more and more numerous. His wondrous influence ceased only with his life. But the strong fascination which called out from the world this mighty army of "toilers for God," all following in good earnest the rugged and painful path they had marked out for themselves towards a heavenly city, was possessed only in a lesser degree by Columban's successors. The "rule" of Benedict, less severe, gradually superseded the "rule" of the great Irish monk in all the many monasteries of Columban; and when the Council of Autun sat in 670, only fifty-five years after the death of the mighty monk of Irish Bangor, throughout the countless houses which looked on Columban as their founder, no "rule" save that of Benedict seems to have been recognised. No doubt the exaggerated austerity of Luxeuil was found too hard and too difficult to enforce, and this in large measure contributed to the substitution of the easier yoke and lighter burden of Benedict.

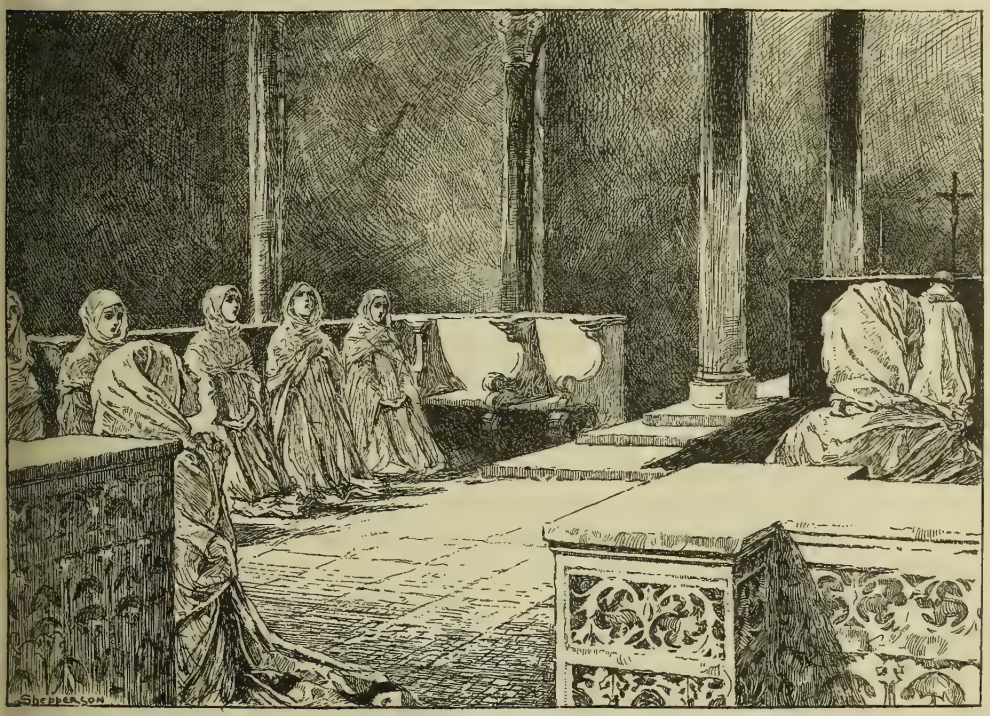
KILDARE CATHEDRAL.

But another and more potent factor must be sought for, which brought about a state of things that in less than a century, in his own "houses," eclipsed the rule and dimmed the name and fame of Columban, and changed that vast network of Columban Celtic monasteries into Benedictine Roman communities. It was the same mighty influence we shall find at work later in Britain, which for good or evil gave the sovereign "imprimatur" to the work of the Italian Benedict rather than to the labours of the Irish Columban; which chose the Roman rather than the Celtic spirit to guide and mould the newly-awakened Christianity. It was the sovereign will of imperious Rome that the Italian Benedict, not our own Irish Columban, the disciple of the ancient British Church and the inheritor

of its hallowed traditions, should be revered and honoured as the great apostle of the monastic Christianity of the future.

Before laying aside the charmed story of the mighty and far-reaching work of the Irish monks on the continent of Europe, a brief notice must be given of the introduction of one of the peculiarly Celtic customs—that of the double monastery—which St. Bridget seems first to have introduced on a large scale in her holy house of Kildare in the end of the fifth century.

A few leagues north of Luxeuil in the Southern Vosges, on the slopes of a mountain by the Moselle, in the seventh century rose the castle of Romaric, a noble of vast wealth, and occupying a high position at the court of Clotaire II., king of the Franks. The heart of Romaric was touched by the words and friendship of the well-known Luxeuil monk, Amatus. He gave his vast possessions to the poor; and on the site of his castle on the hill by the Moselle he built a church, and then established round his church the greatest female monastery that had hitherto been known in Gaul, named after himself, "Romarici Mons," known so well in mediæval story as Remiremont; this was in 620. Enormous gifts were presented to the new foundation by successive Frankish




"LAUS PERENNIS" (*p.* 58).

kings and wealthy nobles; Remiremont soon became for women what Luxeuil already was for men. The number of nuns in this holy house was so great that the "*Laus perennis*" (the service of perpetual praise) was organised there, and kept up by means of seven choirs of nuns, who relieved each other in succession, so that not for one moment, day or night, was there an intermission in the solemn devotions believed in those days to be peculiarly acceptable as service to the Almighty.

There were two monasteries at Remiremont, one for monks and one for nuns, connected with each other, but with a special Superior for each of the communities. This was also the case at Jouarre, Faremoutiers, and at several other great foundations for women. The ranks of these nuns, whose life-long sacrifice is praised in the "Liturgy," where prayer is asked for the people and the clergy, and a special intercession is added for all consecrated women, "*ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo sexu*," increased every day.

It was in these great foundations of Gaul, which sprang up under the immediate influence of the Irish Columban and his disciples, that the famous idea of a *double* monastery, for monk and nun, struck root on the Continent of Europe. This singular custom, of which in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries we have many notable instances, was evidently a Celtic one. At Remiremont the abbot had the supreme government; but in other instances, apparently in the majority of instances of these double houses, the abbess—as in the case of St. Bridget at Kildare and St. Hilda at Whitby—was supreme.

The case of St. Hilda, as we shall presently see, was a very notable one. Montalembert pleads for this strange union of the sexes in the double monasteries, and recalls the comparatively late example afforded by the solitaries of Port Royal during their sojourn near the nuns of that celebrated valley. Michelet curiously defends it thus: "The vicinity of the monasteries, the abuses of which have been certainly exaggerated, created between the brethren and the sisters a happy emulation of study as well as of piety. The men tempered their seriousness by sharing in the moral graces of the women. They, on their side, took from the austere asceticism of the men a noble flight towards divine things. Both, according to the noble expression of Bossuet, helped each other *to climb the narrow path*."

The custom appears to come, in the first instance, from that great home of monasticism, Ireland. St. Bridget (A.D. 450-523) founded in her native Ireland the first Irish female monastery, known as Kildare—"the cell of the oak." Her early biographer, St. Cogitosus, who wrote in 800-835 (some scholars give even an earlier date), tells us "how, when innumerable people of both sexes flocked to her from all the provinces of Ireland, she erected on the plain of Life or Liffey, on the sure foundation of faith, a monastery which is the head of nearly all the Irish churches, and the pinnacle towering above all monasteries of the Scots, whose jurisdiction (*parochia*) spread throughout the whole Hibernian land, reaching from sea to sea." This establishment of St. Bridget's at Kildare comprehended both sexes, who were divided from each other

in the cathedral of Kildare by a partition. This foundation of the great Irish female saint was no doubt the example followed by Columban, the Irish missionary, the great founder of Gallic monasticism.

Innumerable convents of women trace their origin to Bridget, abbess of Kildare. Wherever Irish monks have worked, says Montalembert, from Cologne to Seville, churches have been raised in her honour. In England the influence and power of these abbesses of double houses for a time was enormous; but, as we shall have to relate, they were alien to the spirit of that Roman form of Christianity which, after a short, sharp struggle with the Celtic form of Christianity, prevailed; and gradually these double houses, once so notable a feature in monasticism, and which exercised upon the Christianity of the sixth and following centuries so vast an influence, disappeared altogether.

When the events next to be related were taking place, the race of invaders who were to stamp their afterwards famous name on the people that sprang from the union of the various Northern conquerors of Britain, had well-nigh done their work. "The men whose special work it was to colonise Mid-Britain, as well as to win for their own the vast regions between the Firth of Forth and the Humber, were drawn from a tribe whose name was destined to absorb that of Saxon and Jute. These were the Angles or Engles or Englishmen."

They landed on the East coast of Britain about the year 480, and their conquering work was well-nigh completed before 563, in which year the devoted Irish missionary Columba set his foot for the first time on the barren, sea-washed island of Iona (Hy). In A.D. 563 the Englishman was really master of the great tract of Britain which lay between the Humber and the Firth of Forth, and which was soon known as the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, including all the land north of the Humber. From all this part of Britain Christianity had wholly disappeared; among the settlers by the banks of the rivers we know as the Humber, the Tees, and the Tyne, by the year 563 the worship of Woden was as firmly established as it was by the Elbe and the Weser, or on the shores of North Germany, washed by the Baltic and the Northern seas.

The supremacy of Woden in the lands north of the Humber endured for some 130 years. After this dreary period of perpetual wars—first of conquest, then of ceaseless strife among the conquerors—the religion of Christ with extraordinary rapidity won its way among the Angle settlers in Northumbria. A new era began, and with Christianity a period of comparative tranquillity succeeded to the long and weary age we shall have shortly to describe. From Northumberland the faith spread to the Midland and Southern districts of the conquered island; and before the middle of the seventh century well-nigh all the land possessed by Angle, Saxon, and Jute was again Christian.

The first great instrument of this strange conversion of a whole people was an Irishman named Columba. Once more our story takes us back to that island in the Atlantic so long unknown to history, so long reckoned by the Roman world as

barbaric, but which for weal and woe has exercised so mighty, so enduring an influence over the fortunes of the Anglo-Saxon race. Once more we must concentrate our thoughts upon that marvellous monastic life which had taken possession of Ireland, that strange monastic form of Christianity, as it has been well termed, "alike in temper and in form, but which in a hundred different ways leavened the entire Christianity of the West; which threw itself with a fiery zeal into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling in upon the Christian world"; which attacked heathenism with a zeal and with a success militant Christianity had never known before since the apostolic age.

Few have brought themselves to acknowledge the mighty debt which England and the Christian world owe to Ireland. Few have taken the pains to unravel the details of the story, perhaps the most marvellous page of Christian history. Men have forgotten the work of the Celt. As we shall see, it is a somewhat sad story; for it was the Celtic Christians who played the part of devoted and successful pioneers, while others entered into and reaped the fruit of their toils.

It was in the sacred enclosure of one of those monasteries in Ireland we have been describing, that a youth, who sprang from an important house whose chief exercised the over-lordship among many Irish chieftains, grew up in the first half of the sixth century, under the tutelage of Finnian of Moville, one of those rare souls to whose devotion and fervour the fame of these remarkable communities of prayer and teaching is so largely owing. His name Columba (or as his countrymen have loved to call him, Columb-kill: the dove of the cells) was borrowed from the Latin; it was a symbolical name, which signified the "dove of the Holy Ghost." Cell or Cells was probably added subsequently, and recalled to memory the number of religious communities founded by him. Besides in the school of Moville, he studied in the monastery of the other and yet greater Finnian at Clonard, who sent him to Etchen, bishop of Clonfad, for ordination. Etchen was at the plough, the probably true story tells us, when Columba came to him; and this curious little memory of the saint's early student life throws light upon the humble position which an Irish bishop of the sixth century might occupy. Further training the future apostle of Caledonia received from an old bard, Gemmain, who taught the young scholar to love the traditions and poetry of Ireland.

Columba himself seems to have been no mean bard, and several poems said to have been composed by him have come down to us. He wrote in Latin as well as in his native Irish. At a comparatively early age he acquired great influence among his countrymen. Many circumstances helped him to gather round his person a band of enthusiastic friends. His learning, and the bardic gift of song which he possessed, was a key that opened many hearts of his ever-impressionable countrymen; his wild and passionate devotion, too, contributed to win him that strange power which he evidently possessed over the souls of so many men and women. His high birth, closely allied as he was to

the royal house which exercised overlordship among the native Irish chieftains, gave him a peculiar position of authority among the crowd of young and devoted

MONASTIC HUSBANDRY.

men who were growing up under the shadow of the strange monastic schools of that extraordinary age. It is not unlikely, however, that to the accident of his royal birth, and to the natural reverence and respect which his fellow-students paid him as one of their princes, was owing that petulance and impatience of contradiction which seem to have led him in the earlier portion of his life into the commission of high-handed, unchristian acts, of which he bitterly repented in after years.

Before Columba had reached the age of twenty-five, the records of his early days relate how he presided over a crowd of monasteries. As many as thirty-seven of these religious houses in Ireland recognised

him as their founder; among these, Durrow, Derry, and Kells are specially famous. For Derry, a smaller foundation, and its holy house, the great missionary ever retained a deep affection. Some of his lines telling of this love are still preserved—

> "The reason why I love Derry is,
> For its quietness, for its purity;
> For 'tis full of angels white."

For some twenty years after reaching manhood, roughly between the years 540 and 563, Columba was evidently one of the leading spirits in Ireland of the great monastic development of Christianity, in which literary labours—including poetry, art, and the study of languages, as well as theology and its deep soul-stirring inquiries—played so distinguished a part. These literary labours of the great monastics of Ireland, a few years later made the fame of the remote island in the Atlantic, so long despised and looked upon as barbarian and hopelessly illiterate, ring through cultured Europe, and raised Ireland into the position of a great home of learning, the resort of students from all parts of the continent of northern and even central Europe.

Tradition even relates how two of the most ancient and beautiful of the Irish manuscripts remaining to us were the work of Columba's own hands: the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells.* Modern experts somewhat hesitatingly ascribe these books to a rather later date than the first half of the sixth century, when Columba lived; but the ancient tradition, very possibly a true one, shows us how broad were Columba's sympathies in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen. He was not merely the fervid preacher, not merely one of the skilled, wise organisers of that strange monastic life which exercised so great an influence on Christianity at an age when the true faith seemed everywhere waning, but also the patient, unwearied student of the Divine Word, the tireless scribe, and even the trained artist.

The circumstances are variously related which led to Columba leaving his beloved country and beginning a new life as the ardent and devoted missionary apostle in the neighbouring country of North Britain, where Christianity was almost unknown, and where a struggling Irish colony had been planted among the nation of pagan Picts some forty years before. Some of his biographers are evidently loth to ascribe any motive to the "saint" save the loftiest, and are perhaps unwilling to take cognisance of what the noble Columba himself recognised—his guilt in the matter of the bloody war with the over-king Diarmait. But Columba himself very evidently looked upon his banishment and new hard life among the wild Picts of North Britain in the light of a life-long expiation for a deadly sin. Abbot Adamnan's words have been quoted as suggesting the only possible motive for his missionary enterprise: "He journeyed forth, simply longing to wander abroad for Christ's sake." But it is surely consistent with the theory of a life-long expiation to describe the state of mind which drove him into desolate and unfriendly lands to win souls to his Master's side, as an impulse urging him to dare and to suffer for Christ's sake.

Columba was about forty years old when the bitter quarrel arose between himself

* See previous chapter.

and the over-king of Ireland—the quarrel whose fatal consequences induced the grief and sorrow which drove him out of his beloved Ireland, which made him the apostle of the wild Picts, the founder of the holy house of Iona, that mother house of the Church of England. A young scion of the reigning house of Connaught, a kinsman of Columba, had the misfortune, accidentally, to kill a playfellow in the sports at the royal city of Tara. He fled for protection to Columba; but the over-king seized the boy prince and put him to death. Columba was enraged at the public affront, as well as being sorely grieved at the death of his boy-friend and relation, and threatened the king with prompt vengeance.

But other causes of mutual irritation existed, and a curious story is preserved to account for this fatal enmity between the over-king and the famous monk. It is interesting, for it throws light on the passionate literary instincts of this remarkable far-back age in Ireland. Columba's love for books and rare MSS. and his taste and skill in illuminating and transcribing, have been alluded to already. When visiting his old master St. Finnian at the monastic schools of Moville, he found a precious copy of the Psalms. The more valuable and interesting of such books seem to have been preserved and guarded with jealous care. Unknown to St. Finnian, Columba made a copy of this Psalter; whether its value consisted in the beauty of the illumination or the preciousness of the text, we have no knowledge. Finnian was angry, however, that Columba had dared to copy his precious volume without his permission, and claimed the copy as his own. The claim was referred for decision to the over-king, who gave it in favour of the Abbot of Moville. His judgment, awarding the daughter volume to the possessor of the original from which the copy was made, passed into a famous Irish proverb, "To every cow her calf."

These grievances, and others doubtless of which no record has been preserved, laid the foundation of an irreconcilable feud; Columba fled from Tara for his life, and one of his remarkable poems in the ancient Irish tongue, telling the story of this flight, has been preserved. Some of the thoughts, even in the rough translation, are singular and beautiful. and are worthy of record. They show how strongly the monastic life and its symbols coloured all the thoughts and expressions of teachers like Columba, even when they were speaking of the highest mysteries of the faith.

"Alone am I on the mountain,
O royal sun; prosper my path,
And then I shall have nothing to fear.
Were I guarded by six thousand,
In no fortress would I be safe.

* * * * *

But God's elect are safe,
Even in the front of battle,
He in whom we trust,
The King who has made us all,
Who will not leave me to-night without refuge.
I adore not the voice of birds
Nor chance, nor the love of a son or a wife;
My Druid is Christ, the Son of God,
The Son of Mary, the Great Abbot,
The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.
My lands are with the King of Kings,
My order at Kells and at Moone."*

The hatred between the monk and the king ended in a disastrous war; a bloody

* The references to Christ as a Druid, and as the Great Abbot, are singular. The "Moone" referred

battle is recorded to have taken place between the friends and clansmen of Columba and the vassals of the over-king at a place called Culdreimhne. The victory remained with the partisans of the monk, who, with awful earnestness, fasted and prayed for the success of his party; there was certainly much blood shed, and the king and his followers fled in confusion to Tara.

The vindictive conduct of Columba in this matter was severely criticised, and a synod subsequently convoked at Tara excommunicated him. The sentence was, however, soon revoked through the influence of the famous St. Brendan, surnamed the Navigator, one of his dearest friends, who is said to have pleaded for Columba with intense fervour. But it appears certain that from this moment a new spirit entered into the wayward, impetuous, and passionate monk; a bitter remorse troubled his soul; he could not forgive himself for the blood he had caused to be shed, in what he saw now was his own private quarrel. We hear of him wandering from solitude to solitude, from monastery to monastery, asking one or other of the great Christian teachers of Ireland what he should do to obtain God's pardon for his awful sin.

A saintly confessor, who is spoken of as his soul-friend, known in Irish story as St. Molaise, of Innishmurry on the Sligo coast, famed for his profound studies in Holy Scripture, indicated to him how he could find the peace he sought. He must become a perpetual exile from the land he loved so passionately, and where he had done so many illustrious deeds, and had so many friends and followers, and live a life in heathen lands, winning to the Christian faith as many heathen souls as there were Christians slain in the bloody battle of which he had been the instigator. Columba, we read, bowed with sad resignation to this stern sentence. "What you have commanded," he said, "shall be done."

Columba is the religious hero of the Celtic races. No name, not even that of St. Patrick, has received such veneration in subsequent ages, and deservedly so; for not only the wild and imperfectly civilised Picts, who owned that great country we know as Scotland, eventually became Christian through his missionary labours; but the subsequent evangelisation of conquered Britain—our England—was in a great measure the work of Columba's immediate disciples. Englishmen have good reason indeed to think on his name with reverence and love.

In the many-coloured story of the heroes of our Church, Columba must hold the foremost place. His early life has been sketched. It will ever be a difficult task to present a vivid picture of the first forty years of the life of this great toiler for God. The historian has to wade through a maze of curious and partly-legendary narratives; and the figure which emerges from the maze seems half saint, half sinner — a brilliant and wayward personality, evidently burning with zeal to do a great work for God, but constantly swayed and influenced by worldly con-

to is in the county of Kildare, where the abbatical Cross of Columba is preserved. The rendering of this most ancient poem is translated from Montalembert (*Monks of the West*), from the version of Dr. Reeves, with some slight modifications."

siderations, by national and tribal jealousies, by personal ambition and passion, all struggling for the mastery. To-day, for instance, he is the ascetic monk, the earnest and devoted scholar, gathering round him a vast company of his faithful kinsmen and enthusiastic countrymen in rough and lowly cells of a great Irish monastery; to-morrow he is the haughty and passionate chieftain, chafing under the memory of some real or imaginary affront or wrong, and if not the actual leader in a war of vengeance, certainly the guiding spirit among fierce Irish clansmen, only too eager for the fray.

COLUMBA EMBARKING FOR SCOTLAND. (*See p.* 67.)

But all this came to an end soon after Columba's fortieth year. The two natures of this strange man ceased to come in conflict one with the other. There was evidently a mighty soul-struggle; but the

victory remained with the nobler nature, and the second half of the life of the famous founder of the world-renowned Iona monastery was wholly given up to the high service of his adored master, Jesus. It seems as though of a sudden a bitter, stinging sorrow for the evil his passionate and jealous nature had wrought among thoughtless and excitable men, had determined him to fly the scene of his former power, and to seek a new home and a new work, where he might spend himself—far away from the old scenes of his temptation and his fall—wholly for God.

We have for the second and more eventful portion of his life an admirable witness in the beautiful biography of the monk Adamnan. No longer dependent upon partly-uncertain and half-legendary sources, our chief guide in forming an accurate estimate of a life which has exercised so measureless an influence on the fortunes of England, is the memoir of a calm, thoughtful, pious monk, who subsequently succeeded to the abbot's chair in the Iona monastery, and who must have talked with men who knew Columba.

Adamnan was not merely a holy monk, given up to ascetic practices, to meditation, and to prayer; he was all this, but, in addition, was a man of varied learning. We know that he could write Latin, and was, besides, a Hebrew and Greek scholar. Men of the type of Bede, Alcuin, and others, by no means likely to write very exaggerated praises of a Celtic scholar monk, bear high testimony to his learning and goodness. This Adamnan was born in 624, only twenty-seven years after the death of Columba. His work is based upon a still earlier narrative, written by another abbot of Iona—Cummian, and reproduced almost word for word by Adamnan. It is, unfortunately, without any chronological order; but, as Montalembert remarks, it is "*un des monuments les plus vivants, les plus attrayants, et les plus authentiques de l'histoire Chrétienne.*" Well-known Irish scholars, such as Dr. Reeves, form a like high opinion of this most important document. Dr. Reeves speaks of it as an inestimable literary relic of the Irish church, perhaps, with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time. It is one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence.

The Duke of Argyll's estimate of the almost "contemporary" record of the greatest figure in the early history of our church is interesting:—"We find in 'Adamnan's Life of Columba' not only the firm foot-hold of history, but the vivid portraiture of an individual man. Not one historical character of the time is in any similar degree known to us. On one spot, and one spot only, of British soil there shines in this dark time a light, more vivid even than the light of common history—the light of personal anecdote and of domestic narrative. When we land upon Iona, we feel that we are treading in the very footsteps of a man whom we have known in voice, in gesture, in habits, and in many peculiarities of character; and yet of a man who walked on the same ground before the Heptarchy, when Roman cities still stood in Britain, and when the ancient Christianised Celts of Britain were maintaining a doubtful contest with Teutonic heathenism." With

this curious and authentic document of Adamnan before us, we can draw a real and vivid picture of Columba's life and work after he left Ireland, in 563, for what we have termed his great mission of expiation.

Columba chose for the scene of his new life and work the neighbouring coasts of North Britain. Some forty years before an Irish colony, under stress of famine, had emigrated from Ireland, and had settled along the coast and in the islands of Scotland (we adopt the well-known comparatively modern term), north of the mouth of the Clyde, in the district which has since taken the name of Argyll. These settlers called the district which they made their new home, Dalriada, after the name of their old province in the north-east of Ireland. These Dalriadans belonged to the clan of Columba, and were thus kinsmen of the famous missionary monk. Lately they had experienced a grave reverse of fortune (A.D. 560), when Brude, the king of the Picts, had driven them into the peninsula of Kintyre and other parts most remote from the mainland, and, at the same time, had slain their king. Their Christianity, too, seemed dying out. It was among these, his kinsmen, weakened and impoverished in body and soul, that Columba determined to dwell, and to light anew the dying torch of the faith.

It was in the year 563 that, with some twelve companions, chosen out of the ranks of his dearest friends, Columba embarked for the shores of North Britain in one of those great boats of osier covered with hide, common among these Celtic peoples. It was only a short voyage, and the little band landed upon the desolate island of Oronsay; but, climbing a hill in the island, he caught sight of the Irish mountains beyond the narrow sea they had just crossed, and this fact determined him to seek another site for his new home. He would not live in a spot whence he could see the Ireland he loved so ardently, and which he thought and hoped he had left for ever. This passionate attachment to his fatherland he never lost; again and again, we find touching allusions to it in his new life. In some of those fragments of verse—still extant—attributed to him, we have ever and anon references to this love for his old home in sad lines, as—

> "O Arran, my sun, my heart is in the West with thee."
>
> "To live within the sound of thy bells is to live in joy."

It appears, too, often in simple, sad memories like these: "In Iona once he called one of his monks and said to him, 'Go and seat thyself by the sea on the western shore; there thou wilt see arrive from Ireland a travelling stork, long beaten by the winds and worn out with fatigue. Take up the poor bird with pity, feed her and watch her three days. When she is refreshed and strengthened she will no longer wish to prolong her exile among us; she will fly to sweet Ireland, her dear country, where she was born. I bid thee care for her thus because she comes from the land where I, too, was born.'" Adamnan goes on to say that the stork was sheltered and fed, and, on the third day after, the monks watched her fly back over the sea to her old home in Ireland.

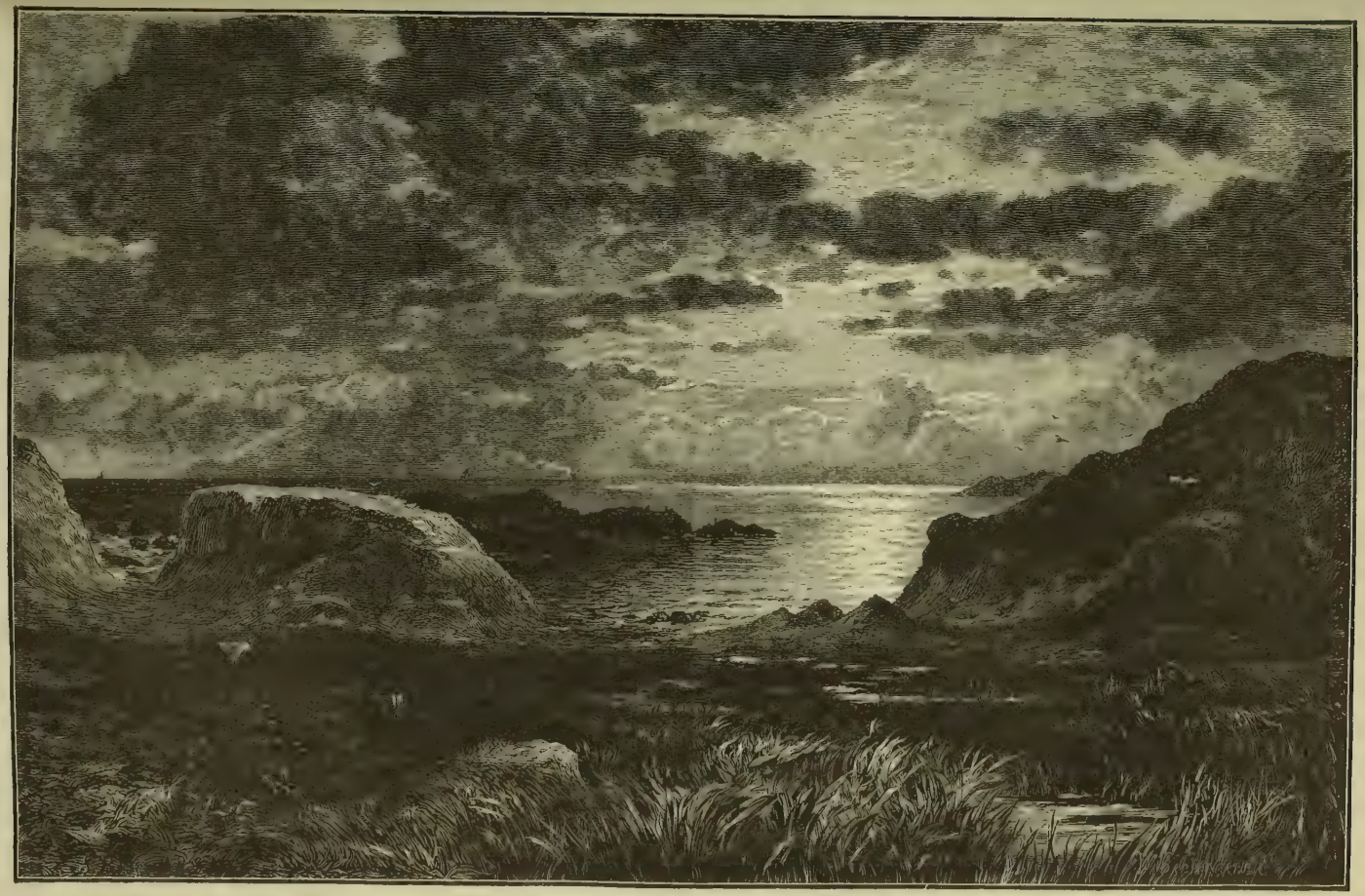
He chose, finally, the desolate island of Hii for the establishment of his new

monastery. Hii, or Hy, is a small and lonely island, three miles long by one mile and a half broad. Only the eastern part was fitted for cultivation, while the thin pasturage of the western coast was often covered with drifting sand. The surface is uneven, but the low hills never rise over 300 to 350 feet, and from none of them is the Irish coast visible. This seems to have been the chief point of attraction in the home-sick Columba's eyes. Iona is separated from the Ross of Mull by a strait about a mile across. This arm of sea no doubt helped the monk colony considerably; Adamnan speaks of it as abounding in fish.

It is curious to observe the effect which this west coast of Scotland has on different minds. We are familiar with the glowing descriptions of its brilliant colouring, its blue and misty mountains, its seas beautiful alike in storm and calm, though with a different and ever-changing loveliness, in the glowing pictures of that famous word-painter and novelist, who in his own peculiar winning way is never tired of dilating upon the exquisite landscapes and seascapes of what to him is verily a charmed land. Yet the eloquent and ever-fascinating historian of the western monks, the Frenchman Montalembert, can scarcely find words sombre enough to describe what was to him a country of gloom and mists. He paints, too, the same Hebridean archipelago, which he tells us "is picturesque without charm and grand without grace." He writes of the dull and sullen waters which washed Columba's Isle as entirely colourless and hopelessly forlorn, and as only lit up on rare days by the pale northern sun. The sandy beach, the little plain covered with scanty prickly grass, the low desolate hills, washed by the grey waters of a sullen sea, were all Montalembert could discern in the famous island of Columba's choice. The old barbarian name was in Irish writings Ia or I. The Latin writers and the Saxon chronicles usually call it Hii; Adamnan seems to have turned the old name into an adjective, Ioua insula, which gradually was corrupted into the more melodious sound of Iona, by which name the holy house founded by Columba is known through all the Christian world of the west. Some fancifully connect the Hebrew word signifying a dove (Columba) "Yona" with the more musical name of Iona; nor is it improbable that some very early monk-scholar suggested the curious and suggestive play on the old adjective used by Adamnan.

But beautiful or ugly as different eyes or varying tempers view the Isle of Columba, where he built his first rough group of monastic dwellings, Iona will ever rank among those few world-renowned sanctuaries whence men have issued, whose work has largely influenced the story of the nations. We in England recognise—somewhat grudgingly—our debt of gratitude, and perhaps with difficulty bring ourselves to acknowledge that to the work of Columba and his disciples, the monks of Iona, is primarily owing all that is good and great, strong and enduring, in our Anglo-Saxon peoples.

The bay where Columba landed is still called "the bay of the osier bark" (Port-na-Churaich). The site chosen for the little monastery was on the east of the island opposite the great island of Mull. From



PORT-NA-CHURAICH, WHERE COLUMBA LANDED.

Adamnan we learn that the first buildings erected for the band of strange monks were made of wood and wattles. No mention occurs of any stone buildings in Iona for many years, save perhaps the "kiln." A rude church "oratorium" was built, but even this sacred oratory was at first constructed of the same rough and perishable materials. Somewhat later an "oratorium" of oak brought from a distance was substituted. Some bee-hive cells and other stone buildings of a monastery founded by Columba in the little Isle of Saints, shortly after the first building of Iona, still however remain, but no vestige of the original Iona has been preserved. The present ruins of the mediæval monastery no doubt occupy the original site of the first rude huts and the other equally simple structures.

The small community of twelve quickly grew. The name of Columba, already famous, his remarkable austerities, and his singular power over men, brought over many from Ireland who wished to share in his life and work. The great missionary lived alone in a rough plank hut, sleeping on a hard floor with a stone for his pillow, and this way of living he never changed; ceaseless work of various kinds, only interrupted by prolonged prayer, filled his life. When he was not preaching or sharing in the outdoor labours of his monks, he was studying the meaning of holy Scripture or making fresh copies of the sacred text. Tradition affirms that he made with his own hands three hundred copies of the Gospels.

For the first two years after settling at Iona, he and his companion laboured with untiring zeal among his Dalriadan kinsmen in the immediate neighbourhood of Argyllshire, re-lighting the torch of the faith, which, as we have said, was burning very dimly among these Irish settlers. After the first two years began his more important work among the Picts. No Christian missionary before Columba had ever penetrated into the Highlands, and many strange stories are told of his preaching among this wild people. Near the modern Inverness dwelt the Pictish king Brude, who became, if not a professing Christian, at least Columba's friend and protector. Many converts were made among these heathen half-barbarian folk; the number of churches dedicated to St. Columba, in the neighbourhood of king Brude's royal residence, still bears witness to the remarkable influence of the missionary. It needed more than thirty years of unremitting toil, however, to accomplish these ends. The number of churches, each surrounded by its colony of monks, large or small, in many districts of Scotland is variously estimated. "Modern learning," says Montalembert, "has discovered and registered the existence of ninety of these monastic churches. Traces of fifty-three of them still remain in modern Scotland."

The narrow limits of the island and of the original holy house of Iona, very soon were too small for the ever multiplying crowd of disciples who flocked thither, drawn by the name and growing influence of Columba. Into the neighbouring isles, through the hills and valleys inhabited by the Picts, fresh and ever fresh little companies were constantly going forth, planting new religious communities on the same lines as the mother house of Iona, all under the supremacy of the great missionary monk, and bearing the name of "Familia

Columba-cillae." Some traditions even attribute 300 of such foundations to him and his disciples. This number is probably exaggerated, but that these communities were very numerous and scattered all over the country, is indisputable. Although it would be vain to assert that Scotland was Christian before Columba passed away, it is clear that the existence of so many houses of the "family of Columba," dotted over the land, each with their church, the monks busied, some in works of agriculture, others in preaching, teaching, or study, must have exercised an enormous power for good in the hitherto barbarous and pagan Scotland.

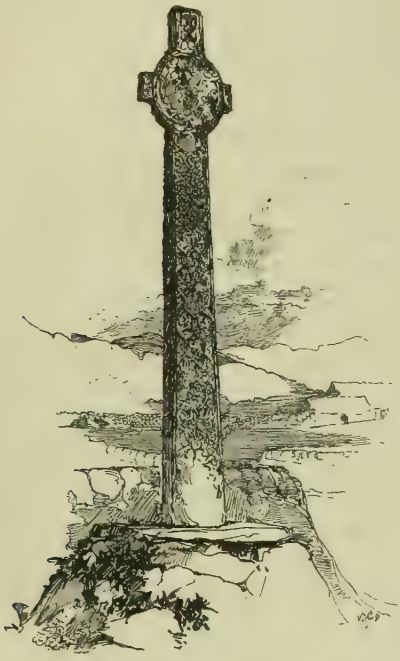
All these widespread and ever-growing influences, of course, tended to invest the mother house of Iona, the special home of the indefatigable head of this vast and scattered family of "religious," with a peculiar sanctity, which it continued to preserve long after the death of the holy founder. It had reached its highest point of fame about forty years after his death, when the English king of Northumbria summoned from the cells of the Iona monastery teachers and missionaries who should bring the message of the Cross into the broad lands won by the conquering Angle in Britain, north of the Humber. The mighty work of Aidan the monk, sent forth from Iona in the seventh century (635) into Engle-land—a story hereafter to be told—was the splendid fruit of the lifelong devotion and commanding genius of Columba. The Columban church first planted in Iona, afterwards embraced the whole region north of the Firths of Forth and of Clyde, besides giving to the Angles of Northumbria, through St. Aidan, Celtic Christianity and Celtic art. "The Lindisfarne gospels and many sculptured crosses, and other works of the Celtic school, remain as abiding monuments of the source whence we first of all derive the Christianity of the north of England."

And now of Columba himself. Who and what manner of man was the founder of all this far-reaching work? What was the special power which enabled him in so remarkable a fashion to attach so many devoted friends to his person, and to mould and shape them after his peculiar pattern, for few men appear to have possessed a like power over their fellows? What, too, were the special gifts which enabled him not only to quicken into new life and a purer faith thousands of imperfectly civilised and warlike spirits, brought up under the sinister influences of the wild paganism of the North? which enabled him not only thus to sway the hearts of these heathen Picts, and to dispose them to love and aim after nobler ideals than their fathers, but also to organise with consummate wisdom this strange powerful Celtic church; to give it not only the power to continue and to grow, but positively to become in its turn a missionary pioneer church in other and hostile pagan lands?

Other fervid and impassioned preachers, such as St. François Xavier, have won their thousands from heathendom to Christianity; but too often, when the magic of their presence was removed, and the music of their voices hushed, their heathen converts lost their first love, the fervour of their first faith cooled, and the net results of such work as François Xavier's were very meagre. But with Patrick and Columba,

the Celtic pioneers of true religion, it was different ; their work endured, and to one of these, Columba, we Englishmen owe in large measure, as we have said, all that makes life bright and useful, and even desirable.

Round Patrick and his eventful story



[*Photo: McIsaac & Riddle, Oban.*

MACLEAN'S CROSS, IONA.

cluster a mass of memories, some true, some purely legendary, but it is impossible out of these to construct any really definite picture of the man himself; every student, after a careful study of the latest and most scholarly lives of the great Irish saint, must be sensible of this. But in the case of Columba, it is different. Here, too, a mass of legendary lore gathers round the great and successful servant of God ; but besides the legends true and false, we possess a life of the Celtic hero and saint written by a scholar who displayed many of the true instincts of the faithful biographer, who lived close to his times, who dwelt for long years among scenes made sacred by the toils and struggles of Columba. In the little book of Abbot Adamnan "we possess materials for a real, life-like picture of the latter and most interesting period of Columba's eventful life."

His actual personal appearance—a comparatively rare memory in the case of these far-back heroes of history—is preserved to us with some details. All testimonies speak of his tall form, his manly beauty, the peculiar dignity of his bearing. The same ancient witnesses dwell, too, on his sweet and penetrating voice, so sonorous and winning that his disciples reckoned it as one of the chief gifts he had received from the Master he served so faithfully. Very remarkable was the passionate devotion to his person of his "family of monks," scattered far and wide over Ireland as well as Scotland ; for although a voluntary exile from his loved native country, he seems never to have given up the authority over the houses he and his disciples had originally founded there, certain of which, such as Durrow, were religious communities of great importance. This devotion was not merely paid to the illustrious head and founder of their order, not merely to the winning and eloquent preacher, the famous bard, the unwearied scholar, but to the sympathetic and devoted friend. No trouble or sorrow, no care or fear, but he sympathised with and tried to relieve or dispel it. Such stories as the following were told of him : One day at Iona, when a dull fog like a

pall enveloped earth and sea, the brethren noticed that of a sudden he burst into tears. On being asked the reason, he replied: "I see my dear monks of Durrow at this moment condemned by their abbot to exhaust themselves in building the great tower of the holy house; I see them toiling, wet, weary, exhausted!"

In his old age we are told how the loved abbot—now too feeble for those long and painful mission journeys in which in the days of his strength and vigour he delighted, often undertaken at the greatest possible risk to his life—used to sit alone in his little Iona hut, which served him as a study-cell, and to write and meditate there; and when the younger monks returned in the evening-tide to the monastery after the varied labours connected with the tilling of their barren farm and the tending of their scanty flocks and herds, they would, as they passed near the master's hut, kneel, hoping to receive his blessing and perhaps a kind word or two.

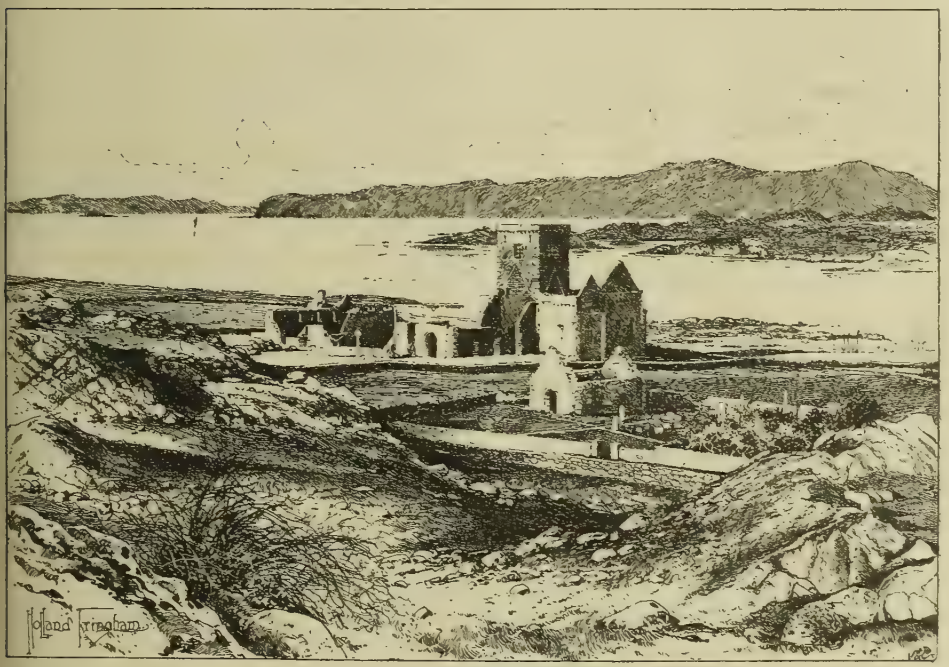


*Photo: McIsaac & Riddle, Oban*

IONA CATHEDRAL.

A beautiful legend arising out of this custom of the old man has been preserved. In the last year of his life he was too feeble to come out and bless his children, as his habit had been of late years; but the monks would pause in the same spot where they used to receive the coveted blessing of their well-loved abbot. One summer evening, Baithen, the steward of the "house," who succeeded Columba in the abbot's chair, asked the brothers if—as they lingered on the spot of blessing—

they were not sensible of something strange and unusual? "Yes," replied the oldest of the monks, "each day at this hour, as we pause at the spot we remember so well, floats by us a delicious odour, as though all the flowers of the world were collected here." Baithen, the dearest friend of Columba, ventured to explain the meaning of the odour. It was Columba, he told them, who, unable to move, sent his spirit out from his hut to meet and refresh them.

Adamnan specially notices, in that charming sixth-century picture of the life of a great benefactor of the human family which he has given us, the wonderful variety of his hero's powers and sympathies. Nothing connected with a happy, useful life did Columba deem outside his care and interest; and no doubt not a little of his vast influence among those wild Pictish tribes, where he laboured so many weary years, was owing to his helpful suggestions as to their fishing and farming, while his skill in agriculture was doubtless instrumental in making their upland fields and poor orchards more fruitful. He was, besides all this, not only the tender and devoted visitor and consoler of the sick, but in many cases he played successfully the physician's part.

Of course Adamnan's story has many threads woven into it coloured with the miraculous and supernatural, but these can be gently drawn out without any real injury to the beautiful and true story of a great self-sacrificing soul, who lived and worked some thirteen centuries ago. After all, it was the life led by this eminent servant of God which won that measureless power he seems to have possessed over men's hearts, the memory of which contributed not a little to the stability of his work and to the permanence of his many religious foundations. He owned, it is true, many striking gifts—the stately form, the musical voice, the winning eloquence, the tireless energy, the rare power of organisation and ruling. But these things, united though they were in Columba's case with a strangely sympathetic and loving nature (a somewhat rare combination) would never have sufficed to win for him that magic key of hearts which was his great source of power and influence, had not his life in a peculiar and especial way commended itself to the men of his age—and they were not a few, in that stirring age of upheaval and reconstruction—who, in good earnest, were "seekers after God."

We have already mentioned how, in his dreary cell, he slept on the hard floor—some say on a mat—with a stone for his pillow; and this austere arrangement he never changed, even when old age had lessened his powers of endurance. But his hours of sleep were but few, for he would often pass most of the night in prolonged prayer, which, we are told, excited not only the wonder and admiration, but even the alarm of his disciples. No mortal frame, they thought, could bear such restless work as Columba had undertaken unless refreshed by sleep.

"Let no one follow me," said the abbot one day in his later life to his disciples; but one, more anxious than the rest, followed his sainted master at a distance, and watched him standing erect on one of those sandy hillocks hard by the seas which wash Iona, gazing long at heaven,

motionless, with hands raised as though he prayed, and around him the watcher thought he saw a crowd of angels. The little hill since then has ever borne the name of "the Angels' Hill." Of course we may ascribe such visions to over-wrought fancy, but they give us some idea of the reverential love, mingled with awe, with which the founder of our English Christianity inspired his disciples. These devoted disciples told those who recorded the life of the great saint that, in the closing years, a strange celestial light seemed often to pervade his solitary cell, through the little apertures of which this light was seen shining in the long night hours with extraordinary brilliancy.

Almost incredible instances of self-inflicted torture are told, such as remaining plunged in cold water while he recited many psalms. A touching instance of his deep and practical sympathy with poverty is related. He was already bent with age, when he saw an old woman gathering herbs and even nettles. She told him how her poverty forbade her all other food. "See," he said to his disciples, "this poor woman, who finds her life still desirable enough to be prolonged upon such terms. And we monks, who profess to merit the eternal life of heaven by our severe lives, we live in comparative luxury!" Going back to his Iona cell, he gave orders that no other food should be provided for him save the same wild and bitter herbs which he had seen the beggar-woman gathering for her poor meal; and the recital goes on to say that he reproved his friend and minister, Diarmid, who had been with him long years, when Diarmid, out of pitying love for his master's weakness and old age, threw a little butter into the kettle in which this miserable food was being cooked.

The death of Columba, as told by Adamnan, is a noble and touching story of "the passing" of a true saint of God in the sixth century. He was very feeble, and something had told him the hour of his release was very close. It was a Saturday, and, leaning on Diarmid, the old man went out to bless the monastery granary. The monks' last harvest had been a plentiful one. Looking at two great heaps of grain, he said, "I see with joy my family, though I must leave them, will not suffer this year from famine." "Dear father," said his faithful attendant, "why do you thus sadden us by speaking of your death?" "Ah," answered the abbot, "I will tell you a secret; you must swear to me to tell no one my words till I am gone. To-day is what we call Saturday, the Holy Scriptures call it Sabbath or rest. It will, indeed, be my day of rest after my long life of work. Do not weep, Diarmid, it is my Lord Jesus Christ who bids me join Him. This has been revealed to me by the Lord Himself." But Diarmid wept bitterly. The two went back to the monastery; as they slowly walked, the dying saint grew weary and stopped to rest. A very ancient cross still marks the scene of the saint's resting-place on this occasion. As Columba sat and waited for a little return of strength, an old white horse, which used to carry milk every day from the dairy to the monastery, came and put his head upon his master's breast. The bystanders relate how the poor dumb animal looked sorrowfully into the dying master's face. Diarmid wished to drive

the creature away, but Columba would not let him. "See," he said, "the Creator has revealed to the brute who loves me what He has hidden from men. He knows of my departure." And then he blessed the animal who wished thus to take leave of his old master.

DEATH OF COLUMBA.

This strange attachment of brutes and wild creatures to great and devoted saints we come upon not infrequently in old memoirs of their works and days. They are evidently true records. These creatures, whom we often despise, and some at least of us treat with scant consideration, in their strange instinct, saw in these simple, holy men their friends. The touching attachment of the great wild swan (whom no one could tame) to St. Hugo of Lincoln is a well-known memory of that humble and holy man of God. St. Guthlac of Crowland possessed, we read, a like strong fascination for the wild birds of the Fen lands, and there are many other like instances.*

After the little scene with the old white horse, Columba still found strength to climb a low hill from whence he overlooked the Iona monastery. With great solemnity he blessed the sanctuary which he had founded and loved so well, and prophesied that the day would come when it

* The secret of it probably lay in kindness and *quietness*, for the same fact comes out remarkably in the lives of Fakir, Buddhist, and Brahman recluses in India. Almost universally the animals of the forest treat them with perfect friendship, as testified by many.

would be greatly honoured. He then went home, and, weak though he was, quietly set himself down to his accustomed work of transcribing the Scriptures—just then he was making a copy of the Psalter. He had reached the 33rd Psalm, and when he had written down the verse, "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing," he stopped suddenly. "Baithen" (the steward of Iona monastery, and his successor as abbot), said the tired man of God, "must write what follows"; then, sitting on his hard couch, he gave a last charge to his dear children of Iona. The dying message urged that peace and charity should ever reign among them. With all his evident humility, Columba was persuaded that he possessed power with God as His faithful servant, for in his farewell charge he promised to intercede for them, as one who would be near God.

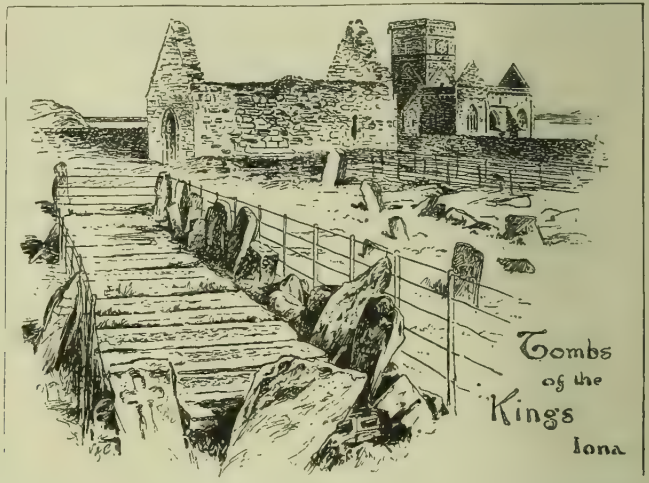
No one heard Columba speak again. The voice of the saint was hushed. *Sanctus conticuit.* That same night when the bell called to matins, the dying saint, when he heard the first notes ringing out, rose up and managed to reach the monastery church before any other of the brothers: the faithful Diarmid, though, followed him closely. The church was dark, or very dimly lighted; in these night services the monks brought lights with them.* Diarmid found Columba prostrate and speechless before the altar; he gently raised the dying abbot, so that his head rested on his lap. With the help of Diarmid, Columba made a motion with his hand as though blessing the brethren, who, with their lamps, had gathered quickly round their father. He recovered for a moment, opened his eyes, and then, as he looked round, there came over his countenance an expression of gladness and joy, as though, says his biographer, "he saw a vision of angels, and so died." The beautiful rejoicing expression remained on his face, say the eye-witnesses, even after death.

The "Rule of Columba," often quoted, does not seem to have been a formal rule, corresponding in any respect to the regulations left by St. Benedict, but rather a simple collection of maxims designed to guide a solitary who had devoted his life to prayer and meditation apart from his brethren. But, although he left no formal "rule," after his death, for a long period the numerous houses in Scotland and Ireland founded by him and his immediate disciples remained faithful to the rules and customs laid down and prescribed by him, which do not, however, seem to have differed from the rules and customs of the other great monastic communities in Ireland where Columba received his early training. But the devotion and earnest missionary spirit of their illustrious founder gave the "family of Columba" a peculiar force and power, which, as we shall see, eventually accomplished the entire conversion of the British lands where the Angle had conquered and settled, north of the river Humber. The monks of his many houses for some time bore the name of "The Order of the Fair Company" (*pulchræ societatis*), but were generally called "The family of Columbkill."

* This practice is well known to those who have attended the night services at the "Grande Chartreuse," where, in the dark church, the gleam of the little lamp carried by each of the fathers as they noiselessly move in one by one to their stalls has a weird effect.

In all the great articles of belief, Columba, in common with the other famous teachers of the great Celtic monastic church in Ireland, of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, followed closely the doctrines of the Catholic church in its best and purest age. As regards minor points, we find evidences of confession, public rather than private, optional rather than compulsory, and absolution was usually deferred until the penance had been performed. We find, certainly, traces of the invocation of saints and confidence in their protection. Belief in the real presence existed. Fasting and prayers for the departed were largely observed in the churches of "the family of Columba," and what has been related of his terrible austerities, and the claim by them "to merit the eternal life of heaven," in reference to the scene with the poor woman, show how much the pure doctrine of the Gospel had been depraved by superstitious asceticism even in that early age. Of the worship, however, which in later times was paid to the Blessed Virgin and the saints, there is no trace in this primitive Celtic Christianity to which England owes so much. We find no record of unction of the sick in any form whatever. No trace or allusion to the supremacy of the see of Rome exists.

The remains of Columba were interred in his monastery of Iona, which, for two hundred years, was looked upon as the great Scottish centre of the Celtic church. Seventy kings and princes were said to have been interred round the sacred grave of the founder. In 878, to preserve the hallowed relics from the Danish pirates the shrine and relics of Columba were taken to Ireland. Tradition says they found a resting-place in the monastery of Down, where the relics of Patrick and Bridget had found a home. It is, however, impossible to ascertain what eventually became of the sacred remains; many places, including Durham, claimed to have a portion of them. The ruins now visible in Iona are those of a Benedictine abbey, founded on the original site of Columba's Holy House in 1203.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE ROMAN MISSION OF AUGUSTINE.

Gregory and the Angle Boys—Pope Gregory the Great sends Augustine and forty companions to Britain—Augustine lands at Ebbsfleet in the Isle of Thanet—King Ethelbert of Kent receives him kindly is baptised, and settles Augustine at Canterbury—The famous Letter of Gregory to Augustine—Gregory sends Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus to join Augustine—Augustine meets the British Bishops in conference and fails to conciliate them—His return to Canterbury—Mellitus consecrated Bishop of London and Justus Bishop of Rochester—Laurence consecrated Bishop Coadjutor—Augustine's Death.

IN the very same year, A.D. 597, when Columba, the Celtic missionary apostle of North Britain died, a Roman monk ıamed Augustine and forty companions, anded at a place called Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, on the south-east coast of Britain. Augustine came with the hope of evangelising the pagan Jutes, who had aken possession of the south-eastern dis-rict of our island. Columba died in June. The memorable landing of the Roman nonk had already taken place in the nonth of April.

The coming of these Roman missionaries o south-eastern Britain was on this wise. A man afterwards very famous in the world's story, named Gregory, in the year 575 had founded a monastery dedicated o St. Andrew, on his own estate upon the Cœlian Hill, in Rome, and there lived as nonk and as abbot. This Gregory, who sub-equently became one of the most famous of he long line of illustrious bishops of Rome, vas already remarkable among his fellow-ountrymen for his boundless charity and vorks of love. Men still show in Rome he long marble table where daily he was vont to feed twelve beggars. On one ccasion, so runs the beautiful legend, a thirteenth unbidden guest appeared among them, an angel, whom, not knowing, he fed with the other needy ones.

A story, undoubtedly true, relates how once he severely punished himself when he heard of the death of a poor man who, in a time of famine at Rome, had perished through want. His thoughtful care and munificence on the occasion of one of the terrible pestilences, which in this age of war and confusion not infrequently swept over Europe, had won him boundless popularity. A memory has been preserved—a strange one, certainly, if true—of Gregory's hero-worship of the great emperor Trajan. "So impressed was the loving Roman abbot with the thought of the justice and goodness of this heathen sovereign, that he earnestly prayed in St. Peter's church that God would even now give Trajan grace to know the name of Christ and be converted." * In children this famous monk-statesman seems to have been specially interested, and for a time he trained the little singing boys of St. Andrew in those famous chants which bear his name. In memory of this choir-training, in which Gregory delighted, a children's festival was

* Dean Stanley, "Memorials of Canterbury."

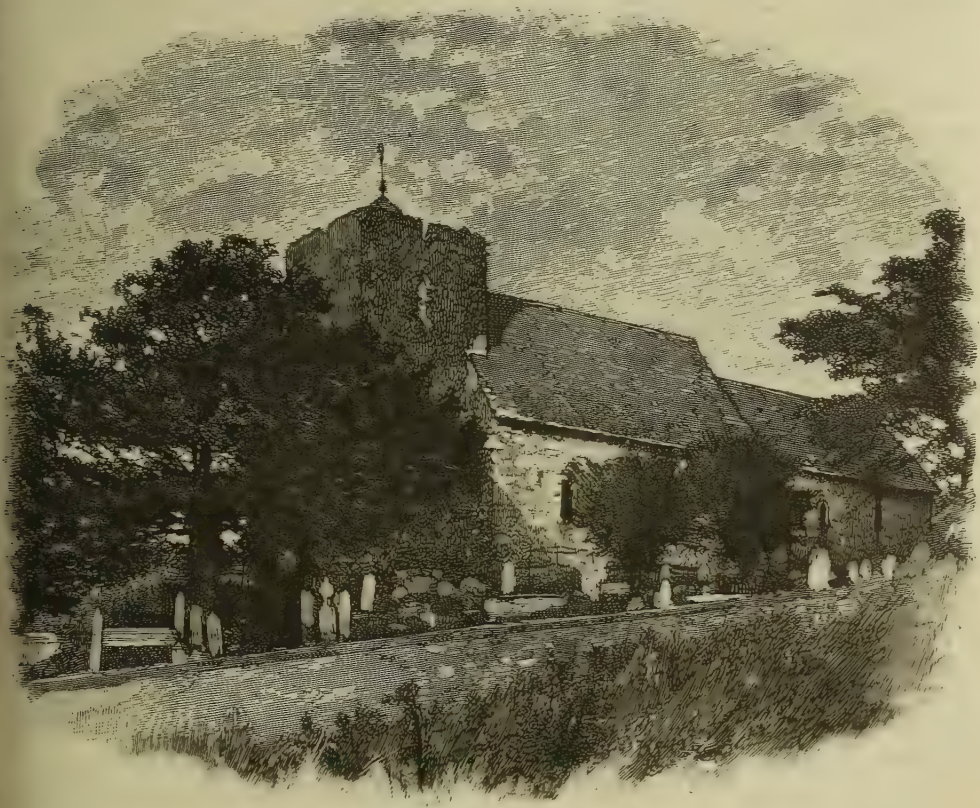
held on his day as late as the seventeenth century.

One day the abbot Gregory chanced to be passing through the crowded Roman market-place when several newly-arrived cargoes of slaves from foreign parts were being offered for sale. Among the varied groups of these unhappy ones his eyes fell upon a little knot of boys, distinguished by their long flaxen hair and fair complexion. Gregory stopped to look at them; his well-known fondness for children attracted him to the little group. Pity and sorrow for them, so young and helpless, torn away from their homes, led him to ask the slave-merchant, probably a Jew, whether the children were Christian or Pagan, and whence they came. It was the same intense feeling of compassion which had suggested those curious kindly specu lations respecting the fate of the nobl emperor Trajan, that led to his conversa tion with the slave-merchant, in the cours of which occurred that curious string o puns, one following the other, now his torical, which exhibits the mixture o

*"NON ANGLI SED ANGELI."*
*(From the painting by Keeley Halswelle, R.I.)*

playfulness, with a deep serious purpos underlying it, which often relieved in som sort Gregory's anxieties and his painfu bodily sufferings. What, he asked, was th nationality of those bright, flaxen-haired fair boys. On being told that they wer Engles or Angles, "Well said," replied th monk, "they are rightly called Angles, fo they have angels' faces. They should b fellow heirs with the angels in heaven. He went on, "From what province do the come?" He heard they were from Deir

the Angle name for the modern Durham and Yorkshire. "Well said," again answered Gregory; "they must be rescued *De irâ Dei* (from God's anger)." Once again he asked, "Who is the king of Deira?"



ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

He was told king Ælla. "Ah," he said, still punning upon the name, "the Alleluia must indeed be sung in those far distant regions."

The emotion which the sight of these captive Angle boys in the slave-market of Rome had waked in the great churchman's heart, was no mere passing feeling. He went at once to the Pope, and obtained his permission to go as missionary at once to that far country, to win the inhabitants to the side of Christ. He started soon with a small band of chosen friends on what seemed a desperate venture; but he was so beloved at Rome that a furious mob, we read, attacked the Pope and demanded the instant return of their favourite. Gregory was hastily recalled before he reached the Alps, and more than twelve years passed before the longing desire of his generous heart could be fulfilled. The abbot of St. Andrews was elected Pope in A.D. 590, and after various

schemes had been devised for the conversion of the great pagan island, as Britain was then held to be, Gregory despatched from his monastery on the Cœlian forty chosen monks, under the leadership of prior Augustine, to the distant home of the flaxen-haired boys, who, as they stood in the slave-market of Rome, had years before excited his pity and a determination to convert their nation to Christianity.

It was no easy journey in those disturbed, restless times, and the hearts of Gregory's missionaries seem to have failed them long before they reached the shores of distant Britain. Augustine even returned from Gaul to Rome, begging in the name of his company to be released from the perilous mission. But Gregory was firm, and would not hear of any drawing back. "Better," wrote the Bishop of Rome in a letter given to Augustine to be read to the faint-hearted members of the mission, "not to begin that good work at all than to give it up after having commenced it. . . . . Forward, then, in God's name." At last they reached the goal of their long journey, and landed at Ebbsfleet in the Isle of Thanet in the month of April, 597—a memorable date in the making of Christian England!

The name Ebbe's Fleet or Ebbe's Port is generally derived from a chief in the following of Hengist, who is said to have landed at the same spot in 449. It is still the name of a farmhouse on a strip of high ground rising out of Minster Marsh. "On a near approach, you see at a glance that it must have once been a promontory or headland running out into the sea between the two inlets of the estuary of the Stour on the one side and Pegwell Bay on the other. What are now green hills, were then the waters of the sea. The tradition that some important landing had taken place there is still preserved at the farm, and the field which rises immediately on the north side is shown as the spot. Here it was that, according to the story preserved in the Saxon chronicles, Hengist and Horsa had sailed in with their three ships and a band of warriors, who conquered Vortigern; and here now Augustine came with his monks, his choristers, and the interpreters they had brought with them from France."* Interpreters were necessary, for the pagan Jutes, the masters of Kent, understood no Latin, and their speech—what we now might call Anglo-Saxon—Augustine and his monks were utterly ignorant of.

King Ethelbert of Kent, to whom Augustine at once despatched interpreters, was the great-grandson of Eric, son of Hengist, the first Jute conqueror of the south-east of Britain. The Jute king lived at Canterbury, a rough-built town erected by the victors on the ruins of an ancient Roman-British city destroyed by the first invaders.

Ethelbert was no ordinary man. He had obtained a kind of over-lordship among the other Saxon or Engle princes as far north as the Humber, and under the title of Bretwalda exercised a military supremacy over a large portion of Britain. His wife, queen Bertha, was a Christian. She was the daughter of Caribert, king of the Franks at Paris, the grandson of the famous Clovis. Bertha became the wife of the great Jutish over-king Ethelbert of

* Dean Stanley.

Kent, on the condition that she should be perfectly free to observe the practices of the religion of her fathers, and had brought from her Paris home as chaplain a Gaulish bishop, Luitbrand of Senlis, who remained by her side till his death, which occurred just before the arrival of Augustine. Queen Bertha was a devoted Christian, and no doubt the extraordinary and rapid success of Augustine's mission, which we have now to notice, was largely owing to the gentle but powerful influence of the queen. Indeed, it is more than probable that the old interest of Pope Gregory in the matter of the conversion of pagan Britain was stimulated by letters he had received from this queen Bertha, who evidently for a long time had been anxious that the pagan folk among whom she had made her home should adopt the religion she loved so well.

King Ethelbert received the messengers of Augustine with kindness, and agreed to meet them at Ebbsfleet. Indeed, the story Augustine had to tell the king was no novelty to him ; many a time he must have heard the beautiful story of Christianity and its Divine Founder from the lips of his queen. But with the old Norsemen's dread of charms and spells and magical influences, the king stipulated that the first interview between himself and the Italian strangers should be held in the open air.

The scene of the meeting between Ethelbert and Augustine must have been at once striking and picturesque. The Jutish king and his thanes, surrounded by their redoubtable Norsemen warriors, sitting on the bare ground under the shade of a great oak tree, waited for the approach of Augustine. The Italian missionary was a man of great stature. Chanting a solemn litany with his forty monks, a huge silver cross borne before him, together with a great picture of Christ painted and gilded, he approached the king, who bade him sit down, and the interview commenced. Augustine delivered his solemn message in his own Latin tongue, and the interpreter translated it into the Anglo-Saxon speech. The heathen king listened to it attentively, and replied : "Fair are your words and promises, but as all this is to me novel and uncertain, I cannot at once believe what you tell me, and give up everything that I and the whole of my race for so long a time have held sacred. But because you, strangers, have come from far, just to share with us what I see clearly you believe to be true and good, we will do you no harm ; on the contrary, we will treat you as our guests, and will see that all that is necessary for you is provided ; nor shall we in any way hinder you from preaching your faith and winning over as many as possible to your religion."

The generous reply of king Ethelbert to Augustine is given by Bede, who is generally well-informed and accurate. As Dean Stanley acutely observes : "This simple answer seems to contain all that is excellent in the English character —exactly what, under the influence of Christianity, has grown up into all our best institutions. There is the natural dislike to change, which Englishmen still retain ; there is the willingness at the same time to listen favourably to anything which comes recommended by the energy

and self-devotion of those who urge it; there is the spirit of moderation and toleration, and the desire to see fair play, which is one of our best gifts, and which I hope we shall never lose."

Very soon after the meeting, under the protection of Ethelbert, the band of Roman monks journeyed to Canterbury, the burg or city of the Jutish king. It

ETHELBERT'S AND ETHELFRITH'S KINGDOMS.

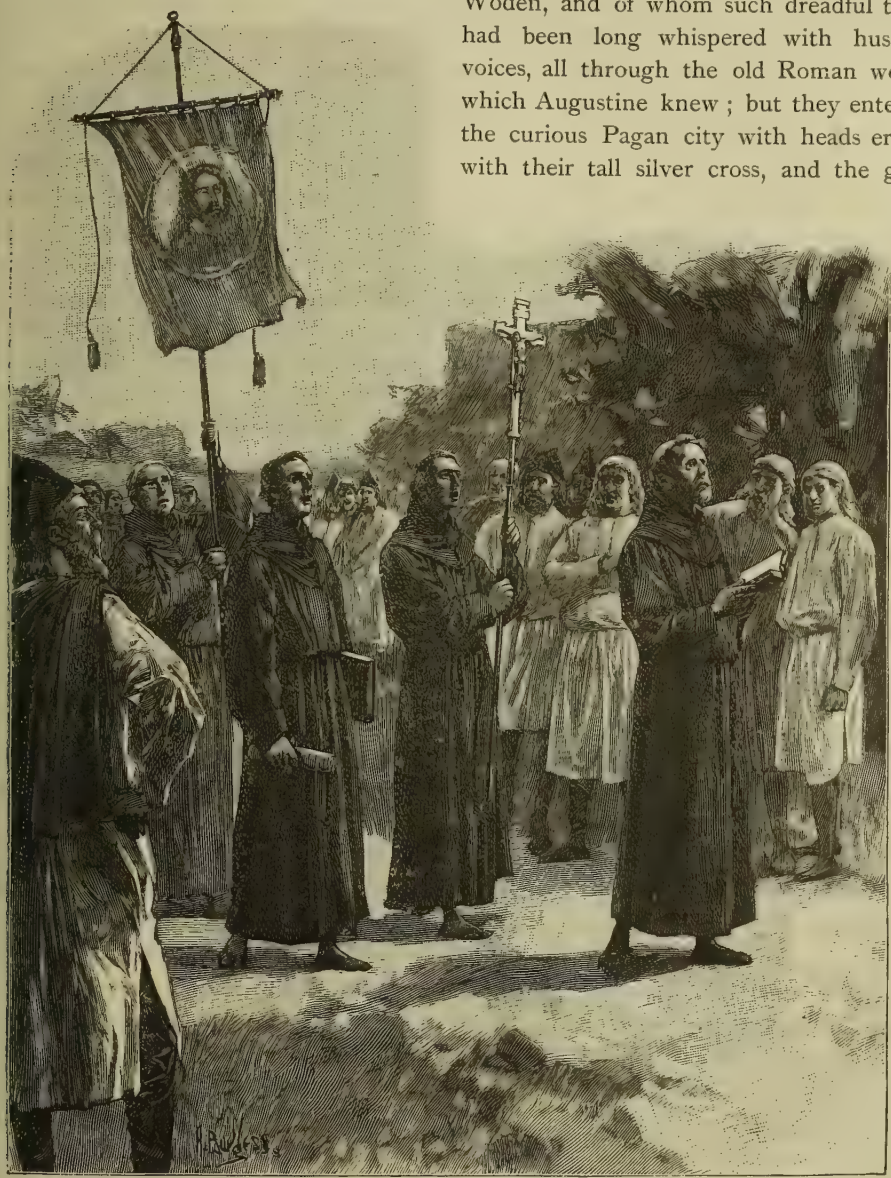
was a poor place in those days, only a group of wooden huts built round the royal hall of Ethelbert. The ancient Roman-British city of Durovernum had once occupied the site, and in the recital of the settlement of Augustine we come upon the mention of the ruins of three or four British churches, telling us of the days when Durovernum was a Christian city. But this was before Hengist ravaged the country in 449; for one hundred and fifty years the pagan Jute had been in the land. Queen Bertha had been allowed by her kindly pagan husband to restore one of these old ruined churches, and there, with her chaplain, the bishop Luitbrand, and a few Frankish attendants, had worshipped among the heathen surroundings of the Jutish court, hoping for better days. But the sight of a church in this strange land must have cheered the heart of Augustine and his monks, as they looked over the scene of their future labours.

We can picture to ourselves with fair accuracy what Augustine saw as, for the first time, he looked down from the slope of the hill where the little church of Bertha stood.* She had called it St. Martin's, after the famous saint of her native France—St. Martin of Tours; a cherished memory in the new country she had adopted. In the valley below, the monk would see a lofty hall, the palace of Ethelbert, the Jutish king. The hall was a rectangular, high, wooden building, its long sides facing north and south. Shining metal covered the roof and glittered in the sun. In the roof were openings, through which the smoke from the fires on the hearth within the great hall escaped. Round the royal hall lay the burg, or village, consisting of scattered wooden houses, which has since grown into Canterbury.

Here and there, amid the Jutish houses and gardens, were piles of shapeless ruins of the ancient Durovernum, and a weird and shattered Roman wall, still perfect in many places; so strong and massive was it, that fire and time had

* Recent investigations have revealed in the west wall of St. Martin's details of Roman work, making it nearly certain that this wall, at least, formed part of the original church worshipped in by queen Bertha.

failed to harm it. It was all new and



"THEY ENTERED THE PAGAN CITY WITH HEADS ERECT . . . . CHANTING THE LITANY."

somewhat fearsome to the Roman monks, this strange, rough city of the dreaded North-folk, who worshipped Thor and Woden, and of whom such dreadful tales had been long whispered with hushed voices, all through the old Roman world which Augustine knew; but they entered the curious Pagan city with heads erect, with their tall silver cross, and the gold and painted picture of the Christ borne before them, chanting the Litany their

Father Gregory had used when the plague ravaged Rome: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy, that Thy wrath and Thine anger may be removed from this city, and from Thy Holy House. Alleluia!" Thus singing, they entered into the heathen burg.

For a short time after their arrival in Canterbury, they contented themselves with the little church of queen Bertha, St. Martin's, "dwelling," as Bede tells us in his beautiful summary of their manner of life, "after the example of the early Church, praying continually, watching and fasting, preaching to all they could reach, paying no heed to worldly matters, as things with which they had nothing to do, only accepting from those whom they taught just as much as was absolutely necessary for life, living themselves the life they taught, with hearts ready to suffer every adversity, ready even to die for that truth which they preached. What need to say any more? Some believed, some were baptised, because they admired the simplicity of their blameless lives and the sweetness of their heavenly teaching."

The public baptism of king Ethelbert was not long delayed, and the example of the chieftain, as was common among pagan people, was followed by crowds of his subjects.

Acting upon the directions of Pope Gregory, who watched the progress of the mission to Britain with the deepest interest, Augustine, before the close of 597, applied to the Gallic bishops for episcopal consecration. At Arles, archbishop Vergilius and other Frankish prelates formally consecrated him as archbishop of the English. Pope Gregory, in a letter to the Patriarch of Alexandria, mentions with extreme thankfulness that more than ten thousand Kentish men received baptism on the Christmas Day of that same year.

The influence of the Italian monk must have grown among the pagan Northmen settled in Kent with extraordinary rapidity, for we read that very soon after Augustine's return from his consecration as archbishop at Arles, the king gave him his royal hall or palace at Canterbury, together with the ruins of another old British church, he himself fixing his residence at Reculvers on the sea coast. The old British church was restored and rebuilt on a large scale; we read it had a nave and aisle and towers on the north and south. Two apses were constructed at the eastern and western end, each with its altar. The present metropolitan church of England, largely built by archbishop Lanfranc in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the mother church of English Christianity, arose on the foundation of this church of Augustine. It was then, as it is now, called Christ church.

Another ancient British church just outside the old Roman wall was rebuilt and dedicated to St. Pancras, probably at the suggestion of Pope Gregory, to whom the memory of the boy-martyr was especially dear, partly because the family of Pancras once owned the ground on the Cœlian Hill where stood the monastery of St. Andrew, of which Gregory had been abbot, and Augustine prior; partly because of the memory of the British boys in the slave-market at Rome, who had years before first turned Gregory's attention to Britain. The famous boy-martyr seemed

a fitting dedication for one of the first churches built by the mission, in the home of those never-to-be-forgotten slave children with the flaxen hair.

Around the Canterbury St. Pancras, Augustine planned and laid the foundation of that famous abbey which was eventually to bear his name. This abbey, which became in after-years one of the richest and most revered sanctuaries in Christendom, subsequently possessed a patrimony which at one time was said to have included 11,860 acres of land. It was to the abbot of this primitive foundation of Augustine, that Pope Leo IX., in 1056, some four and a half centuries later, gave the proud privilege of sitting in general councils in the first place after the abbot of Monte Casino, the mother-house of the great Benedictine order.

It was in 598, as it would seem, that Augustine wrote his well-known letter to his spiritual father in Rome, detailing all his successes among the heathen Jutes, and requesting advice respecting certain difficulties arising in his work. Some three years, however, passed before the replies came to him. They were brought by some carefully-chosen monks who were to assist the "Archbishop of the English" in his arduous task, three of whom became subsequently illustrious names in the story of the Church of England. The first two, Mellitus and Justus, in their turn succeeded Augustine as archbishops of Canterbury, and the third was the famous Paulinus, of whom we shall have much to say when we come to speak of the foundation work of Christianity in the land north of the Humber. This reinforcement of monks from Rome brought the answers of Gregory to the questions of Augustine, besides a great store of relics, sacred vessels, priestly robes, ornaments for the altar, and other things necessary to give effect to the pomp of religious services. Above all, the Roman pontiff sent to Britain certain very precious and valuable manuscripts. Some of these venerable books—the gift of Gregory—were still in existence at the era of the dissolution; Leland, the learned secretary of Henry VIII., had seen them, and speaks of them with admiration.

The care and discrimination shown by this great pope in the selection of fitting men, and even of books and sacred furniture for the work of a distant mission, tells us something of the tireless spirit of Gregory, to whom nothing was too great or too small for his thoughts to dwell upon, if his Master's work was concerned. There is a touching passage in one of his extant letters, which speaks of the personal difficulties under which he constantly laboured. It was not only the ceaseless care of many churches, but acute bodily suffering which perplexed and harassed this generous and devoted bishop of Rome. His words are worth quoting: "For nearly two years," he says, "I have had to keep my bed, suffering such pain from gout, that I could hardly get up for three hours on festivals, to celebrate the solemnities of masses. . . . I am compelled to exclaim, 'Bring my soul out of prison.'"

At the same time Gregory sent Augustine a pall (*pallium*), a symbol of archiepiscopal jurisdiction, which he charged him only to wear in the celebration of mass. This celebrated vestment appears in the

time of Gregory to have been richly ornamented; and the wearer was warned to guard against self-complacency. This pallium, granted by Gregory to Augustine, appears in the arms of the arch-see of Canterbury. The simplest form of the pallium was worn by Alexandrian bishops in the fifth century; it seems to have been a simple white woollen scarf round the neck. A rich form of this garment became part of the imperial attire, and was granted by emperors as a mark of honour to patriarchs; then the popes began, originally in the emperor's name, or by his desire, to allow the use of the pall to certain bishops; to those who represented the Roman see; to some metropolitans, or to other prelates of influence or distinction. In the time of Gregory the Great it was thus variously granted: his language shows that it was splendid and somewhat cumbrous. Although in several cases it was an accompaniment of metropolitan dignity, it did not become a necessary badge of that dignity until a later stage in the development of papalism.*

ARMS OF SEE OF CANTERBURY.

EARLY FORM OF PALLIUM.
*(From a Fresco on the Tomb of Pope Cornelius and St. Cyprian, Cemetery of Callixtus, Rome.)*

The whole story of the mission of Augustine; his complete subserviency to his old master Gregory; the reproofs, warnings, encouragements he received from the great Roman bishop; the elaborate directions for the parcelling out of the still pagan England into dioceses, sent to him from Rome; the peculiar authority Augustine was to exercise in Britain but not in Gaul; all mark a great step in the development of the subsequent universal claim to spiritual dominion, made by the bishop of the Roman see. They help us to understand something of the bitterness which underlay the long conflict between the two great branches of the Western church—the Celtic and the Roman—which was to be fought out in many lands, but nowhere with more violence than in England.

It is perfectly clear that neither the ancient Roman-British church, nor its survivors in the mountains of Wales, nor the marvellous offshoot in Ireland, nor the great missionary organisation in Scotland, knew anything of the supremacy of the

* Professor Bright.

bishop who ruled in the traditional see of Rome. These strange claims of a world-wide spiritual dominion, which we find Pope Gregory the Great putting forth in the case of Augustine and the new England of the sixth and seventh centuries, and which laid the foundations of the yet wider and more lordly supremacy claimed and exercised by his successors—by men like Gregory VII. and Innocent III. — were never dreamed of by Patrick, David, Finnian, or Columba.

But to return to the story of Augustine in those few eventful years which succeeded the memorable landing at Ebbsfleet, and the rapid conversion of the Jutish king Ethelbert and the many thousands of his subjects dwelling round Canterbury and Reculvers. In that story, nothing is more interesting than the correspondence between Gregory in Rome and Augustine at Canterbury. The most important of these letters were sent by the hand of the monkish reinforcement to which we have referred, which arrived from Rome in the year 601, and which included the subsequently famous Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus. Gregory, with his acute and penetrating intellect, after receiving an account from his former prior Augustine of his marvellous and undreamed-of success among the pagan Jutes of Kent, was quick to perceive the almost measureless future importance of a mission which had seemed at first but a forlorn and somewhat hopeless effort.

POPE GREGORY, HIS FATHER AND MOTHER.
(*From an Edition of the Life of Pope Gregory by John the Deacon, published in* 1615.*)

The Italian monks thus associated with Augustine's successful mission, besides the important letters and gifts to the new archbishop of the English, brought an epistle to the king Ethelbert and his queen. In the writing addressed to the king, Pope Gregory especially commends Augustine to him as one trained according to the monastic rule, full of the knowledge of the Scripture, and abounding in good works in the sight of God; he urged

* The original portraits were given by Gregory himself to the monastery of St. Andrew, now the church of San Gregory, Rome.

Ethelbert to listen devoutly to Augustine, faithfully to accomplish all that he told him; adding the curious words, "the more you listen to what he will tell you on the part of God, the more will God grant his prayers to Him on your behalf."

Augustine had propounded various momentous questions to the Roman pontiff for his opinion and advice. The replies of Gregory were very wise, full of thoughtful consideration, and some of them might be pondered even in our own day with advantage. Bede devotes several chapters of his undying history to these interesting and important questions and replies. One especially deserves to be remembered, which had it been more faithfully followed, might have healed many subsequent feuds. Augustine had spent some time in Gaul, and had there noticed in church discipline and practice many customs very different from what he had seen in Rome. He had doubtless heard much of the mighty Celtic church in Ireland; something, too, of the network of Christian communities in Scotland founded by the saintly Columba, whose death had taken place only a few days after he had landed on the Kentish shore. Very different, indeed, were many of the uses of these great and flourishing Christian communities from the uses of Roman churches among which Augustine had received his training. What was he to do in his new and rapidly-growing church in the south of the island? The answer of Gregory was a very wise and noble one, and should be for all time. "Whatever custom," wrote the sagacious and far-seeing pope, "be found really good and pleasing to God, whether in the church of Italy or Gaul, or in any other, he was to adopt i and use it in his new Church of England. "*Things*," said Gregory, "*are not to b loved for the sake of places, but places fo the sake of things*."

"It often happens that the first tur given to the spirit of an institution last long after its first founder has passed away and in channels quite different from thos which he contemplated; and when w think of what the Church of England i now, I confess there is a satisfaction i thinking that in this respect, at least, i has in some way fulfilled the wishes o Gregory the Great. There is no churc in the world which has combined suc various and opposite advantages from othe churches more exclusive than itself; non in which various characters and custom from the opposite parts of the Christia world could have been able to find suc shelter and refuge." *

Much of Gregory's advice and directio on other points was couched in the sam spirit of adaptation and conciliation. "He had thought much," wrote this wise bisho who ruled the Church of Rome som thirteen centuries ago, "on the subject and he had come to the conclusion tha heathen temples were not to be destroyed but turned wherever possible into Christia churches; that the droves of oxen which used to be killed in sacrifice were still to be killed for feasts for the poor"; and he gives as the reason for such counsels, that "for hard and rough minds, it is impossible to cut away abruptly all their old customs because he who wishes to reach the highest place must ascend by steps and not jumps."

Very urgent were the Roman prelate's

* Dean Stanley.

varnings against undue elation on the part of Augustine, induced by his conspicuous uccess in his mission; above all things, piritual pride must be guarded against. Gregory's warning, tender and true, has he gospel mark upon it. He reminds his dearest brother" that Christ once bade he seventy rejoice not in their power over he spirits, but rather that their names vere written in heaven; and then, fearful f having wounded his great and successful isciple, he adds, with an exquisite tenderess worthy of the apostle Paul, of whom Gregory was not an unworthy follower, I have a sure hope that your sins are lready forgiven, and that you are a chosen nstrument for bringing others to the same nercy." Gregory concludes his beautiful etter with these striking words, well calcuated to pour deep joy into Augustine's eart: "If there is joy in heaven over one enitent, what must there be over a penient nation! Let us then all say, '*Gloria n excelsis*.'"

But the letters of the Roman pontiff o the missionary archbishop, written in ıoı, after careful and protracted consideration of the news of the reception of Christianity once more in that far-away lost" island, contained more than advice, warning, and counsel suitable to the emporary exigencies of missionary preaching; they provided a well-matured plan or moulding the new Christianity of the English people of the great island into an rdered form; a plan, in fact, for the ecclesiastical organisation of the whole land. It aimed evidently at the establishment of a great church of the Roman obedience.

It contained, however, one curious error. Pope Gregory, in sketching out the plan for the organisation of a Christian England for his disciple and friend, the missionary Augustine, had before him apparently the records of the old Roman province of Britain; all that had happened since—the total sweeping away of the old landmarks, the almost total disappearance of the Roman cities—was passed over. In the Britain of the Romans, London in the south, and York in the north, were the capital cities, and Pope Gregory arranged that London and York should be the centres of the church of the island. Augustine was to be the bishop of London, with twelve suffragan bishops in the south; and as the missionary work advanced in the north, York was to have another bishop as metropolitan with twelve suffragans likewise, and to possess an equal rank with the bishop metropolitan of London.

But London, in the days of Augustine, was a heathen cluster of dwellings and a centre of little influence, and long years were to elapse before York regained anything of its old wealth and importance. Much was to happen, many pages of eventful history had to be written, before anything like the great plan sketched out by the master hand of Gregory, was even in part carried into effect. As the Roman bishop had, with true prophetic insight, foreseen, the whole island with extraordinary rapidity adopted Christianity; "but the zeal, life, and energy of the new English Christianity were concentrated not in the south-east of the great island, not in Kent, round the rapidly rising churches and the monastic homes of Canterbury, and the scene of Augustine's

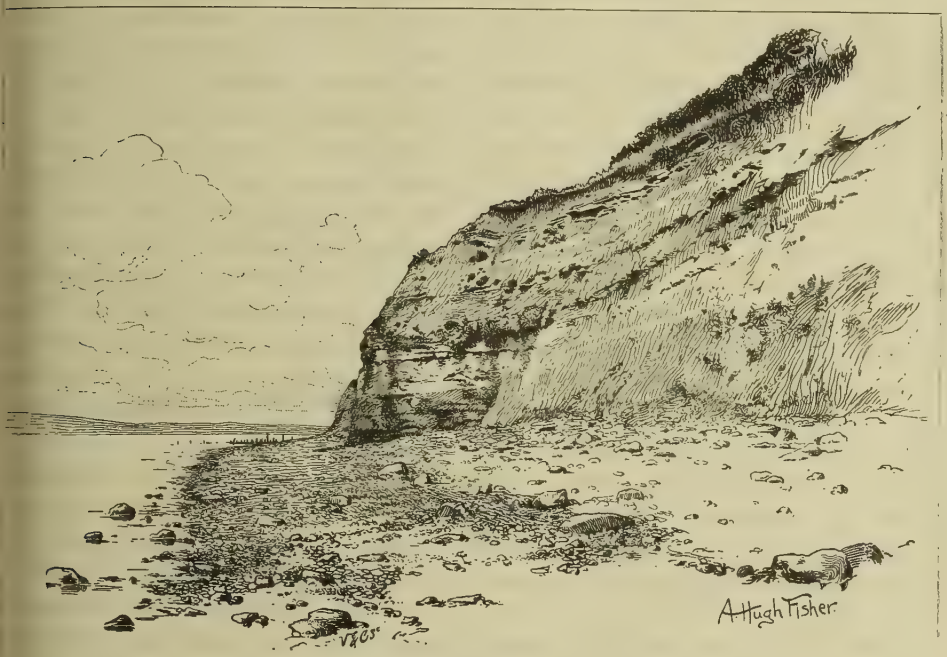
successful labours, but in the far north of Britain; and that north looked for its religious centre, not to Rome, but to the Celtic church of Ireland." The great work of inducing the North-folk, the masters of England, to adopt Christianity, was carried out, not by the Roman Augustine and his band of Italian mission-monks of Canterbury, but by the Celtic Aidan and Cuthbert, who were trained in centres utterly unknown to both Gregory and Augustine; in centres possessing names which, indeed, to those ears accustomed to the music of the immemorial Latin speech, would have sounded strange and barbarous—*Iona* and *Lindisfarne*.

In the course of this interesting and important correspondence between Augustine, the new "archbishop of the English," and Gregory, the Pope of Rome, we meet with short notices or directions from Rome, intended to guide Augustine in his future relations with the remains of the ancient British Church still existing in Wales and the West of the island. The references in question in Bede's history are very short, but, at the same time, very clear; they give, as far as the Roman pontiff could give, absolute control to Augustine over that ancient church and all its ministers. "As for all the bishops of Britain," wrote Gregory, "we commit them to your care, that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened, and the perverse corrected by authority." And in the letter which accompanied the gift of the pallium to the new archbishop a yet more comprehensive mandate was given to Augustine, placing all bishops in Britain—"*omnes Britanniæ sacerdotes*"*—under his authority, giving a reason for this supremacy thus entruste "that they (the *sacerdotes*) may learn your (Augustine's) word and by your l how they must believe, and how they mu live in order to fulfil their office and ga an inheritance in heaven."

Now it seems inconceivable that Grego and Augustine were ignorant of the pow and influence at this time of the ancie British Church in Wales; or of the va authority and flourishing state of the Celt church in Ireland; or of Columba's missi from Iona, so widely extended and so b loved in Scotland; or of the mighty wo of the strange and fervid Irish disciple of t great monastery of Bangor in Ulster—t imperious, but saintly, Columban—in ce tral and western Europe, whose first gre monastery of Luxeuil, the mother hou of so many world-famed communities, f some years had been riveting the atte tion of all earnest and devout souls wh cared for religious things. That Po Gregory, with his vast experience an unerring sagacity, knowing, as he mu have well known, the power and life Celtic Christianity, with a stroke of the pe should have thus ignored the existence the mother Celtic church—poor, perhap in wealth, but not in numbers; banishe to the wild and desolate mountains Wales and Cumberland, but still with i old organisation, with its bishops, wit its vast monasteries, with its immemori traditions—seems positively unthinkabl

* Montalembert has been followed in translati *sacerdotes* as bishops. Some prefer to render t word here used by Bede as "priests;" but t same conclusion must be arrived at, whatev rendering be adopted—namely, that to Augusti the whole clergy of Britain were to be subject.

I must, surely, have been an intentional sght, a carefully-thought-out act, when I formally placed his Italian friend and ciple Augustine over all the Celtic bhops in Britain, and, by what seems t us a strangely arbitrary command, decred that "*omnes Britanniæ sacerdotes*" whatever sense we may give to *sacerdotes*, whether as including all the priests Britain or simply the British bishops) ould be subject to the *Italian* archbishop the English. It seems all but certain at the great and far-seeing Roman prete was determined, as far as in him lay, crush the Celtic organisation, and to bstitute in its place the Roman order; d that the lofty pretensions advanced Augustine in the meeting with the British bishops, which we have next to relate, were the first beginnings of the long religious feud which distracted the new England of the North-men, and which, as we shall see, for good or for evil, ended in the triumph of Rome and in the discomfiture and eventual disappearance of the old Celtic church.




AUST CLIFF.
*(By permission, from a Photo by Charles P. MacCarthy, Esq.)*

Very soon after the receipt of his pallium, and the letters and directions from Rome, Augustine arranged the memorable meeting with the British bishops of the old church, the successors of the men who had taken refuge from the Saxon and Engle conquerors in Wales. We have the story of the meeting told in the bright and interesting pages of Bede; but we must remember that Bede

was the strong partisan of Rome, was the earnest opponent of the old Celtic uses, and that, as we shall see, one of the few sombre and stained "memories" of the saintly monk of Jarrow — perhaps the solitary one—occurs in the course of this recital.

The place of meeting between the representatives of the two churches which were then dividing Western Christendom is traditionally Aust or Aust Cliff—the Cliff of Augustine—a low, reddish cliff overlooking the broad estuary of the river Severn, and the low green hills of Wales between the modern Chepstow and Cardiff. The prospect from the Cliff of Augustine is singularly attractive and suggestive. On the one side, inland, the rising ground and woods slope upwards towards the Downs of Clifton, and in the far distance the loftier hills of Somerset, the scene of so many desperate encounters between the Northmen and the Britons, but which, when Augustine met the British bishops, had become the undisputed heritage of the West Saxon; a portion of that fair kingdom soon to be known far beyond the confines of the island as Wessex, the territory of that royal house from which has sprung the Sovereigns of England for more than a thousand years. In front lay the broad blue waters of the Severn, that great and often stormy estuary which had effectually barred the Northmen from entering Wales by the south. Fringing the Severn were the low green hills of Gwent and distant Morganwg; while behind these hills of Gwent on the blue-grey horizon, rose a range of yet higher hills, the outspurs of those unstormed fortresses of Wales, as yet untrodden by any Northman's foot.

The conference, as might have been expected, was unsatisfactory. On the on side, Augustine required obedience an submission, alleging his commission fro the apostolic see; on the other, th British bishops and leading men of th ancient church were evidently astonishe at the position of superiority which h assumed. There is absolutely no trace i the ancient Celtic church of any acknow ledgment of the supremacy of the Romis see. Indeed, in that "Life of Columba by the abbot Adamnan, to which we hav so frequently referred, and which wa written in A.D. 692–697, there is no hin whatever as to any acknowledgment of th supremacy of the Roman see on the par of the Celtic church, nor even any *allusio* at all to Rome or her bishop; and Adam nan emphatically was no blind admirer c Celtic uses, which, in fact, he subsequentl abandoned for the sake of Catholic unit of practice.

They agreed, however, to another an more formal conference, in which the mor important differences between the use of the ancient church and the uses c the church Augustine had established i Kent might be fully discussed. The secon conference appears to have been hel shortly after the first. The date of thes meetings was A.D. 602–603. Bede is ou authority for the report of what took plac at these meetings of Augustine and th bishops and monks of the ancient Britis Church; and as Bede, trained rigidly i the Roman obedience, was naturally a earnest and enthusiastic partisan of th Roman party, we may be quite sure tha his report omits nothing which could b construed as favourable to Augustine an his cause.

The second conference included on the art of the ancient church seven British ishops; these were accompanied by many ıost learned men, especially from the great ıonastery of Bangor Iscoed. The Monk f Jarrow tells a curious story of an in-ident which preceded the meeting, and hich probably was founded on fact, for bears strongly upon the real point of ifference between Augustine and the ritish divines — the alleged supremacy f Rome.

The British delegates sought before he Conference, as the story relates, the dvice of a hermit in much repute for his anctity and wisdom. They asked the holy ıan whether he would advise them to hange their "uses" for the "uses" pressed ıpon them by the strange missionary ishop from Rome. The answer was: "*If e* [the stranger] *be a man of God, follow im.*" They asked for further information: How shall we ascertain if he be a man f God?" "Our Lord," said the wise man, spoke of Himself as meek and lowly in ıeart. If this Augustine, when you pproach him, rises to meet you, then be ssured that he is a servant of Christ—listen o him then obediently. If, on the other ıand, he does not rise up to greet you, ut treats you with contempt as inferiors, hen show contempt in your turn." "The neeting followed," continues Bede's nar-ative; "Augustine received the British ishops and the learned monks without ttempting to rise from his seat."

There is no doubt, when we review his evidently true story, that Augustine letermined to assert his pre-eminent ignity as archbishop of the English, and arried out the mandate which he received from Pope Gregory to treat the bishops and priests as subject to him. With these pretensions there was, of course, no chance of any agreement between them. Augustine proceeded to insist upon three points being conceded to him:—

(1) Easter must be kept by the British Church at the same time as the Roman custom had directed. (The difference of the Celtic use in the reckoning when the Easter feast should be kept, will be discussed later.)

(2) The British must agree to perform Baptism according to the manner of the Roman and Apostolic Church. (What this difference consisted in is uncertain.)

(3) They must join with him in preaching the Word of the Lord to their conquerors the English (Engle and Saxon) peoples.

The answer they gave to Augustine was short and decisive—"We will do none of these things." Then they added what was probably the real reason of their refusal even to consider his points—"We will not have you as archbishop;" for they considered among themselves, "If he would not now rise up to receive us courteously, how much more will he look down on us as not worthy of consideration if we should acknowledge ourselves as subject to his authority?" and so the conference ended.

But the extraordinary bitterness which the long-drawn-out conflict between the two churches—the Roman and the Celtic—created was sadly demonstrated in the closing scene of this memorable conference, in which Augustine is represented by Bede as threatening the British Church, if they would not join in unity with their brethren—*i.e.* with him and the members of his

Italian mission in preaching to the English peoples—with the vengeance of death, which, he said, they would receive at the hands of the English nation. The comment of the Monk of Jarrow on this scene of the conference is perhaps the saddest bit of writing in his invaluable history, and is another of the many proofs how sadly the noblest minds are influenced for evil by religious dissensions, especially when human motives, as was too clearly the case here, enter into the grounds of the dispute. Alluding to the prophecy of evil pronounced against the British Church by Augustine, Bede adds, "all which, through the dispensation of the Divine judgment, fell out just as he had predicted;" and then proceeds to relate how afterwards (in 613) Ethelfrith, the fierce Engle king of Northumbria, warring against Brocmael, king of Powys, on the occasion of a battle between the Engle host and the British under the walls of the city now known as Chester, seeing a large body of British priests, including a number of monks from the neighbouring monastery of Bangor Iscoed, standing near the engaging armies, and praying for the success of the British, gave orders for their massacre (see p. 116). Bede says 1,200 of these monks and priests were there slain, and—forgetting for a moment the noble work of Columba, and the Iona mission of Aidan, and how close and intimate was the connection of Columba's and Aidan's mother-church of Ireland with the ancient British church—does not hesitate to apply to these helpless unarmed victims, whose only crime was that they were praying for their hapless country, the word *nefandæ* (execrable). "Thus," he adds, "was fulfilled the prediction of the holy bishop Augustine, though he had himself long before been taken up into the heavenly kingdom" [Augustine died in 605, eight years before the massacre] "that those perfidious men should feel the vengeance of temporal death also, because they had despised the offer of eternal salvation."

After the massacre Ethelfrith destroyed and sacked the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed. All this, however, happened in 613, and has only been related here to show how, according to Bede, the prophecy or curse of Augustine, pronounced against the British Church for declining to submit to his authority and to aid him in his work, received its terrible fulfilment.

After the rejection of Augustine's overtures to the bishops and monks of the remnant of the British Church in Wales he returned to Canterbury and his Jutish followers in Kent. It must have been but a sad home-coming for the Roman missionary archbishop and his faithful companions. Augustine, with all his faults, was no ordinary man, was intensely earnest, and was devoted to the cause to which he had consecrated his life; and the consciousness of utter failure must have pressed hard upon him as he journeyed back to Canterbury through that strange, unfriendly, desolated Britain, with its pagan conquerors just beginning to settle themselves in the ruined cities and empty homesteads of the vanished people they had taken so many weary years to drive out.

The first years of Augustine's life in Kent had been years of success—undreamed-of success. From the hour of landing at Ebbsfleet until that sad meeting

with the bishops and abbots of the old Celtic church of Britain, by the blue waters of

"'WE WILL DO NONE OF THESE THINGS'" (*p.* 95).

the Severn sea in the west, all had gone well with him and his companions. The Jutish king Ethelbert had given them a kindly welcome, and the steady friendship of the Christian queen of the Kentish Jutes had won them a patient, ever-friendly hearing. King and queen had set the example, and the thanes and people followed the

royal lead, and Kent, outwardly at least, accepted the teaching Augustine had to give them. Churches were built, monastic buildings arose, the sacred mysteries of the faith were reverently celebrated, and the Italian missionary monk had been able to report to Rome the conversion of a heathen people. From headquarters every possible recognition had been received by the successful missionary. The Jutish city of Canterbury had been made the seat of an archbishop. The pallium, the highest honour bestowed by Rome, had been conferred on the head of the mission. Valuable books, a store of precious relics, and above all a reinforcement of trusted monks, had been dispatched by Augustine's friend and master, Pope Gregory, deservedly known in history as "the Great." All seemed to prosper in that new and dangerous mission to the famous, far-distant island which had become the prey of fierce Northern pagan invaders, and which for so many years the soul of the earnest and devoted bishop of Rome had longed to convert and to claim as part of his flock.

Then came the visit of the Italian archbishop of the Jutes to the far west, the story of which has been related, and the utter failure to establish friendly relations with the monks and bishops of the ancient British church. Augustine was, no doubt, very much amazed to find so powerful a Christian organisation, where he had expected only to meet with a weak, disorganised company of fugitives. He found a church poor, no doubt, and scattered; but strong in memories, faithful to the traditions of a great past, and closely united in teaching and practices with that strange and powerful Christian Ireland, which in the days of Augustine was already making itself—with its missionary zeal and undoubted learning—felt as a power far beyond the confines of its own remote, sea-girt island. But of Rome and her pretensions to supreme power, the refugees in the west and their powerful friends in Ireland knew nothing. They even scoffed at these pretensions, when they heard of them from Augustine, and the abbots and bishops of the British communities in the west absolutely refused to acknowledge the authority, or to recognise in any way the supremacy, of the Rome-appointed archbishop of the Jutish pagan tribes in the far east of Britain.

Of Augustine's want of wisdom in pressing his claims of supremacy, evidently hitherto unclaimed, there is no doubt. With all the acknowledged nobleness of the man, he was evidently utterly wanting in those supreme graces of Christian character which in all ages have so materially aided the really great missionary founders of churches. His master would never have hopelessly alienated those successors of a noble line of saintly men like David and Iltud, Kentigern and Asaph, as did Augustine. The pretensions of Rome to a supreme authority would have been advanced in a very different spirit by a statesman like Gregory the Great. The first archbishop of the English was in many respects a true imitator of St. Paul ever unsparing of himself, loyal and devoted, earnest and true. But in his dealings with the representatives of the ancient church of Britain, which surely deserved the most tender and loving, even respectful treatment at his hands, he forgot utterly

*Photo: Graphotone Co., Enfield, N.*

ROCHESTER CASTLE.

St. Paul's grand definition of true Christianity, which while it "hopeth all things," still "beareth all things, endureth all things."

Legendary history has been busy with the three or four years which remained to the first archbishop of Canterbury. No one who has made any study of the story of Augustine doubts his zeal and earnestness. This was shown in the strong pressure he put on his convert Ethelbert to use his influence as over-lord of tribes and districts beyond the limits of his own little kingdom of Kent, in favour of Christianity. These efforts, which seem to have been confined to the districts immediately south and north of London (which in the first years of the seventh century was again rapidly rising into importance), were represented by later chroniclers, desirous to magnify the influence of the Roman mission, as missionary enterprises extending over a large portion of the island. Augustine is painted by these Romanists of a later age as the apostle of all England, not of a small portion of it. They tell us of his proceeding to Dorsetshire and Oxfordshire, even as far north as Ely; and do not scruple to tell us of many miracles worked by the indefatigable, tireless apostle. But these stories for the most part are utterly baseless. What is now known as Kent and Surrey no doubt became Christian; and a bishopric was certainly established at Rochester by king Ethelbert, and Justus, the faithful friend and companion of Augustine, was appointed its first bishop. A church was built at Hrof's Castle on the Medway, the modern Rochester; and, in memory of the loved monastery on the Cœlian Hill at Rome, the sacred house where Augustine had lived as monk, and where Gregory had been abbot, the Rochester church was dedicated to St. Andrew.

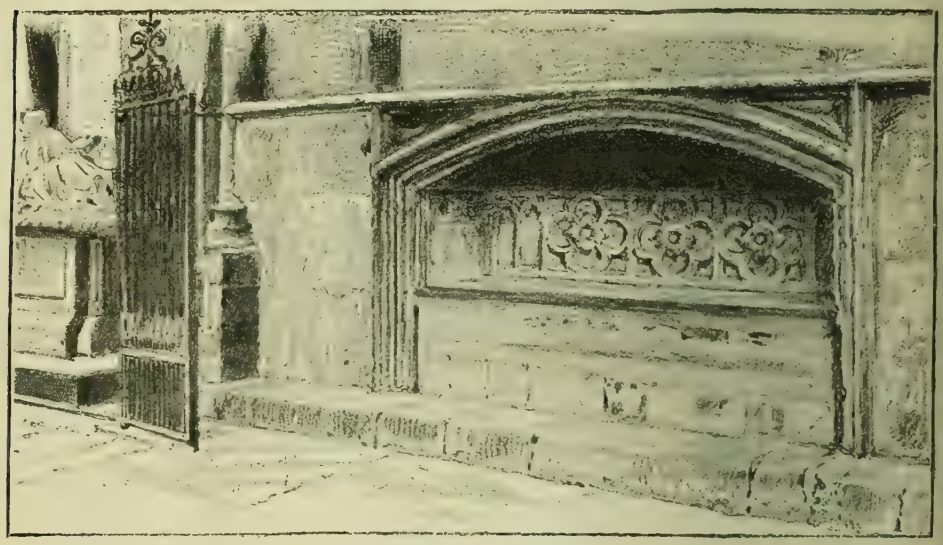
Ethelbert — Augustine's friend among the North-folk who had conquered Britain —occupied a high and powerful position among the mightiest chieftains of the conquerors, and his influence extended far beyond the confines of his own actual kingdom of Kent. The districts now occupied by the modern counties of Middlesex and Essex seem to have been very closely attached to the Jutish king. The East Saxon king Sledda had married Ethelbert's sister Ricula, and their son Sæberht, Ethelbert's nephew, at the beginning of the seventh century was king of the East Saxon peoples.

The chief city of these parts was London —in the old days before the coming of the North-folk a flourishing and wealthy centre. Its unrivalled position on the banks of a noble river, and its ready access to the ports of Gaul, had marked it out in very early days as an emporium of commerce. Although wrecked and utterly ruined by the invaders, it rapidly recovered something at least of its ancient importance, and Augustine chose it as the site of a bishopric. Mellitus, one of the little group of monks dispatched by Gregory to assist Augustine in the work, was sent as a missionary bishop to the East Saxons. He had considerable success, and Sæberht encouraged him to build the first St. Paul's in London. We must picture to ourselves, however, a very different London from the mediæval city which rapidly grew up. The London of Sæberht lay entirely to the

east; on the west of St. Paul's lay mostly waste lands; for long after that day "the precincts of St. Paul embraced a large district around it, which stretched almost from the river to Newgate, and from near the wall as far inland as Cheapside."

Perhaps in imitation of Augustine's work at Canterbury, Mellitus determined to build a home for a monastic colony apart from the mother church. Tradition tells us he chose a spot amid the waste lands lying to the west of St. Paul's. Some two miles down the river, on a small marshy island formed by an arm of the Thames, a tract utterly desolate and uninhabited, a site was selected for the new monastery. On this island of the Thames, which, from the bushes and thickets with which it was covered, received the name of Thorney, was probably erected about A.D. 604 the first West Minster.

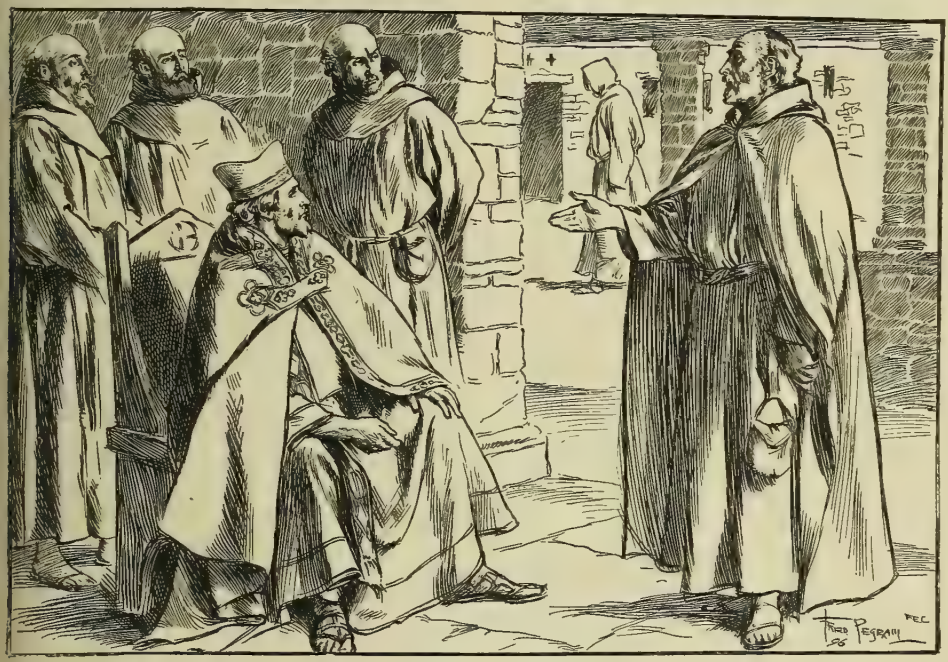
Twice in the splendid story of the sacred foundation of Sæberht the king and Mellitus the bishop, has the abbey been pulled down to make room for a new and more stately fane. Nothing remains now of the church of Sæberht and Mellitus of the seventh century — little of the abbey of Edward the Confessor of the eleventh century. But the work of Henry III. of the thirteenth century is still with us, and is rightly accounted one of the architectural glories of England. A plain and undistinguished tomb, to the south of the altar of the stately abbey, is still shown as the traditional resting-place of Sæberht the East Saxon, the royal founder of the first church and monastery. No spot in Europe is hallowed by such memories, or surrounded by a veneration like that with which Englishmen regard the grey, time-worn House of God—the successor of the West Minster of Sæberht. And with good reason. Within its walls a



SÆBERHT'S TOMB, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

long line of sovereigns have received the crown of England. It has ever been the favourite last resting-place of our monarchs, and of the noblest of our land. Within the precincts the assembly of the nation has ever met; and though well-nigh thirteen storied centuries have passed since its first solemn consecration, the name of West Minster as the great national sanctuary has lost nothing of its ancient power with the hearts of Englishmen. It belongs to the proudest and most stately of our churches, as well as to that mighty palace, the home of our great national Parliament, the model and pattern of all the popular assemblies of Europe.

A curious tradition says that it was never consecrated by mortal ceremonies, for that, on the night preceding the day fixed for the first dedication by king and bishop, bishop Mellitus in his rude tent on Thorney Island, waiting for the day to dawn which should witness the august and solemn service, was warned not to repeat a ceremony already performed by St. Peter and a choir of angels. A fisherman related to the bishop how he ferried a stranger over the Thames in the night hour; how he watched the unknown cross the threshold of the empty church, and, as he passed within the doors, a bright light filled the building. Music such as he had never heard before pealed forth, and clouds of the sweetest incense filled the air. After a time the strange visitant returned, and bade the fisherman go and tell Mellitus



"BISHOP DAGAN DISCUSSED WITH LAURENCE THE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ROMAN AND CELTIC COMMUNIONS" (*p.* 106).

what he had seen and heard, and how he whom Christians call St. Peter had himself consecrated the church which Sæberht had built. This strange story has come down from generation to generation, and is repeated in different forms in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Lives of Edward the Confessor.

In all these records, in which the supernatural is often mingled with plain everyday events, it is not difficult to separate history from legend; and the story of the great work of Augustine and his missionary companions in Kent and in some districts lying north and east of Kent, rests upon evidence clear and undisputed. The cathedral and monastery in Canterbury, the cathedral of St. Andrew at Rochester, the first church of St. Paul's in London, the West Minster of St. Peter on Thorney Island, the "Dooms" or laws of Ethelbert, the Christian king of Kent, the very beginning of recorded English legislation, which contain important enactments of rights conceded to the Christian church—all this tells us that the work of the Italian mission under Augustine bore not a little solid and enduring fruit. That he evangelised the whole island, or ever preached throughout a large portion of it, is absolutely mythical; but that he laid the strong and permanent foundations of Christianity in Kent and the surrounding districts, is indisputable, and much of his work has lasted to our own day and time.

With the successful establishment of the outlying stations in London and Rochester Augustine's labours were finished. Worn out and exhausted by his busy and active middle life, the Italian monk felt that his end was near. Curiously enough, his great master, the Pope Gregory, who had trained him in the Roman monastery on the Cœlian Hill, and had chosen him to carry out the mission to the pagan conquerors of Britain—the cherished project nourished by Gregory during so many toil-filled years—died only two months before his favourite disciple, the archbishop of the English, fell asleep in his Canterbury home. To the last he had watched over his pupil and follower, advising and encouraging him to the end.

Augustine, aware that he too was dying, arranged for the anxious matter of his successor, and with his own hands consecrated Laurence. Laurence had been with him from the first day of his landing at Ebbsfleet on the Kentish coast, and had shared with him the joys of his successes, and sympathised in the sorrows caused by his failures. He, perhaps alone among men, was thoroughly acquainted with Augustine's plans for the future, alone perhaps comprehended the views of the dead Pope Gregory, in the difficult matter of the disputes with the abbots and bishops of the ancient British church. This consecration to a succession was a rare, though not an unknown practice in the ancient Christian church.

It was in the month of May, 605,* that Augustine died. The body was laid temporarily outside the still uncompleted monastery church of St. Peter and St. Paul, afterwards known as St. Augustine's Abbey. Laurence, as had been arranged, succeeded to his dignities and responsibilities. Eight years later, in the year of our Lord 613, the abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul was completed, and solemnly consecrated

* Some give 604 as the date of the death.

by Laurence, the archbishop, in the presence of Ethelbert and his court. There the remains of Augustine were deposited in the north transept. In the twelfth century they were again removed, and laid under the high altar at the east end. Queen Bertha, who did so much to assist Augustine when he first landed, and her Frankish chaplain, Luitbrand, were laid to rest in the same abbey church. After three years, in 616, the body of the Kentish king was also laid by the side of his queen. "Somewhere in the field around the ruins of the once stately abbey the remains of the four friends Ethelbert and Bertha, Luitbrand and Augustine, probably repose, and may possibly be discovered."*

The term "great missionary archbishop" is a well-deserved title, for Augustine is emphatically to be reckoned among the great ones of England. Modern historians, both in our own country and in foreign lands, have often loved to describe him as a man of irresolution, and yet obstinate; as unreasonably puffed up by his early successes, and then equally unreasonably dejected by his subsequent failures. They paint him, in his dealings with the ancient British church, as proud and unyielding; as one utterly incapable of seeing any virtue or beauty of character in men who ventured to disagree with him; as even malevolent and cruel in his denunciation of a church which declined to pay him homage and to obey his orders.

That there are shadows resting on the fair fame of the first archbishop of the English, is undoubted. That he failed on some momentous occasions to play the part either of the tender and devoted saint, or of the far-seeing statesman, no fair historian would seek to deny. But his faults—such as they were—seem owing, in large measure, to his earlier surroundings. He had lived in the comparative seclusion of a monastery until he was past middle age; and the life of a religious house was not adapted to teach men the difficult secret of government, or of gaining the affection and confidence of others who had been trained in different schools of thought. To win over to the ways and discipline of Rome a church like that which he found in Western Britain — a powerful community, learned and earnest, wedded to their own peculiar rites and customs handed down to them from an immemorial antiquity; strengthened, too, by the fact that they and their fathers had passed through the bitter experiences of the Anglo-Saxon conquest—needed a very different envoy from the monk Augustine; devoted and intensely in earnest, it is true, but at the same time stern, rigid, unbending; convinced that his ways, the ways of Gregory and Rome, alone were right; persuaded that his views, the views of Rome upon all points, unimportant as well as vital, alone were correct; that any deviation in ritual or practice was sternly reprehensible; that any church not in close communion with Rome was heretical, even scarcely deserving the common name of Christian.

It is difficult to understand Augustine's apparent ignorance of the antiquity of the British church, or upon what grounds he claimed pre-eminence of rank in such an ancient hierarchy; but, with our scanty knowledge, it is unfair to condemn the great missionary for his conduct in such a

* Stanley's "Memorials of Canterbury."

crisis of his life, when that conduct was the result of his life-long training. His failure to conciliate the ancient British church—a failure which, in the eyes of so many writers, has cast a deep shadow over his really successful career—was only the first scene in that eventful drama, the unfolding of which must be related as this history advances; the drama in which the two great divisions of the Church of the West contested for the mastery. He was only the loyal and devoted agent of that mighty Italian Church which had sent him forth as its missionary, and cannot be blamed for his unswerving fidelity; his only fault lay in his want of skill and tact. But apart from this disastrous episode, his was a grand and noble career, crowned, too, with a success conspicuous as it was deserved.

The success was indeed great and marked. "He had converted a typical English monarch; he had baptised multitudes of Kentish proselytes; he had secured a formal and public acceptance by a national assembly of Christian obligations, and of the church as an organised institution; he had planted offshoots of the Kentish church in London and Rochester; he had established in Canterbury a centre for future church extension; he had definitely connected the reviving Christianity in Britain with the theological culture and ecclesiastical discipline of the continental Western church."* He had, in a word, deserved the laudation of the ancient English Council, which, when appointing a day in his honour, described him as having brought to the English people "the knowledge of their heavenly country."

* Prof. Bright, "Early English Church."

And the success was well deserved; for, in spite of dangers and difficulties, he was ever the earnest and laborious toiler for God; ever loyal and devoted, utterly unsparing of himself; ever one who, by the example of his self-denying, self-sacrificing life, commended the beautiful religion which he preached. This was the secret of his success among the Jutish pagans of Kent. These simple German warriors, from the king downwards, loved him, and accepted with childlike trust the truths he told them of. Augustine was no doubt a preacher of rare power, and a teacher of surpassing excellence; but the true secret of his wonderful success among the heathen German race, some of whose bravest warriors he brought to Christ, lay in the power of his beautiful example. He lived the life he came to preach.

From the year 605 until 616, when the old king Ethelbert died, some ten or eleven years, Christianity under Laurence, the new archbishop, quietly held its own, without making much way outside Kent. The picture of Laurence's life is lovingly painted by Bede, who writes how "Laurence began his archiepiscopate with strenuous efforts to extend the foundations of the church, and took pains to carry up its fabric to the due height by the frequent utterance of holy exhortation and the continual example of pious conduct."

The most notable event in this quiet period was another futile attempt at union with the Celtic church in the West, and an earnest appeal to the Irish Christians, remonstrating with them for the seemingly unbrotherly conduct of a certain Bishop Dagan, a monk of the famous monastery

BURIAL OF KING ETHELBERT (*p.* 108).

of Bangor, in Ulster, and bishop of Inverdaoile in Wexford, who had visited him in Canterbury. This bishop, delegated by the great Irish church, evidently discussed at length with Laurence the points of difference between the Roman and Celtic communions, but no agreement was come to between them. Bede, briefly recounting the results of the conference, does not hesitate to characterise the Celtic usages as "the errors of the Britons." From his words it is quite clear that there was a general harmony of use and agreement in doctrine, government, and ritual, between the British church in the western portions of the island, the Scotch churches—mostly the foundations of the Irish Columba—the great church in Ireland, and the many foreign houses scattered over Europe, the splendid fruits of the labours of Columban and his companions. But, as we have seen in the case of the policy exercised by Rome with reference to the vast Columban monasteries on the Continent, there was no disposition on the part of Rome to make any concessions. The Celtic church—whether at Luxeuil in Burgundy, at Clonard in Ireland, at Bangor in Wales, at Iona in Scotland—*must submit* to the ritual and use of Rome; must acknowledge her supreme authority, or else be reckoned as a church wedded to error, and unworthy of Catholic communion.

To exact this uncompromising obedience was, no doubt, the burthen of the orders which archbishop Laurence received from headquarters at Rome. Such, no doubt, was the substance of his requirements in his conference with the Irish bishop, Dagan. A formal epistle of Laurence's, quoted by Bede, addressed to "Our very dear brethren the Lords Bishops an Abbots throughout all Scotland" (th term Scotland in those days include Ireland) reads as follows: "Laurentius Mellitus, and Justus, servants of the ser vants of God. When the Apostolic See—according to the universal custom which i has followed elsewhere—sent us to thes western countries to preach the faith t pagan peoples, we came to this islan Britain without possessing any previou knowledge of its inhabitants. Believin that they all followed the customs of th universal Church, we held in great vener ation the piety of the Britons and th Scots [this term includes, as always, th Irish]. When we came to know the error of the Britons, we thought the Scots ha been better; but now that the Bisho Dagan has been with us, and now that th Abbot Columbanus has been in Gaul, w know that the Scots differ in nothing i their practices from the Britons; for th bishop not only refused to partake of ou hospitality, but even would not so much a eat in our house."

This singular letter to the heads of the Irish church, then rapidly becoming famous for its learning and devoted piety throughout the western world, sets before us with marvellous clearness, in a very few words, the attitude of Rome towards the Celtic churches in Ireland, Scotland, Britain and Gaul, and gives us the key to the long struggle which followed between the Celtic and Roman churches. It seems that Rome before the time of Gregory the Great had no conception of the vitality and power of Christianity in the far West; apparently she had thought of the fellow-worshippers in those distant countries as well-nigh

overwhelmed by the flood of pagan barbarians from the North, and that if any survived that desolating conquest, it was but a poor remnant, few in number and without organisation or influence. The marvellous work of Columban in Gaul, the reception of Augustine by the Christian Britons on the banks of the Severn, the fast-growing reputation of the Irish monastic schools, all came as a revelation to the Roman church, which, in the reconstruction of society in Europe after the collapse of the old empire, dreamed of a universal sovereignty in religious matters. Rome all of a sudden found herself confronted with a whole network of churches, numerous and organised, inspired with no ordinary missionary zeal, and, above all, armed with all the resources of learning.

It was indeed a startling phenomenon which presented itself, this resurrection of an older Christianity—a Christianity which claimed an apostolic origin for its peculiar rites and customs, and which absolutely refused even to consider the claim of the See of Rome to a universal, or to a partial supremacy. The vast religious communities and the learned schools of Ireland, the pious and devoted disciples of Columba of Iona, the remnant of the ancient British Christians, the numerous and powerful religious houses daily increasing in numbers and power on the continent of Europe—offshoots of Columban's world-renowned monastery of Luxeuil—looked upon the claim of Rome and her mighty pontiffs to a universal religious sovereignty as a novel thing; as a usurpation to be resisted to the bitter end.

The letter of Laurence the archbishop, Augustine's successor, in the first years of the seventh century, addressed to the leading men of the Irish communities, reveals exactly the feeling of Rome, on the other hand, at this juncture, towards the Celtic churches of the West. It breathes a spirit of intense surprise, burning indignation, and unalterable purpose of maintaining its lordly claims; but it betrays no idea, gives no hint, of mutual concession.

The question to be solved was—what form of Christianity would eventually be established in Britain? Save in the south-east corner of the isles, where Roman Christianity was now firmly rooted, and on the hills and valleys of wild Wales, and part of equally wild Scotland, where the ancient faith had been revived, the island was virtually pagan. To whom would the Holy Spirit entrust the blessed work of evangelising the Saxon and Engle conquerors? to the Celtic missionary from Ireland and Iona, or to the Italian monk trained at Rome?

The answer to this question was not given for nigh two centuries. The story of the conversion of these Engles and Saxons is indeed a marvellous one, and to us, their children, a story of surpassing interest. As the pages of the history are one by one slowly turned, we shall mark how the two churches toiled after the same high end—alas! never friends, for their ways of working lay far, far apart. The Celtic churchmen strove to lead the pagan Northmen to Christ and life with the weapons of a passionate earnestness and of a tender restless energy which, wielded by saintly men of the type of Aidan and Cuthbert, Columban and Gall, were simply

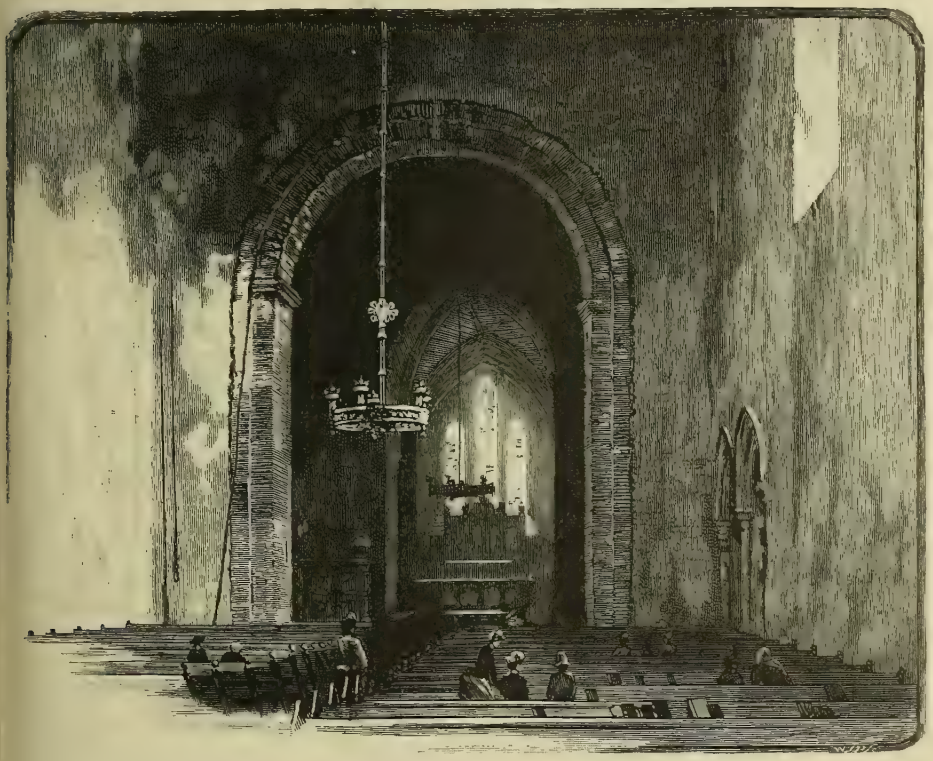
irresistible. The Roman churchmen, splendidly represented by Wilfrid and Bede, Theodore and Aldhelm, for the same high ends used arms forged in a different workshop. Their weapons were changeless law, perfect order, unswerving obedience, an iron discipline. These arms in a different way were equally successful. Before the two centuries whose story is next to be told had run their course, the great work was finished, and heathen Britain had become Christian England—the great barbaric island which Western Europe looked on with mingled wonder and admiration. The two rival communions—the Celtic and the Roman—may be fairly said to have contributed equally to bring about this great result, though the spoils of the blessed victory all remained with Rome. Men soon forget the vanquished; and only on that day when the Books are opened before the Throne, and all is revealed, will the true work of the forgotten Celtic church in the matter of the conversion of Britain be really known. Some of us even dare to think that, in the summing up on the day of the great Assize, the first—as men count first—will be found to be last, and the last first!

King Ethelbert of Kent died in the year 616, and was laid by the side of his queen in Augustine's monastic church outside the walls of Canterbury. Before the death of the old king, however, clouds seemed to be gathering over the fortunes of Christianity in Kent. The acknowledged supremacy of king Ethelbert over the neighbouring pagans was gradually passing away, and his influence—ever used in favour of the faith—in London and the Essex country was fast waning. Eadbald, hi son and heir, was no Christian, and hi life was irregular and his example evil and when he came to the throne, many c the Jutish people of Kent threw off eve the profession of Christianity.

In London things were even worse King Sæberht, Ethelbert's nephew, wh had loved the teaching of Mellitus, an had built, as we have seen, the St. Paul' and probably the West Minster, was als dead; and his three sons, who succeede him as chiefs of the East Saxon people cared nothing for the new doctrines, an worshipped the old gods of their fathers One day they were watching bisho Mellitus administering, in one or othe of the new churches of St. Paul's or th West Minster, the Communion to th faithful. The Saxon princes were angr because he passed them by. "Why," said they to the bishop, "do you not offe us the white bread which you used to giv to our father, Sæberht, and which you still give to the people in your church?" The fearless servant of God replied to th princes: "If you will be washed in that laver of salvation in which your father was washed, you also may partake of the holy bread of which he partook; but i you despise the laver of life, you may not receive the Bread of Life." This they refused to do, but insisted upon partaking o the sacred oblation. Mellitus still resisted Then the princes, enraged at what they considered his obstinacy, ordered Mellitu and his companions to quit the East Saxon country.

Justus and the church of Rocheste were overwhelmed by the same storm A wave of pagan reaction passed over al

the south-east of England. There was no home for the fugitives of London and Rochester in Canterbury. There, too, the new King Eadbald was hostile to Christianity. His manner of life made him hate the presence, and dread the Augustine, Ethelbert, and Bertha were laid. As he prayed, sleep came on him; and as he slept, in a dream he saw St. Peter standing by him, bitterly reproaching him for his cowardice in forsaking the flock of God entrusted to his charge; in



ST. MARY'S, DOVER CASTLE.

and reproaches and earnest reminders of Laurence and the Canterbury monks. Friendless now, and in danger of their lives, Mellitus and Justus fled to the neighbouring coast of Gaul. Laurence also, persuaded that all was over for the Christian cause in Kent, prepared to follow them. The night before his flight he went in the now completed church of St. Peter and Paul, where the remains of leaving them to the wolves, instead of braving death for their sake. Bede, who tells the story, adds that St. Peter scourged the faint-hearted archbishop with pitiless severity.

In the morning Laurence sought the pagan king Eadbald, telling him of his strange dream, and pointing to the scars and wounds inflicted by his ghostly visitant the night before. The king's heart

was touched, so runs the legend; he listened to his father's old instructor, and determined to become the friend, not the foe, of the men who had dwelt so long among his people, and who had taught them so many and such beautiful things. Eadbald became himself a devoted Christian, and, as far as Kent was concerned, the religion of the Crucified became more firmly rooted than ever. The Canterbury settlement was never seriously threatened again, and it continued its quiet, blessed work unhindered among the Jutish people. The two fugitive bishops, Mellitus and Justus, returned from Gaul; the influence of king Eadbald restored Justus to the church of Rochester, which still continued to be a centre of earnest work. But his power was insufficient to bring about any change in London and in the East Saxon territory. We must picture St. Paul's and the West Minster lying for years untenanted by priest or worshipper—possibly even profaned by the wild worship of Woden and the gods of the north.

There is little to record for many years in the story of the church of Canterbury. Laurence died three years after his dream, king Eadbald ever remaining his staunch friend. In succession his faithful friends followed him as archbishop—Mellitus first, then Justus; and in the year 627 the last of the old companions of Augustine, Honorius, took his place as the fifth of the archbishops of the see, hereafter to become so famous.

Thus nearly a quarter of a century had passed since Augustine had fallen asleep, and during that long period no further progress had been made by the Italian mission sent to Britain by Gregory the Great. Indeed, the area of its influenc had been vastly reduced in this period The Christian settlement in London, which seemed in the first years of the centur to promise such happy results, had bee swept away; to the north of the city th missionaries of the religion of Jesus ha made no way. The East Saxon natio was still pagan. Even Rochester, unde the influence of Christian Kent, scarcel tolerated a Christian church or mission and on one occasion, as we have seen, th bishop and his companions were forced t fly for their lives. In Canterbury, owin to the influence of the king, who, how ever, began his reign as a pagan, bitterl hostile to the Christian church, the foun dations of Augustine held their own, bu they seemed to have made but little wa in the hearts of the surrounding peoples All efforts, too, at union with the rem nant of the ancient British church in th west had signally failed, and no friendl relations of the Canterbury Roman missio with the flourishing church in Ireland ha been established. Indeed, all attempts o Rome to convert the Northmen conquerors of Britain, which had been crowne during the first few years which followe the landing of Augustine in Kent with such splendid success, seemed doomed t failure. After some thirty years of work only a little corner in the south-east o Britain had received Christianity, and ever this solitary fortress of the faith was gravel menaced by the numerous hostile paga influences which surrounded it.

The failure was acknowledged and so rowfully commented on by Pope Bonifac V., in a formal letter to Justus, bishop o Rochester, on the occasion of his transla

tion to the arch-see of Canterbury on the death of Mellitus. The Roman pontiff sent the new archbishop the pall, and authorised him to consecrate single-handed a new bishop for Rochester. This letter of Boniface V. to Justus was written in A.D. 624, and specially alludes to the disappointment of the expectations which had been based upon the early successes of Augustine in Kent. The Pope, while dwelling on these baffled hopes, consoled the archbishop by telling him that what had been done was a pledge that in due time all would be done; that the slow progress was a trial of patience and endurance; the trial, said the wise Pope, should be borne in faith, and with a humble confidence that the work in Kent would secure in time the extension of Christianity among the neighbouring peoples. Such brave and loving words were indeed sorely needed by the little Christian colony in South-east Britain, for at the period when Boniface V. wrote to the new archbishop Justus the outlook was but a sombre one.

One or two events connected with these early days of Kentish Christianity are noteworthy. Among the works carried out when Eadbald was king, we have one still with us—that most venerable church of St. Mary, in the precincts of the Castle of Dover, attached to the old Roman Lighthouse Tower, built of lava and pumice-stone, the ballast of some Italian ship trading to Dover in the second or third century. At Folkestone Eadbald's daughter Eanswith founded a religious society, probably close to the site now occupied by the well-known and beautiful parish church. The name of the Jutish princess is still held in grateful memory at Folkestone as the local saint.

But more important far to the records of the royal house of Ethelbert was a marriage which took place about the year 625, only a few months after the receipt by archbishop Justus of Boniface's letter accompanying his pall. Edwin, the English king of Northumbria, asked for the hand in marriage of Ethelburga, king Eadbald's sister, the daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha. Ethelburga was known in her family as Tatta — "the darling." Edwin, of whom more presently, was rapidly advancing to that position of fame and power among the conquerors which he subsequently reached; but the once pagan Eadbald, now devoted to the faith, absolutely refused to give his sister to a heathen. Edwin repeated his petition, promising that if Ethelburga married him, she and her attendants should retain full liberty to worship according to the tenets of their faith. The Northumbrian's prayer was granted, and the daughter of Ethelbert left for her northern home accompanied by Paulinus, one of the three who had been sent from Rome with Justus in the year 601, to strengthen the original company of Augustine. Before Paulinus left with Ethelburga, he was consecrated by Justus to the episcopate.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE STRUGGLE OF CHRISTIANITY IN NORTHERN, MIDLAND, AND EASTERN ENGLAND.

German Origin of the Northern Invaders—Jutes, Engles, and Saxons—Preponderance of the Engles—Ælla of Deira—Ethelfrid the Ravager banishes Ælla's Son Edwin—Edwin at the Court of Redwald in East Anglia—Paulinus the Bishop—Defeat and Death of Ethelfrid and Restoration of Edwin—Extent of his Power—Marriage with Ethelburga—His Conversion by Paulinus—Council of Edwin's Thanes at Godmundham—Recognition of Christianity—Its Limited Extension—Paulinus and his Career—The Pagan Champion Penda of Mercia—His Alliance with Cadwallon—Defeat and Death of Edwin, and Departure of Paulinus and the Widowed Queen.

THE central scene of the story of the rise of Christianity among the North-folk who had conquered Britain, will now be removed from Kent to the northern district of the island. But it will make the story more vivid and lifelike if something of an outline be drawn of the general position of the North-folk in Britain at the beginning of the seventh century.

It is curious to mark how differently eminent writers view an event or a series of events in history. One dwells upon a battle, a siege, a royal marriage, as the turning-point in a nation's history. Another passes these by, as trivial events scarcely deserving the baldest mention. The importance or insignificance of an event depends upon the stand-point occupied by the chronicler. In the eyes of Milton the history of the Saxon princes is nothing more than "the scuffling of kites and crows." Cardinal Newman, on the other hand, proudly points to "the sixty saints and the hundred confessors who were trained in royal palaces of Saxon kings for the Kalendar of the Blessed." "How vast a chasm," writes a third and no less distinguished author, "yawns between these two conceptions of the same era!" To us, without indulging in the fervid and exaggerated estimate of Newman, the age is one of surpassing interest. It is the period to which the making of our English Christianity belongs.

In the last half of the fifth century, when the flood of barbarians broke in upon the various provinces of the Roman empire, Britain was invaded and overrun and finally conquered by successive bands of warriors, mainly drawn from a Low-German branch of the great Teutonic family who dwelt in the north of Germany, and in that peninsula we now call Sleswick, which separates the Baltic from the northern seas. Their country, roughly speaking, was that broad district on the banks of the Elbe, the Ems, and the Rhine (eastern bank). These German tribes, who chose Britain for the scene of their venture, are known as the Jutes, the Engles or Angles, and the Saxons. They were loosely knit together by the ties of a common blood, common speech, common social and political institutions, and a common religion.

The old home of the *Jutes*, who arrived first on our shores about A.D. 449, was that peninsula still called after them *Jutland*, which runs from the shores of North

Germany into the Baltic and North Seas. They were near kinsmen of the race settled on the opposite Scandinavian coast and the Danish Isles. Their settlement and their early history in Kent have been briefly described. Kent, part of Surrey, and subsequently the Isle of Wight, represented

DEPARTURE OF ENGLE INVADERS FOR BRITAIN.

the whole of their conquests in Britain. Their period of supremacy was short, and coincided with the reign of that Ethelbert who welcomed Augustine. After his death the Jutes exercised comparatively little influence in the island outside their own kingdom of Kent, which was eventually absorbed into the territory acquired by the larger and more powerful kindred tribe known as the West Saxons.

The *Saxons* came from the wide district which lay between the Elbe and the Ems, and across the Ems as far as the east bank of the Rhine. They were a number of kindred tribes drawn together into one great people known under the general name of Saxon. In our island they were classed under two great divisions—the East Saxons and West Saxons. The East Saxons overran Middlesex, part of Surrey, and Essex. Their influence in Britain was never predominant, and they were before long absorbed by, or at least subject to the over-lordship of, their near kinsmen, the West Saxons, or of the powerful and more numerous Engles. The West Saxons, continually reinforced by fresh bands of their countrymen, during a long period of years kept slowly advancing and gradually con-

quering the whole of the south of Britain, from the borders of Jutish Kent as far as Devonshire. Their kingdom eventually was roughly co-extensive with Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wilts, Dorset, Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, and Shropshire. Later the over-lordship of their western and some of their midland districts passed into the hands—at least for a season—of the Engles. Their supremacy in the island, and indeed the influence to which they were entitled by their great numbers and the wide extent of their conquests, was for a very long time delayed by internal disputes and by wranglings among their own tribal chieftains.

The third of the great divisions of the North-folk who conquered and settled in Britain were the *Engles* or *Angles*. Their home originally was on the middle Elbe, in the country which lies around the comparatively modern city of Magdeburg. Some of these Engles—those probably with whom Britain had most to do—dwelt in the lower part of the peninsula between the Baltic and North Sea immediately to the south of Jutland, and in the part of North Germany now known as Lower Hanover and Oldenburg. The whole of these northern Engles seem to have practically deserted their old home for the pleasanter and more fertile plains and valleys of Britain. In this they differed from their Jutish and Saxon kinsmen many of whom remained in their country. Some 200 years after their first landing in Britain, the district whence the northern Engles came, was still desolate and bare of

MAP SHOWING THE ORIGIN OF SAXONS, ENGLES, AND JUTES.

inhabitants. This wholesale migration of an entire people accounts for the vast numbers of the Engles,* who in the course of successive arrivals spread over so large a portion of our island. They conquered and eventually settled in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, and the Midland districts of Britain. In the Midlands they were generally known as Mercians, or Men of the Marches, because they occupied the long line of country bordering on the mountains of the west, where the remnant of the conquered Britons had found a refuge. Those of them who settled in the north and east were called Bernicians and Deirans, from the sections they inhabited in the vast district of Northumbria. It is these Engles, who for 200 years after the first coming of the North-folk exercised, as we shall see, a general supremacy among the conquering tribes. It is they who have given to the whole island their name—now honoured or feared by the whole world—of ENGLAND.

The story of the conversion of England is closely bound up with the fortunes of the Engles in Northumbria; and it will be seen that what the Roman mission of Augustine in Kent had failed to accomplish, was eventually carried out by men who lived under the shadow of that great throne which was set up in Yorkshire and Northumberland by the ruling Engle dynasty.

We first hear of these Engles in North Britain in the year 547, when a number of invading bands belonging to these people agreed together to choose for their king one of their chieftains, Ida, known among the harassed Britons by the ominous name of "Flame-Bearer." Ida's conquests in North Britain were known as Bernicia. Bernicia stretched over a wide extent of country, reaching from the Forth to the Tees. The original British dwellers in these parts were driven to the fastnesses of Cumberland and Westmorland, where they long maintained themselves. Ida, like the other kingly Engle and Saxon chieftains, claimed to descend direct from the god Woden; nine generations only were said to have lived between the Engle Flame-Bearer and his divine ancestor.

Eleven years later than Ida the Flame-Bearer, the history of the southern Engles of Deira begins, in the person of Ælla, another child of the divine Woden race. Deira, which was occupied by the men of Ælla, lay immediately to the south of Ida's Bernicia, and included well-nigh the whole of Yorkshire, and much of Lancashire and Cheshire. It was this Ælla of Deira of whom Gregory the Great heard in the slave market of Rome, when he looked with pity on the fair-haired Engle boys, and made that curious string of puns on the words: Ælla, Deira, and Angles (Engles).

South, again, of the Engle kingdom of Deira, more hordes of these Engles, under other chieftains, overran all the central parts of Britain. As time went on, these Midland Engles grouped themselves together, and, under the name of Mercians, established a powerful kingdom, which stretched over the centre of Britain, reaching from the territories of the Engles in Deira, or Yorkshire, to the settlements of the West Saxons in the southern parts of the island. But for the present our

* It seems convenient henceforth to adopt this form of the word.

interest is mainly centred upon the northern Engles of Bernicia and Deira.

We know few details of the terrible conquest of this part of Britain. Fragments of burned cities here and there remain to tell the awful story. As in the south of the island in the case of the Saxons, so in the north and Midlands, the Engles spared none. The cities were sacked and destroyed; the inhabitants of city and country were well-nigh all slain, or driven out as homeless exiles. Then followed a period of quarrelling and desperate fighting among the conquerors, "the scuffling of kites and crows" we have spoken of. King Ethelfrid of Bernicia (A.D. 592), known even among his wild and savage countrymen as "the Ravager," stands out with some prominence in that iron age of ceaseless, cruel warfare. His father Ethelric had, on the death of Ælla, taken forcible possession of Deira, and had driven away his son Edwin into exile; and Ethelfrid the Ravager had succeeded to the lordship of all the broad lands north of the Humber—North-humber-land. We shall hear much of this exiled prince Edwin; he plays a great part later in the story of the spread of Christianity among the Engle peoples.

Ethelfrid, who succeeded to the lordship of this great territory (A.D. 593), married the daughter of Ælla, and thus was the brother-in-law of the exiled Edwin. He was a typical heathen Engle king. Bede tells us how he "wasted the race of the Britons more than any chieftain of the Engles had done; for none drove out or subdued so many of the natives, or won so much of their lands for Engle settlement." Merciless in his behaviour to his own kith and kin, merciless to the conquered Britons, he nevertheless raised his country to great honour, and may be said to have been the founder of the greatness of Northumbria.

EARLY ENGLISH WRITING (*from a MS.*).

It was this great pagan warrior who, in the course of his never-ending wars, besieged the famous city of Deira—now Chester. The dwellers in Chester, armed with the courage of despair, risked a battle with the conquering Engles. Just before the engagement began, king Ethelfrid saw standing at a distance a great company of monks from ths neighbouring monastery of Bangor Iscoed, who, after a three days' fast, had come out of their sacred home to pray for the safety of the famous British city. Bangor Iscoed was one of those vast Celtic

monastic establishments of which we have already spoken. It contained 2,000 monks; of these one-half came out to pray for the success of their fellow-countrymen. monks and priests. "If," said the stern Engle, "they are crying to their god against us, then they are fighting with us by curses, though not with arms." Then

"ETHELFRID WATCHED THE WILD GESTURES OF THE UNARMED MONKS."

Ethelfrid, watching the wild gestures and listening to the piteous cries of the unarmed, strangely-clad monks, as they prayed their prayers and sang their hymns with impassioned earnestness, asked who and what this curious company were. He was told they were only unarmed Christian he bade his warriors fall at once upon them; of the 1,000 monks of Bangor only fifty escaped the bloody slaughter which followed. The monastery, with all its literary and priceless treasures, was burned and sacked, and the hapless dwellers in it were hunted down; probably few escaped

to tell the awful story of the fate of their famous prayer-home. Chester, too, the fair city known as the proud northern "City of the Legions," fell before the conquering Engle, and was sacked and utterly destroyed.

The pagan king, in the midst of his career of conquest, dreaded his exiled brother-in-law Edwin—alluded to above—and determined to compass his death. Edwin had found a shelter and a home far away from his native Deira, in East Anglia, at the court of Redwald, the friend of Ethelbert, the Christian king of Kent. Redwald was half a Christian, half a pagan: Ethelbert had persuaded him to be baptised, but his people in the eastern counties still loved their old gods; so Redwald contented himself with placing an altar to Christ by the side of the altar of Woden. At the court of Redwald at that time dwelt Paulinus, the Roman missionary, Augustine's companion; it was for him a hopeless mission though, in that land so devoted to the gods of the North. The work there had to be done by another than Paulinus, who seems to have been generally unknown and unnoticed in that heathen county. A strange chance happened, however, which gave him an influence over the exiled Edwin, which afterwards he used with wonderful success.

The sleepless jealousy of Ethelfrid the Ravager pursued Edwin in his distant place of exile. Thrice did the powerful Northumbrian king send to Redwald, offering great sums of money for the life of his brother-in-law. Each time he increased the offers; and the bribes went accompanied with threats of vengeance, of war and invasion, if his wishes were not complied with. At length the East Anglian king was gained over, probably terrified by the threats of the powerful and unscrupulous Engle king. Redwald's purpose to slay or to give up the exile came to the ears of a trusted friend of Edwin's, who one night called his friend from his chamber, and, leading him out of the palace, told him of the plot against his life or his liberty, and offered to guide him to a hiding-place where he would be safe. Edwin refused to fly, replying he was the friend of Redwald, a great king, and if he must needs die, he would rather die by his hand than by the hands of some unknown person. "For," he added, "where should I be safe? I have been so long now a fugitive. My enemies are everywhere." His friend left him. It was night and very dark, and the unhappy prince sat down on a stone bench outside the palace, and sorrowfully thought over his hard fate: utterly friendless and forlorn, surrounded by ruthless enemies, his misfortunes were greater than he could bear. While musing thus, a stranger came to him and courteously asked why he was sitting there alone in the darkness, when all others were sleeping. Edwin wonderingly asked him, why he troubled himself about him. The stranger replied, "I am acquainted with you, and your fears and bitter sorrows are all known to me. Now tell me what reward you will give the man who will persuade Redwald to be your faithful friend, and not your betrayer." Edwin replied that he would indeed bestow on such a man all it was in his power to give. The unknown stranger went on, "What if I ventured to tell you of a splendid future lying before you, of

your enemies being defeated, of yourself restored to a power greater than any ever possessed by your kingly ancestors? Will you promise in days to come, if these things come true, implicitly to follow my counsel and advice in the gravest matters which affect your life and salvation?" Edwin promised, and the unknown then laid his hand upon his head, saying to him, "Remember your solemn undertaking, when this sign shall be given to you," and with these words he disappeared in the darkness.

That night prince Edwin learnt that the queen had induced Redwald to give up all idea of harming him, persuading her husband that it was unworthy of a king to sell his friend for gold, or to sacrifice him for fear of a powerful neighbour. The East Anglian sovereign more than kept his word. He did not wait for Ethelfrid to accomplish his threat, but marched with a strong force to meet him. The two Engle kings—Redwald and Ethelfrid, and their hosts—met in the Trent Valley, and the battle was fought on the banks of the Idle. The Northumbrians were taken by surprise; the East Anglian was completely victorious, and Ethelfrid was slain. A line of an old Northern song preserves the memory of that fatal encounter, which had so marked an influence on the Christian story of England—"Foul ran Idle with the blood of Englishmen." The immediate result of the battle of the Idle was the elevation of Edwin to the Northumbrian throne. The sons of the slain Ethelfrid in their turn were driven from their country by their uncle Edwin; but three of them—Eanfred, Oswald, and Oswiu—in after days became kings of the country which now drove them out with ignominy, and the two last named, Oswald and Oswiu—names now utterly forgotten by most men—in their days were reckoned among the noblest and greatest sovereigns of their age.

The history of Edwin's reign is eventful and picturesque. His high descent and his close connection with the house of Ethelfrid caused him to be accepted without any opposition by all the northern Engles. The misfortunes of his earlier years had given a tinge of sadness and sympathy to his character, which, while it diminished nothing of the dash and energy possessed by his predecessor, Ethelfrid the Ravager, softened the cruelty and vindictiveness of this early Engle chieftain; though he continued the war with the remnant of the British, driving them from their last stronghold in Deira (Yorkshire). His kingdom grew in extent and power; it reached from the Forth to the Solent; and tradition ascribes to him the building of the great Scottish capital of Edinburgh (Edwin's Burg). The city of York became his chief residence, and something of the ancient glories of a Roman emperor belonged to the great Engle chieftain as he passed through his broad dominions. Men say how a great standard of gold and purple floated before him, while a feather tuft attached to a spear was the ensign of his lordship over the greater part of Britain. Gradually under his rule the din and confusion and terror of the ceaseless wars of conquest seemed to be stilled, and over most of the war-weary, harassed island, with what Bede terms "the empire of the English and the Roman majesty," came back for

a season something of the hush of the long-lost Roman peace.

Then came the beautiful episode of the great pagan king's marriage with the beloved Christian princess of Kent, the daughter of Ethelbert, the dead Augustine's friend — Ethelburga — whose pet name of Tatta (the darling) seems to tell us something of the quiet influence she

EDWIN'S SUPREMACY.

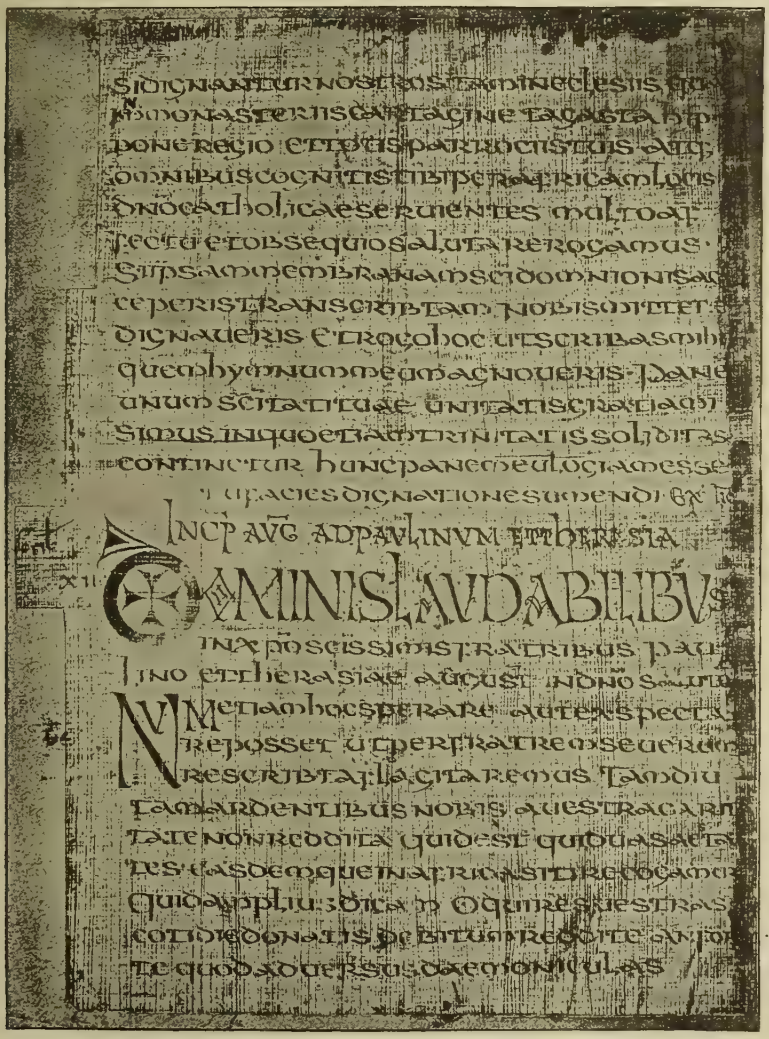
exercised at her brother's Kentish court. There was the usual demur at the union of a Christian girl with a pagan warrior; the same difficulty presented itself in the case of the daughter, as it had some years before in the case of the mother, when the heathen king Ethelbert wooed Bertha, the Christian Frankish princess. The difficulty was then got over by the permission to bring a Christian priest from Paris to Canterbury, the queen's new home. So now, as we have seen, it was arranged that Paulinus, of whom we have heard already as sent by Gregory to join Augustine—the same Paulinus whom we met with in East Anglia at the court of Redwald—should form part of Ethelburga's suite in her new home at York.

The marriage of Edwin and Ethelburga was a happy one, but an untoward event soon threatened to bring that happiness to an end. Jealousy on the part of a West-Saxon king who bore the barbarous-sounding name of Cwichelm, stirred up by the sight of the ever-growing power of the Engle sovereign, prompted an attempt upon the life of Edwin. A trusty and determined messenger of Cwichelm brought a message from his master to Edwin on the Easter day of the year 626. While speaking to the king he drew out a poisoned dagger, and tried to stab the listening Edwin. A devoted servant (whose name, Lilla, has been preserved) threw himself between his master and the would-be assassin, and received the deadly thrust in his stead; but so violent was the blow that the point of the dagger reached Edwin through the pierced body of his faithful follower. The king's wound was, however, slight, and he soon recovered. That night Ethelburga's daughter Eanfleda was born. In grateful memory of his escape, and for the love of Ethelburga, the Engle sovereign resolved to renounce his idols and the worship of the old Northern gods, and gave the newborn princess Eanfleda to Paulinus that he might, according to the further custom which had already engrafted itself upon the monastic system, and in later ages not unfrequently produced unhappy results, consecrate her to Christ. This Eanfleda

afterwards became a power in Christian Northumbria.

Paulinus now became an intimate associate of the king, who talked much with him about Jesus and the Christian faith; but though he had renounced the old pagan worship of the Northern people, he hesitated long before becoming a Christian.

One day, as he was alone and thinking over the story of Christianity, its many wondrous promises and blessed teaching, Paulinus came to him and quietly laid his



PAGE FROM A COPY (VI. OR VII. CENT.) OF AUGUSTINE'S WRITINGS, CONTAINING PORTION OF A LETTER TO PAULINUS (*Paris Bibl. Nat.*).

hand upon the king's head, asking him if he remembered the sign, and prayed him to embrace the faith of Jesus. Then Edwin called to mind the memorable evening when he sat in the chill darkness, on the stone bench outside Redwald's royal hall in East Anglia, all alone and sorrowful, waiting for death; and how an unknown stranger had come to him as he sat and thought, and foretold his future greatness; and had given him this solemn sign. He recognised at once by the ever-remembered sign that the unknown stranger of that dark night outside Redwald's hall was the same Paulinus. He called to mind also the promise made in his hour of sorrow and perplexity, and flinging himself at Paulinus' feet, said he would indeed become a Christian.

The Engle king at once summoned a great council of his chiefs to his royal home at Godmundham, near Market Weighton, some twenty-three miles from York, and asked them for their opinion of the worship of Christ. It was a memorable meeting, this assembly of the chiefs of the great Engle race, when the solemn question was put to them—should they renounce the old gods of the North, the gods of their fathers, the gods of war and revelry, for the gentle faith professed by the people whom they had driven out of the land?

Curiously enough, the most eloquent advocate of Christianity was Coifi, the chief priest of the gods of the North! The priest related his own experiences. No one of the Engle people, he said, had served these supposed gods more zealously than he, Coifi, had done in his past life; but to little purpose, for they had done nothing for him who had served them so long and faithfully. It were surely better, if the new doctrines were found to be of a more practical nature, to adopt them without delay. The old faith, as far as Coifi had had experience of it, was a useless religion.

Another chieftain used a different and a nobler line of argument. The faith of their fathers gave them no information as to the mysterious past of men, and threw no light on the still more mysterious and hidden future. His words were strangely beautiful and eloquent, and the striking simile he used has come down the long stream of ages to us. This wise thane* likened the life of man to the flight of a storm-driven bird through one of those halls where the tired warriors, war-worn and hungry, used to meet in the hours of the long winter evenings to rest

* In A. S. spelt *thegn*, but the modern form, consecrated by Shakespeare and Scott, probably gives the pronunciation. The original meaning of the word "Thegn" was a warlike man, and testifies distinctly to the origin of the rank in military service. But it was used also of a freeman who had acquired a certain considerable estate in law, who then became Thegn-worthy. The name of Thegn covers the whole class which after the Conquest appears under the name of knights, with the same qualification in law, and nearly the same obligations. It also carried so much of nobility as is implied in hereditary privilege—for instance, men might be called Thegns even when they held no land; but they did not acquire the privilege by descent until they had reached a third generation from the founder of the family dignity. Under the name of Thegn were also included various grades of dignity. The highest, the class of king's Thegns, were his body-guard, his nearest and most constant counsellors. A post among them was soon coveted and won by the greatest and noblest. Thegnhood contained within itself the germ of feudalism as known among the Normans. Compare *Stubbs*, "Constitutional History," chap. vi.; and *Green*, "Making of England," chap. iv.

and carouse. The speaker depicted the warm, fire-lit chamber, and contrasted the comfort of the hearth-fire round which the guests were gathered, with the cold wind and icy rain-storm without. Suddenly he described the coming in of a bird attracted by the light and warmth within; the bird, he said, flew through the door, and, tarrying a few pleasant moments in the shelter of the fire-lit hall, went forth again and was lost in the darkness of the cold night without. "Such," said the Engle thane, "appears to me to be the life of man: we see it just for a moment, for a moment it enjoys light and warmth; but of all that goes before that moment, and also of all that follows after, we know absolutely nothing. If the new faith can teach us anything which will throw light upon that dread secret of the unknown past and of the hidden future, surely we should be wise men to adopt it."

"But if this pale Paulinus
Have somewhat more to tell,
Some news of whence and whither
And where the soul may dwell,
If in that outer darkness
The sun of hope may shine,
He makes life worth the living,
I take his God for mine." *

Coifi then suggested that Paulinus, well known in the court of Edwin as the queen's friend and adviser, should tell them about his religion and his God. The Roman monk complied with the suggestion, and appears to have spoken well and wisely, for Coifi, the pagan high priest, rose after him and boldly spoke his opinion. "For a long time," he said, "I have been convinced of the hollowness of all that we have been worshipping; the deeper I searched for truth in it the less I found in it. Now I see truth shining out clear in the new teaching. Come, let us at once destroy these useless temples and altars and burn them." Then, calling for a horse and arms, which it was not lawful for a priest to bear, he rode straight to the door of the temple hard by the hall of assembly at Godmundham, and hurled his spear right into the idol-house, and bade his companions fire it. The result of this scene was the general adoption of Christianity by the Engle king and his counsellors.

This happened early in the year 627. But this royal recognition of the "faith" was a very different thing among the German Engles, from what we read of among the Celtic peoples of Ireland. There, when the king and his chieftains became Christians, their example was largely, if not universally, followed by the people. In Northumbria it was widely different. No general conversion followed Edwin's baptism; no large body of monks and missionaries ever seems to have gathered round Paulinus; no building of churches, no erection of a group of monastic huts, sheltering their crowds of devotees, is related in any of the Northumbrian stories. At the bidding of Edwin a little wooden church arose in York; and when Paulinus was formally established as bishop in that city of many august memories, the king began a large church in stone, square in form, around the little primitive sanctuary of wood where the Roman monk baptised him. The stone church, the ancient York Cathedral, long enclosed as a sacred relic the first little oratory of wood where Paulinus ministered.

* Palgrave's "Vision of England."

Save this poor oratory of York, however, no church arose in Edwin's days between the Forth and Tees. In spite of later eulogies on the work of Paulinus, the historian is compelled to conclude that the earnest Italian made but little way among the Engle subjects of Edwin — and yet he was indefatigable. During the six years which followed Edwin's baptism we hear of his constant journeyings from north to south, across desolate moorlands, through inhospitable wolds—preaching, praying, teaching. Here and there we find dim traces of his noble toil and restless labours. We hear of him even as far south as Nottinghamshire. In Leicestershire, tradition ascribes to him and his converts the building on the hill of Lincoln, the humble predecessor of that proud Minster, now one of the glories of England; and in that first little church of Lincoln Paulinus is said to have consecrated Honorius, fourth successor of Augustine in the archbishopric of Canterbury. When Pope Honorius sent the pall to his namesake, the fifth archbishop of Canterbury, he also sent the same vestment, distinctive of the highest rank in the hierarchy, to Paulinus, thus signifying his wish that York should be the seat of a northern arch-see. But the pall arrived from Rome too late for Paulinus; he had left York and Northumbria for ever before it arrived.

These six years were the great years of one of the most striking personages of this eventful age. There is much in Paulinus to admire, something to deplore, and not a little that puzzles his biographer. Strange to say, we hear of no companions of his labour save one, the Deacon James, who laboured on, long after Paulinus had left the scene of his six years' well-nigh fruitless toil. Why was he so solitary? Why always alone? Sent originally to Kent to be a helper and counsellor of Augustine we fail to hear of him as one of the faithful band who were loved and trusted by the first archbishop of the English. Laurence was ever at Augustine's side in life and in death. Justus and Mellitus were his trusted and loved suffragans, then his successors. Where was Paulinus? Evidently never one of the familiar inner circle. We catch sight of him, a dim and misty personality, at Redwald's court in East Anglia where Edwin lived then as a hunted exile. Then he reappears at Canterbury, and is sent away again to the far north as the confessor-bishop of the Princess Ethelburga, when she became Edwin's queen in Northumbria. Then for two or three years we almost lose sight of him, till he reappears as the confidential friend of king Edwin in 627, and is the principal figure in the famous assembly at Godmundham, where Edwin and his thanes and idol-priest accepted Christianity. Then for six years he plays the part of the unwearied missionary preacher and teacher in the northern districts. But he rallied to his side no friends, no associates; alone, or well-nigh alone, he preaches, baptises, toils early and late, organising nothing, arranging nothing; and when the great catastrophe overwhelms Edwin in Northumbria, he hurriedly flees the scene of his restless life and quietly settles down at Rochester.

Verily a strange, inexplicable man; yet he impressed all who came in contact with him with a sense of power, earnestness and even enthusiasm. Bede, who must

have known many of his contemporaries, admires him with an ungrudging admiration, and even gives us a vivid picture of his personal appearance, which was well remembered in Northumbria long after he bones have now rested for more than twelve hundred years far away from his beloved Northumbria, in the precincts of the home of his later years—the cathedral church of St. Andrew, Rochester.

DEATH OF EDWIN AT HATFIELD.

passed away. All men who had received baptism at his hands recalled with reverent and loving tenderness the venerable and awe-inspiring teacher, with his lofty and stooping form, his black hair, his aquiline nose, his emaciated but winning face. His

The six years of Paulinus' work and of his influence with Edwin stirred up, however, another spirit. Edwin, who had hesitated for years before he renounced the gods of the north, after the Godmundham assembly of 627, adopted the religion of

Christ with real earnestness; so, as we have seen, outwardly at least, did many of his thanes and chieftains. But the bulk of his Engle subjects remained attached to the old altars of Woden and Thor. The only Christians were those—comparatively few in number—who were moved by the personal enthusiasm of Paulinus and his rare associates. A spirit of enthusiasm for the old Norsemen's faith, a determined opposition to the new religion of the king, was excited among the Engle peoples who extended over the north and east and midlands of Britain, and who after all, save in Northumbria, were only knit to the Northumbrian king by comparatively slender ties.

The Middle Engles, or Mercians, as they were termed, were at this juncture ruled over by a chieftain of rare ability and power, who was only too ready to repudiate the over-lordship of Edwin, the Northumbrian Engle. This mighty chieftain, or king as he styled himself, ruled over the various Middle Engle peoples. His name—Penda—has come down to us as the name of the great champion of the old heathen religion of the Northmen. For thirty years this Penda held Christianity in check in the island, and his acknowledged abilities and success for a long period rendered it doubtful whether Christ or Woden would be eventually acknowledged as the god of the English peoples. Unscrupulous, cruel, and vindictive, yet withal possessing all the qualities of a born leader of men, Penda was at once an able general and a consummate statesman—one, too, who possessed the powerful secret of attracting great masses of men to himself.

The ancient British race also, although utterly defeated and driven out of their original homes, still existed in the western district of Britain in considerable numbers, and were knit together by a burning hatred of their conquerors. Penda, the Engle Mercian, took advantage of this unextinguishable hate. He allied himself with their most powerful and able chief—the king Cadwallon—and with him determined to compass the fate of king Edwin. The strange and unnatural union between the British Christian king Cadwallon and the Mercian heathen Penda was too powerful a combination for Edwin successfully to cope with. In a bloody battle fought at Hatfield, in south-east Yorkshire, in the year 633, the whole army of Edwin was destroyed or dispersed, and the king himself was slain. Northumbria was harried by the victorious confederates, and suffered terribly from the invasion which followed the rout of Hatfield. The fierce cruelty of Cadwallon was especially remembered in after years. With him and his Britons it was a war of vengeance. "He spared," said a later chronicler, "neither women nor children, raging for a long time through the country, resolving that he should be the man to exterminate the whole Engle race within the bounds of Britain." "To this day," writes Bede, "that year is looked upon as unhappy and hateful to all good men."

What now became of the newly planted Christianity in hapless Northumbria? The work of Paulinus, great and earnest though it was, seems to have been superficial. With the death of Edwin and so many of his thanes, Christianity virtually disappeared. Paulinus saw the head of his friend and patron brought to York, where

t was buried in the unfinished church of St. Peter: the headless body of the king was recovered, and afterwards interred at Whitby. The Roman missionary's courage failed. Considering the cause of Christianity in Northumbria lost, he escaped to the sea-coast with the widowed queen Ethelburga and her son and daughter, took ship, and arrived safely in Kent. He carried with him a golden cross and chalice. The golden chalice was long shown in the church of Canterbury.

This was the melancholy end of Paulinus' active career. In Kent he accepted from Honorius the archbishop the bishopric of Rochester, where, as we have seen, he quietly ended his days. Ethelburga, the widowed queen, founded a convent at Lyminge, on the high ground, seven miles from Folkestone, on the Canterbury road. The antiquary's patient search in Lyminge has discovered in late years considerable remains of Ethelburga's church and monastery, and a modern tablet built in the wall of the ancient church reminds the passing stranger that the remains of Ethelbert's daughter and Edwin's widowed queen rest beneath his feet. A neighbouring common is still called "Tatta's Leas," thus preserving, after all these many hundred years (twelve centuries), the memory of "the darling," the petted and beloved princess of the court of Ethelbert and Bertha; the queen of Edwin the first Christian Engle, who for many years was supreme ruler of almost all Britain; the widow who fled well-nigh friendless from the scene of her power and splendour; the quiet, sad-eyed abbess of the holy house in the hills above Folkestone.

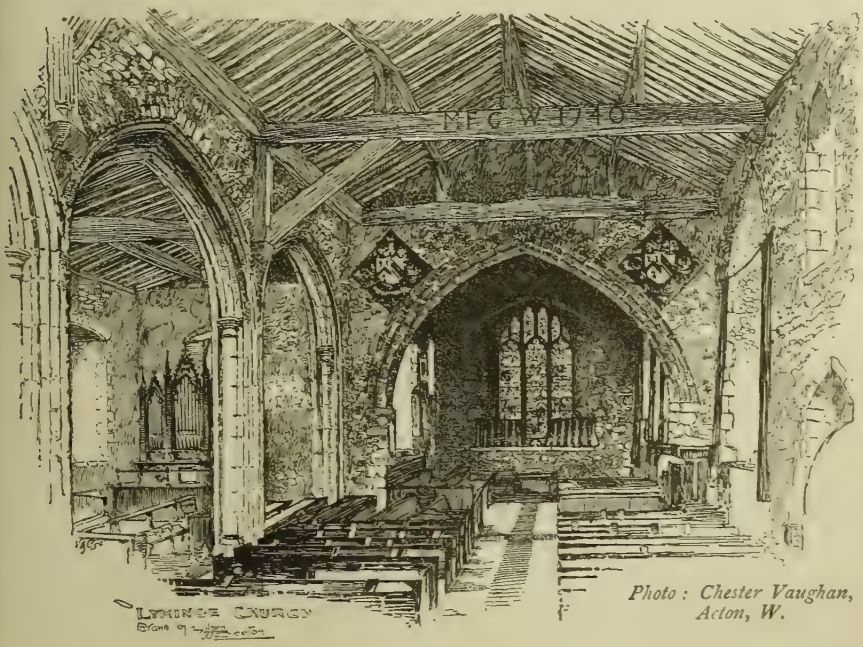



*Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.*

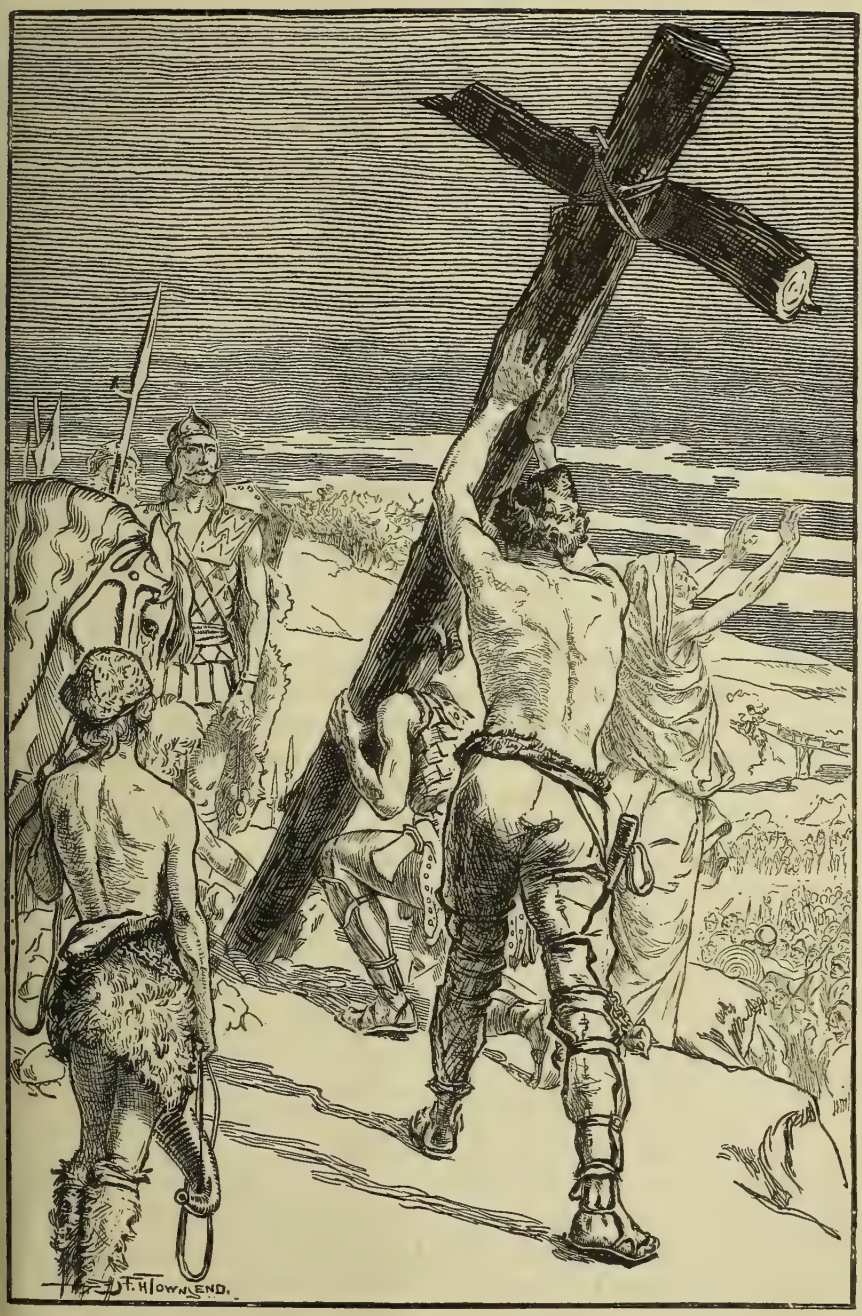
## CHAPTER VII.

### THE COMING OF AIDAN.

Oswald the Saint-King of Northumbria—His Training at Iona—Victory over the Britons and Death of Cadwallon — His Power and Influence — His Part in the Evangelisation of England — Failure of the Roman Mission Contrasted with Oswald's Success—His Application to Iona—Failure of Corman and Mission of Aidan—Lindisfarne or Holy Isle—Success of the Celtic Missionaries—Anecdotes of Aidan—His Teaching—Its Enduring Results tested by adversity—His Death—Legends connected with it, and Traditional Effect upon St. Cuthbert—Missionary Power of the Celtic Church—Its Probable Causes.

IN the melancholy year A.D. 633-634, which followed the catastrophe of Hatfield and the death of Edwin, Eanfrid, the son of Ethelfrid the Ravager, who was slain at the battle of the river Idle, and Osric, a nephew of Ælla, both near kinsmen of Edwin, were chosen by the Engle thanes as joint kings of Northumbria. Eanfrid and Osric during their short reign were pagans, and determined enemies of Christianity, which apparently had vanished altogether from the kingdom of the dead Edwin. Cadwallon, the British king, flushed with his victory at Hatfield, had made himself master of York, and threatened the very existence of the Engle dominion in the north. Within the year both the Engle heathen princes perished: Eanfrid fell in battle, and Osric was assassinated by Cadwallon's orders. But the ill-fortune which had all along pursued the British through the long weary wars with the invaders, soon put an end to the short-lived triumph of Cadwallon.

A younger brother of Eanfrid, Oswald, another of the sons of Ethelfrid the Ravager, succeeded to the throne of the dismayed and disorganised Engles of Northumbria, and proved a worthy successor of his kinsman Edwin. In after days, it was this Oswald who was honoured throughout the Christian England he helped to make, as Saint Oswald. He was a Christian in the true sense. He believed in Christ with all the passionate fervour of one long trained by devoted and earnest teachers of the faith. During the years of exile which followed the defeat and death of his father Ethelfrid, he had been sheltered in that truest home of Celtic Christianity, the monastery of Iona, off the west Scottish coast. The story of that strange community of devoted Irish saints has been already told. The spirit of its great and beloved founder, long after his death, brooded over the holy house of Iona, and a succession of saintly abbots and devoted monks carried on the work of Columba. Simple, self-denying scholars, they lived their prayer-filled lives in their rough wattled huts on that dreary, sea-washed island, imitating as far as they knew the austere but beautiful example of their founder. Some played the part of tireless missionaries; some just tilled the poor Scottish soil around them; some fished in the stormy Atlantic waters; more worked as patient scholars; but all were men of prayer. In the world though not of the




OSWALD ERECTING THE CROSS (*p.* 130).

world, in spite of their errors and mistaken ideal of life, they were, in their utter self-renunciation, amongst the closest followers of the Son of Man whom the world has ever seen. Here, among these men, tender and true, all ardent and devoted servants of Christ, Oswald, the homeless and landless Engle prince, received his first impressions of Christianity. He, like so many of his noble race, was a patriot in the word's highest sense. He loved his Engle people —may we not for a moment use the word which soon came into common use ?—his *English* people—with a deep love, and believed in their great destiny; but the Engles of whose splendid future he loved to dream, must be Christian Engles. Their God must be a nobler Being than the Woden from whom he sprang—the Woden whose armour was dyed with blood. The Engle of the future must worship the white sinless Christ.

From Iona the young Oswald was summoned by the pagan thanes, when his brother, Eanfrid, fell before Cadwallon and the Briton's conquering army. It was but a poor and desolate Northumbria that Oswald was called to rule over, but he quietly gathered round him a small but gallant band of Engles. He was a born leader of men, and he inspired his little army with his own high courage and splendid daring. His Engle warriors were all pagans, save a little knot of Christian friends who had followed him from Iona. With these he took the field at once against the British force under the dreaded Cadwallon—a force far more numerous than his own.

It was near Hexham, in the year 635, that the Briton and the Engle met. The night before the battle king Oswald dreamed a strange dream ; he thought h saw the tall form of the beloved founder Iona—the Columba of whom he had hear so much while he lived with the Ion monks—covering with his mantle wel nigh the whole Engle camp ; and, as h gazed, he thought he heard Columba voice, bidding him "be strong and pla the man to-day, for I am with thee." I the deep dark dawn of the early mornin Oswald framed a rough-hewn woode cross, which he and his faithful few fixe firmly in the ground ; and then he prayed the wondering Engles round him kneelin —prayed a fervid, passionate Iona praye to the one true and living God, to hel him and his in this their supreme momen of need. With the prayer still tremblin on his lips, he charged with his Engle home. No doubt the Briton's host, fol lowing their sad invariable custom, ha spent the night in wild carousing. "Pal mead had been their drink," as their ow patriot bard, with bitter scorn, had ofte sung, "the golden mead had been thei poison." At all events, the charge o Oswald was irresistible. Heavy with slee paralysed with the effects of the feastin of the night before, the British ranks o Cadwallon gave way. The experience o many a battle was renewed this time, wit even more than the usual result. Th Northmen triumphed. Cadwallon's arm surprised by the sudden and fierce attack fled in disorder ; and the British king hero of a hundred bloody fights, was slain.

The scene of the battle, Bede, writin scarcely a hundred years after, tells us wa called the Heavenfield. Our chronicle evidently thought it was so named befor the battle—a presage of what was afte

ards to happen; far more probably, he striking circumstances which accomanied the famous victory were the ccasion of the name. The dream of swald, the setting up of the huge wooden ross, the passionate prayer which preeded the Engle onslaught, suggested the ame by which this decisive victory has ver been known; decisive in truth, for it leared Northumbria from the British ıvading army, leaving Oswald at liberty reorganise the shattered dominions of e dead Edwin; decisive, also, in that is was the last rally of the British. heir strength was now exhausted, and enceforth all they attempted was a ubborn defence of the wild hills and upnds of the west, their last refuge from e storm of Saxon and Engle conquest.

The reign of Oswald lasted scarcely eight ears, but the years were eventful years. e did more toward the making of our hristian England than, perhaps, any overeign who has since sat on the English rone. He was, as we have seen, a brave and ilful general. His power was recognised, d his over-lordship acknowledged, as mpletely as was his predecessor Edwin's, the northern districts of Britain and the wlands of Scotland. Even the Midland ngles, including all the broad dominions own as Mercia, yielded to the powerful orthumbrian monarch a nominal subission. No chieftain of the Northmen ho came before him possessed the power d authority of Oswald. Chroniclers his own day and time, and their words ave been repeated since, saw in him, deed, a faint likeness of those Roman nperors who for a season had made ritain their abode. Adamnan, abbot of Iona, the well-known biographer of Columba, who wrote in the year 692, positively styles Oswald "Emperor of the whole of Britain."

But his great work consisted in the foundation stones, which he laid so well of the English Christianity of the future. It was not only his mere determination to tell his people the story of Christianity, but

OSWALD'S DOMINIONS.

his conception of how and by whom that story should be told, so as to reach the Engle heart, which is his especial title to honour. Forty years had now passed since Augustine landed in Kent, but no real way had been made in the conversion to Christianity of the Northern conquerors. The Italian missionaries had failed, as we have seen, to make any permanent impression upon London and the East Saxons of Essex, or upon the Engles of East Anglia to the north of

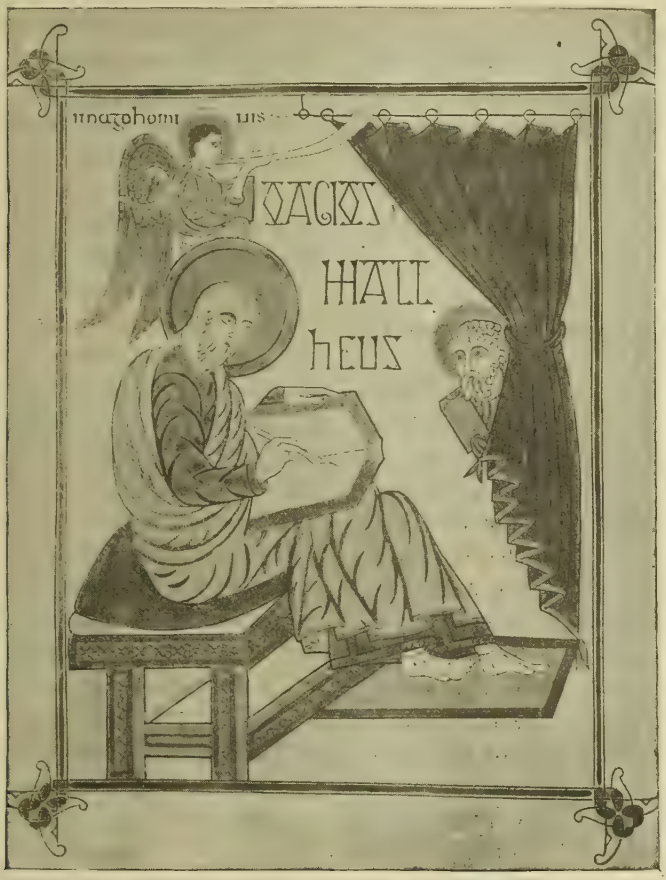
London. There is no record of any attempt having been made, nor is there any trace of their presence, among the South Saxons in Sussex, although these districts had been invaded by Ælla as early as in 477, and for more than a hundred years, when Augustine landed, fact that before Augustine's arrival th Kentish queen Bertha was a Christia trained in the schools of Italy and Rome and that during her lifetime her gre influence and authority were successfull exerted in favour of Augustine and h companions.

HOLY ISLAND. *Photo: M. Auty, Tynemouth.*

Sussex had been purely a Saxon district. In the north of the island Paulinus' indefatigable work, and failure, have already been related. Only in Kent had the Roman mission been really successful. Kent may be said to have been Christian throughout when Oswald became king of Northumbria in the year 634; and at Canterbury several foundations of considerable influence existed, including a monastery, a library, and schools. This solitary conspicuous success was probably in large degree owing to the

It was from no apparent lack of zea or perseverance, or ability, that thos devoted men met with such a scan measure of success; save that their pre tensions to a supreme authority in matter of government and ritual wrecked thei efforts to bring about a union with th fugitives of the ancient British church They seem to have conducted their wor among the pagan Engles and Saxons wit prudence, tact, and earnestness. Som deeper cause for their failure must b

ought for. It may be that a contempt or Italy and the South, which not unnaturally existed among the Northmen conquerors, influenced the invaders of the Roman missionaries, weighed with the Northmen conquerors in their dislike of, or rather, perhaps, apathetic reception of, these missionaries. At all events, the



ST. MATTHEW, FROM THE LINDISFARNE (OR DURHAM) GOSPEL BOOK: *circ.* A.D. 700. (*British Museum*).

Britain against these preachers of the faith of Christ. No doubt these fearless Northmen cherished some respect for the Britons who so stoutly and gallantly resisted to the death their conquest; and not improbably the intense dislike of the remnant of the British Christians to conversion of the conquerors of Britain was reserved for another school of teachers altogether.

The Engle king of Northumbria, after his decisive victory at the Heavenfield (635), became the dominant power in the island. Oswald was one of those rare souls

who on the throne united the qualities of a great king with those of a great saint. Among those kings who were in some sense saints, but who in kingly qualities were sadly deficient, Henry VI. is a notable example; while in that rarer class in which the true king and the genuine saint are combined, king Alfred of England and St. Louis of France are conspicuous instances. Oswald the Northumbrian, less known to the everyday student of history, ranks with these last true great ones; indeed, in some respects we owe to him a greater debt than even to the kingly Alfred, loved of men, for Oswald must be regarded as the first maker of Christian England.

It has been well said, that in Oswald a new conception of kingship began to blend itself with that of the warlike glory of his ancestors, the reckless and gallant sea-kings. Bede, whose picture of this hero-saint possesses a singular charm, tells us how, "by reason of his constant habit of praying or giving thanks to the Lord, he was wont, when he sat, to hold his hands upturned upon his knees." During the long early exile which preceded his summons to the throne of his people, his training and education among the monks of Iona had given him that strong love of religion which in after time coloured all his works and days. Although a great general and able strategist, and at the same time a wise and patient ruler, his life was as devout as if he lived in the cloister; and frequently half the night was spent by this ancient Engle king in prayer. It is no wonder that such a rare soul possessed the key of hearts, and during his too short reign attracted a general enthusiasm, reverence, and love.

His first desire after restoring pea and quiet in his kingdom, was to mal the peoples of his broad realms Christian His thoughts at once turned to the o loved home of Iona, at that time, in th first half of the seventh century, in i full strength and prosperity, the memo of Columba still green, and the enthusias for true learning and missionary work yet undimmed in that great home of praye Oswald sent to the monastery of Columb for a missionary bishop, who should o ganise and direct the Christian campaig among his Engle peoples. Seghine, the fift abbot in succession to Columba, was the ruling over the great Iona community an the many daughter-houses of Columba famous foundation. The first choice Iona seems to have been an unfortunat one. The monk Corman, who was chose as missionary bishop—whose name in a uncertain tradition has been preserved t us—made but little way among Oswald pagan subjects, and soon returned to hi monastery, throwing up his difficult an responsible charge. "Nothing," he is sai to have declared in a council of the elder of his house, "could be made of th Engles; they were a race of untamabl savages; their spirit was stubborn, eve barbarous."

As the fathers of Columba's house a length discussed the thorny question o the Engle mission, one of the monks Aidan, of whose early life we know nothing, rose and spoke thus before hi brethren to the disheartened missionary "It seems, my brother," he said, "you judgment of these ignorant peoples is to hard. Your teaching has been too severe you have expected too much at first; yo

ave not, according to the apostolic ounsel, offered them first the milk of gentle octrine, so as by degrees to lead them to e understanding and practice of more dvanced and deeper commands." Aidan's ords strongly impressed his brother monks. ll at once turned to him, as the fittest f their number to undertake the difficult ork. He accepted the mission without elay; and receiving consecration as a ishop, betook himself to king Oswald in orthumbria in the summer of the year 35, just ten years after Paulinus had rived in the north with Edwin's queen thelburga.

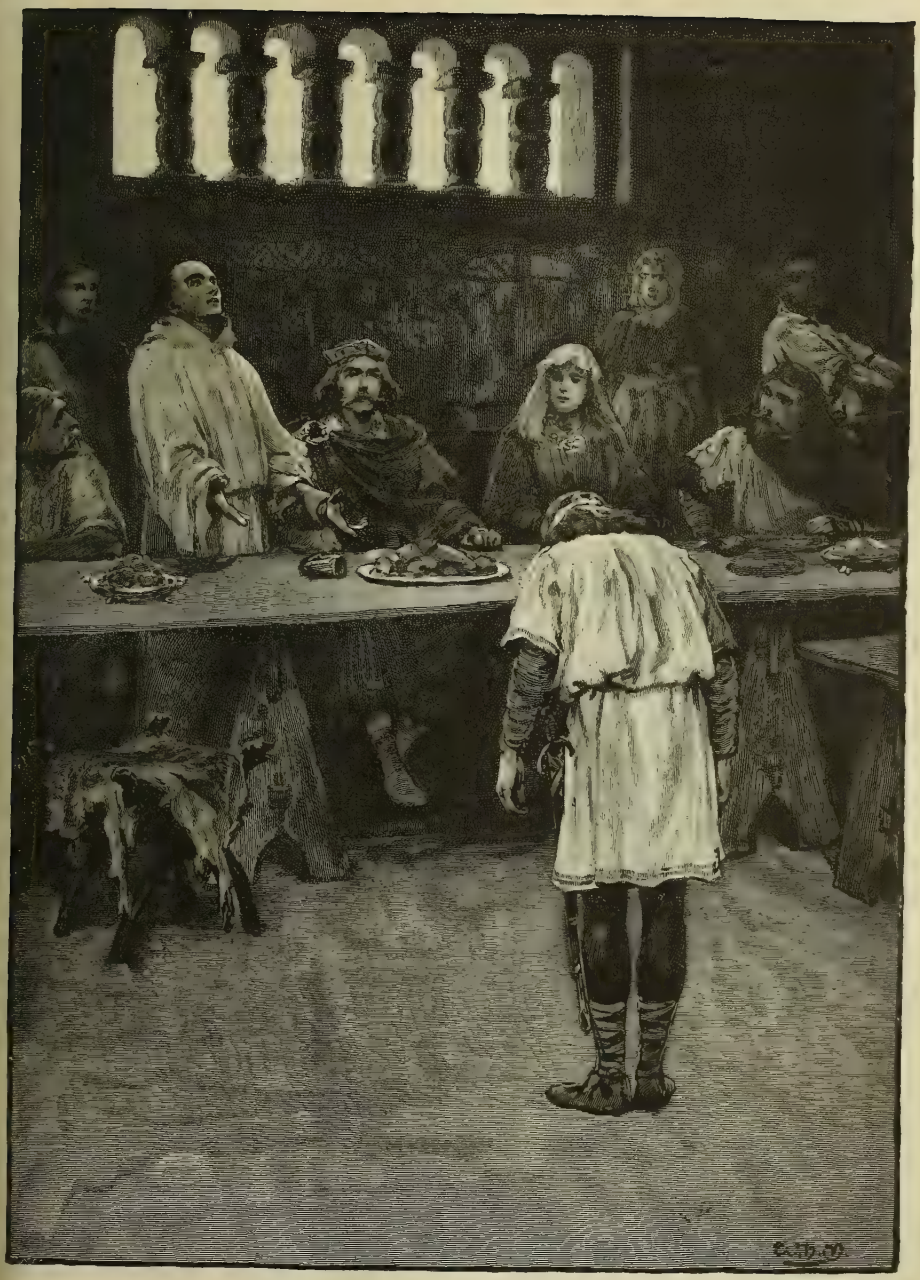
Of Paulinus' mission, when Aidan came, ere were no visible traces in Northumria—neither churches nor schools, nor a ngle Christian community. The whole ounty was pagan; the very footprints of aulinus had been obliterated before the ona teacher took up the work. Indeed ede, whose sympathies were certainly ver with Rome and her teachers, tells s that in Bernicia, the northern part of e Northumbrian kingdom, until the ross was planted by Oswald just before e fight with Cadwallon in the Heaveneld, no one had ever seen a church, or n altar, or any emblem of the Christian ith. In the southern parts of the realm f Oswald, it is probable, however, that e mission of Paulinus was not completely rgotten; indeed, James the Deacon, the nly companion of Paulinus whose name preserved, apparently never ceased from is quiet but noble work in Catterick, a wnship in the Deira province.

Aidan chose a strange home for himself that heathen land in which he hoped plant his Master's faith. He passed by York, in the southern part of Oswald's wide dominion; York, with its immemorial tradition, with its half-finished church, well-nigh, with the exception of James the Deacon's little church at Catterick, the only spot in the north where a few Christians still kept just burning a feeble lamp of religious life. He chose as his home, as the seat of the bishopric of his vast diocese, where well-nigh all were pagans, a little barren island to the north of the Tyne and Wear, some ten miles from Berwick on the Tweed. Its utter solitude constituted its charm in the eyes of the Celtic monk. It was some two miles from the mainland, from which at low water it could be reached on foot; treeless, featureless; only the sorriest crops could ever be raised on its barren soil; constantly swept over by the cold, damp, North Sea winds. Perhaps its dreary likeness to his own passionately loved Iona, where Columba had founded his famous prayer-centre, influenced Aidan's choice of Lindisfarne, known in after days as the Holy Isle. From this melancholy spot Aidan and his companions, as they looked towards the south, could see the huge tower of Bamborough, built by the founder of Oswald's dynasty, king Ida—Bamborough, so well known later in mediæval story as "Joyeuse Garde"; and in the far distance, with evening tide the lights of Oswald's favourite castle could be discerned, gleaming over the North Sea waves.

But it was probably only at rare intervals that the great missionary rested in his desolate sea-washed home, for his labours on the mainland were incessant. Something in Aidan's character and spirit seems to have mightily touched the wild

pagan Engles of the north, and to have won them to listen reverently to his story of the Cross and Redemption. Eloquence, of course, in no small degree was his; but it was not his eloquence which alone attracted the rough Northumbrian Engle; it was his tender, sympathetic, self-sacrificing self which touched them. Bede, who had no love for Celtic monks, exhausts his vocabulary when he writes of this Aidan; when he tells us of his surpassing gentleness, piety, and self-restraint. The highest and the lowest, the man-at-arms and the poorest peasant, the king and the slave, went and knelt down with passionate devotion at the feet of the Celtic missionary. Those Celtic evangelists possessed in a strange degree, never possessed since, the magic key of hearts. In all lands their terrible austerities, their life-long asceticism, their deep, intense sympathy with men, and with those very passions and vices which they cursed with awful curses, but at the same time wept over with the bitterest tears; all this won impulsive men in that wild and lawless time, often enough wearied and stricken with the sore stress and struggle of that iron age of tumult and excess. Teachers like Aidan and Columba could see beauty in the fiercest and most cruel barbarian, and had the rare power of evoking that spirit of tenderness and love which ever lurks even in the darkest and most abandoned hearts.

One of Bede's stories of this strange, great man well illustrates the boundless character of his charities and his utter disregard of himself; and Bede, we must remember, was born about twenty-two years after Aidan's death, so that such stories when he wrote them down were still fres and vivid in men's minds. It was far c in Aidan's career. Oswald's successor, kir Oswin, pained at seeing the loved old ma ever performing his ceaseless rounds c foot, persuaded the devoted missionary accept from him a horse. The king cho his best steed, and gave it splendidl caparisoned to Aidan, and for a time h used it; but being, as Bede picturesquel calls him, "the father and the worshipp of the poor," one day when he met a ma in deep poverty who asked for alms, Aida dismounted from his horse, and gave it a harnessed as it was to the poor man. Th day Aidan dined with the king, who ha been told of his guest's reckless gift of h horse and trappings. As they sat at me together, the king said: "Lord Bisho why did you give the horse I special chose for your use to that beggar-man Had I not many a horse of less value, an other goods I could have given you fo alms? Why did you give that speci one away?" "O king," replied the sain "is a horse, which is after all only the so of a mare, dearer to you than the man, wh is the son of God?" And the king wa silent, and thought over the words Aidan, what they signified, and what h meant to teach him. After a time Oswi took off his sword, and throwing himse at the saint's feet, begged his pardon fo his words of remonstrance. "Never mor shall I regret anything of mine that yo give to the children of God." Ther singularly enough, at the kind and lovin words of the Northumbrian king, th bishop became very sad, and was notice weeping. A companion of Aidan's in th royal hall asked his master the reason



"'MAY THIS HAND NEVER PERISH!'" (*p.* 139).

his great sadness. Aidan answered in the Celtic tongue, which the king and his thanes spoke not: "I know now the king will not live long; never until now have I seen a monarch so humble. The nation is not worthy of such a prince." And, alas! his prophetic words were soon verified.

Though his monk biographer delights to give us, in his own graphic, picturesque way, such curious instances as the scene of the giving away the king's horse above related, of Aidan's passionate love for the poor and destitute, the sorrowful and uncared-for, these rare scenes by no means fairly represent Aidan's really beautiful life. He was eminently practical in his usual ways of working, leaving nothing to chance or passing emotion. His charm of manner, his zeal and devoted piety, his great learning, attracted many scholars and earnest and skilful missionaries, teachers, and preachers from Ireland, which at that time we know was the great centre of the learning and religious enterprise of western Europe. His relations with the famous house of Iona, close to the scenes of his labours, were most intimate. He began by gathering round him a small band of youths of rare and especial promise; several of these, by their splendid work in later life, amply justified his choice of them, and showed how far-seeing in human character was this true apostle of the north.

Among these loved pupils of his early days were Chad and his brother Cedd, the unwearied evangelists of East and Middle England; and Wilfrid, the most famous, perhaps, of the northern churchmen, to whom Rome and her school in after years owed so much. Eata, too, his successor at Lindisfarne, a name of rare power in the north, was one of those who had been with Aidan from the beginning. Daily recruits came to him from the vast Irish monasteries. Monasteries and schools were built under Aidan's direction in various parts of Oswald's dominions, and the Engles, as a people, crowded to hear the universally loved and admired Celtic apostle and his followers. A network of Christian fortresses by degrees covered the land. The south of Scotland and Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, and even farther afield, were becoming under these powerful influences rapidly Christian. King Oswald—and the royal example seems to have been largely followed by the Engle thanes—endowed these numerous rising schools and monasteries with profuse gifts of lands and property of various descriptions.

We possess many details of the private life led by this eminent saint of God. In the midst of his restless, work-filled hours of preaching, teaching, organising, he never neglected the constant habit of study. This intense love of learning was one of the great characteristic features of Celtic monasticism. As a rule, Aidan, in his perpetual mission journeys through the length and breadth of king Oswald's realm, travelled on foot. This habit of walking gave him facilities for entering into conversation with all sorts and conditions of men. While they walked it was the habit of Aidan and his companions to meditate on texts of Scripture or to recite Psalms; they never might be idle.

With two of the Northumbrian kings the famous missionary bishop was on terms of affectionate intimacy, and occasionally,

when he was at his Lindisfarne home, he would dine with the king, with whom the neighbouring fortress of Bamborough, built by king Ida, was ever a favourite royal residence. Aidan had a church and a bed-chamber hard by Bamborough. On these occasions, after sitting a short time at table, Aidan would rise and retire in order "to read" with his brethren, or to pray. Once, it was on a certain Easter Sunday, Aidan was with the king as he dined. Among the German races these invitations to the royal table were signs of the most marked distinction. A silver dish, filled with delicacies, was placed before the king; just then the officer to whom the charge of the royal alms was entrusted entered the dining-hall, and told the king how a crowd of destitute folk were outside beseeching the king's alms. King Oswald immediately gave orders that the food, and the silver dish which contained it, the latter broken in pieces, should be divided among these poor folk. As the king stretched out his hand to give the order, Aidan seized it and cried, "May this hand never perish!" Like other remarkable sayings of the saint, his words were prophetic. One short year after this royal feast at Bamborough, Oswald was slain in the fatal fight at Maserfield. *The hand* was severed from the mutilated body, and picked up on the battle-field. It was subsequently enshrined in a silver casket and placed in St. Peter's church, Bamborough; and Bede says, in his day, it was still there undecayed. Tradition loves to assert that this hand, preserved as a precious relic of the saint-king, remained undecayed for centuries.

As regards the *teaching* of Aidan and the Iona and Irish missionaries, in all real essentials this was absolutely identical with the doctrine taught at Rome when Gregory the Great was pope, or at Canterbury when Augustine ruled as archbishop. The differences between the Celtic and Roman schools—which were as time went on so sadly accentuated, and eventually caused, or at least were used as pretexts for, the bitter dissensions between Celtic and Roman Christianity—were after all trivial, and principally consisted in the date appointed for keeping the solemn Easter Feast, and in the curious difference in the tonsure of the monk and priest. Mass, for this was the usual name by which the great service of the Church was known,* was celebrated with rites probably more in accordance with what is termed the Gallican than the Roman use; but the essentials of the sacred service were absolutely the same, and the language used to express the mysteries of the Eucharist was as familiar to the disciples of Iona or Lindisfarne as to the churchmen of Italy and Gaul. We read in the beautiful biography of Columba, composed by Adamnan, abbot of Iona, within fifty years of the death of Aidan, a description of Columba's standing "before the altar and consecrating the sacred oblation." At Iona, in Columba's time, there was not, however, a daily celebration, and at Lindisfarne, at the close of the seventh century, Mass was only celebrated on Sundays. No traces whatever as yet appear in these Celtic churches of any worship of or special devotion towards the

* The full signification and derivation of this term is given in Excursus B, "on the word Mass," at the end of the volume.

Virgin Mary. This remarkable cult cannot be said, either, to have formed part of Roman teaching in these early centuries.

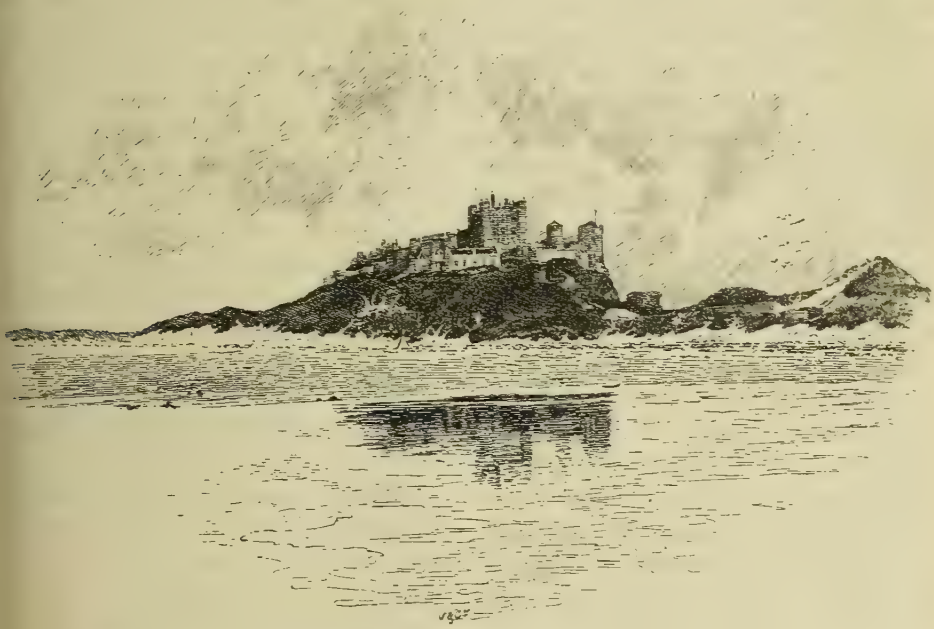
The conventual rule laid down for the professed "religious" by the great Irish houses, by Columban at Luxeuil, by Columba at Iona, and Aidan at Lindisfarne, was most severe; much more so than the rule of Benedict, which eventually, probably by reason of its gentler precepts, gradually supplanted it on this island, as well as on the continent of Europe. Of the dress which Aidan habitually wore we possess some curious details in Bede's history. While on his missionary journeys he wore sandals, and a thick woollen "cuculla," or cloak; in winter these garments were thicker, and a tunic was added. The front of his head showed the Irish ample tonsure; behind, the long hair flowed down.

The labours of Aidan in the north of England lasted sixteen years; eight years with Oswald at his right hand—Oswald his dearest friend, the magnificent king of Northumbria, the "Emperor," as he has been styled, of Britain, certainly the overlord of the largest and richest portion of the island; and eight years after Oswald's defeat and death at the hands of the heathen Mercian, Penda, at Maserfield (Oswestry). The last eight years was, perhaps, the more remarkable period, for it was a period of stress and storm, of sorrow and desolation; and during this sad period of trial the work of Aidan stood. The foundations of Christianity had been laid by him too strongly for persecution, troubles, and the sword to uproot, or even to harm them. The attenuated and enfeebled empire of Oswald, reduced to the northern provinces between the Humber and the Forth, were divided, as we shall see, between Oswald's brother Oswiu and his kinsman Oswin. Oswin ruled over the southern portion, Deira, including Yorkshire; playing, however, little more than the part of an under-king to Penda. But during this sad time the Christianity of Aidan and Oswald remained the dominant religion of Deira, and, watched over by Aidan, kept steadily winning its way.

The Celtic missionary bishop was tenderly attached to this Oswin, and the friendship between them was ever unbroken. Indeed Oswin, though not a great statesman or soldier like Oswald, or his kinsman who ruled in the north, was evidently a most lovable prince. The picture of his character has been reckoned as one of Bede's best and most lifelike portraits. In person he was tall and handsome, affable in speech and courteous in behaviour to all sorts and conditions of men, generally beloved and admired; from many a distant province men of the noblest birth came and asked to be thanes in the hall of Oswin of Deira. His deep and unostentatious piety and fervent love for the doctrines of Christ, made him especially precious in the eyes of the saintly Aidan. His premature death was a most melancholy one; he was assassinated by the orders of his jealous kinsman Oswiu, who afterwards attained the loftiest position in the island.

The foul murder of his beloved friend and monarch broke the saintly Aidan's heart. He was an old man, and the terrible news of the assassination of his king brought on an illness which the worn-out old labourer for God had not strength to fight

against. Only twelve days after his friend king Oswin's death the fatal sickness seized Aidan, who was staying in a village under the shadow of the royal castle of Bamborough, hard by his holy house of Lindisfarne. The dying Aidan was too weak to be moved. His faithful friends, we read, laid him on the ground, and erected a rough tent to shield him from the winds. Close by him was a little wooden church. Men say that as he was dying he leant against its buttress at the west end, and there, with his head resting on the house of prayer which he had built years ago in Oswald's lifetime, gave up his pure soul to God. The date has been preserved; it was the 31st of August, 651. The day of his death is fitly designated in the Calendar "The rest of Aidan"—*Quies Aidani.*



BAMBOROUGH CASTLE.
(*By permission of Charles P. MacCarthy, Esq.*)

That night—so runs the story of Bede, who wrote only a little more than fifty years after Aidan's death—a shepherd boy, whose name in after years rang through Europe, was watching his sheep among the pastures of Lammermoor; on a sudden he saw a long stream of light flashing through the darkness of the night,* and in that dazzling trail of splendour imagined that he beheld a crowd of heavenly beings descending to the earth. As he watched he saw them quickly reascend, and with them a spirit of surpassing brightness, whom they apparently had fetched from the earth. He roused his companion shepherds, and related to them what he had seen. "While we sleep," he said, "we never think of the holy angels who never slumber. So to-night while I

* Probably a stream of meteors.

was awake and watching, I saw a great company of these bright spirits carrying from earth to heaven the spirit of some holy man, who now is gazing at the glories of the heavenly mansions and of Christ the King." The next day the news came to Lammermoor that Aidan, the saint of Lindisfarne, had entered into his rest. Bede adds that it was this strange vision of "the passing of Aidan" which induced the shepherd boy, Cuthbert, to enter upon that tireless career of devotion, toil, and prayer which in after years so powerfully influenced the life of that eventful age which witnessed the building up the Church of our fathers.

Aidan was interred in his own holy house of Lindisfarne. Thirteen years later, when bishop Colman, his successor, after the Council of Whitby left Lindisfarne for ever, he took with him to Iona some of the bones of Aidan. In 875 the rest of his remains were placed in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, when the Danes threatened the safety of Lindisfarne, and they accompanied the relics of Cuthbert in their long wanderings.

In tracing Aidan's later career, we have anticipated somewhat. King Oswald's eventful reign lasted scarcely eight years. Until Aidan acquired perfect familiarity with the Engle dialect, it seems to have been no unusual thing for the king to be present at Aidan's impassioned discourses on the Christian faith, and with his own lips to render in "English" to the great officers of his court, his earls and thanes, the burning, eloquent words of his friend and teacher, the apostle of his people; Aidan during the earlier part of his ministry preferring to speak in the soft Celtic speech, with which king Oswald was perfectly acquainted, owing to his long residence during the years of his exile at Iona.

Great and eminent though Oswald of Northumbria was, he would have been forgotten among the many kings and chiefs of that confused age of war and conquest had it not been for the undying work of his friend and adviser, Aidan. Who now save a few Anglo-Saxon students, cares to remember such names as Penda of Mercia or Edwin of Northumbria? And yet these Northmen in their day ruled over a realm as great, and exercised an influence as far reaching as did Oswald, whose name is still treasured and honoured in our national annals, after some 1,250 years, as one of the chief makers of our England.

To Oswald belongs the supreme merit of having discerned the strange and mighty power of the Celtic church. There was naturally an antipathy on the part of the Engle and Saxon princes, even when they were irresistibly drawn to the story of Christianity, to take as their guides and as the teachers of their peoples men who belonged to the proscribed and hated Celtic race, whom they had driven out of the fairest parts of Britain. That Oswald rose superior to this national antipathy, and placed himself and his nation unreservedly in the hands of the hated Celt, will ever be his title to honour in England. The immediate result of this we have seen in the rapid change which, after the coming of Aidan and his companions, passed over Northumbria. It was all accomplished in eight short years; but the work, rapidly though it was carried through, was an enduring one, and the work done by Aidan and his Iona friends has

endured the testing stress of time and change. The Christianity of the Engles —the Englishmen—was an accomplished fact before Oswald's death, which happened only eight years after the coming of Aidan.

The secret of the marvellous and enduring success of the Iona Celtic teachers of Christianity among the North-folk, and the comparative failure of Rome among the self-same peoples, can only be partially guessed. Rome remains among us; the sources of her enduring strength and apparently undying power, also her weaknesses and faults, are all before us to-day. She has changed but little, save perhaps that her policy has accentuated her weaknesses and faults since the days of Ethelbert of Kent and Edwin of Northumbria. Augustine and Paulinus, under other names, are with us still. Pope Gregory the Great's successor, strangely little altered, issues his wise or foolish decrees from the same imperial centre. Changeless in the midst of change, deathless when all around seems dying, Rome lives on as it did aforetime, now as then a mighty, if not the mightiest, power in our world. To argue, then, on the causes which were at work in the seventh century and which only allowed Rome a partial success, is easy: for Rome, little changed, is with us now.

But to speak with anything like absolute certainty of the causes which led to the strange, the perfect, the enduring success of the Celt in the person of Aidan and the Iona men, in the evangelisation of the Engles — the Englishmen — is another matter. It is—it must remain—one of the secrets of history. We may guess; and though probably our guess may be a happy one, may even touch the truth, yet it can only be at best a happy guess. The sources of their marvellous success must ever remain hidden, for the Celtic church—as represented so faithfully by the two great missionaries, Columba of Iona and Columban of Luxeuil; by Gall in Switzerland; by Aidan in Northumbria; by the abbots and teachers of such mighty communities as Moville and Bangor in Ireland —has completely disappeared.

The Celtic man of God, the missionary of the type of Columba and Aidan, exercised evidently a peculiar fascination over the child-like minds of the North-folk, fresh from their wild, uncultured life among the fiords of Scandinavia and the forests of northern Germany. These half-savage North-folk, though often cruel and vengeful, often swayed hither and thither by fatal passions, were in many ways generous and noble; they were simple, untaught children, waiting for someone to lead them and guide them into the better way. On these untutored hearts the cold and calculating, highly cultured Italians, austere and pure, but often self-seeking and proud, made but little impression. The stateliness of their worship, their splendid organisation, their love for order and obedience, failed to touch the Northman's heart. The beauty of holiness had to be presented in another form, before these untaught children of the North—for they were little more—could recognise its power and desirableness.

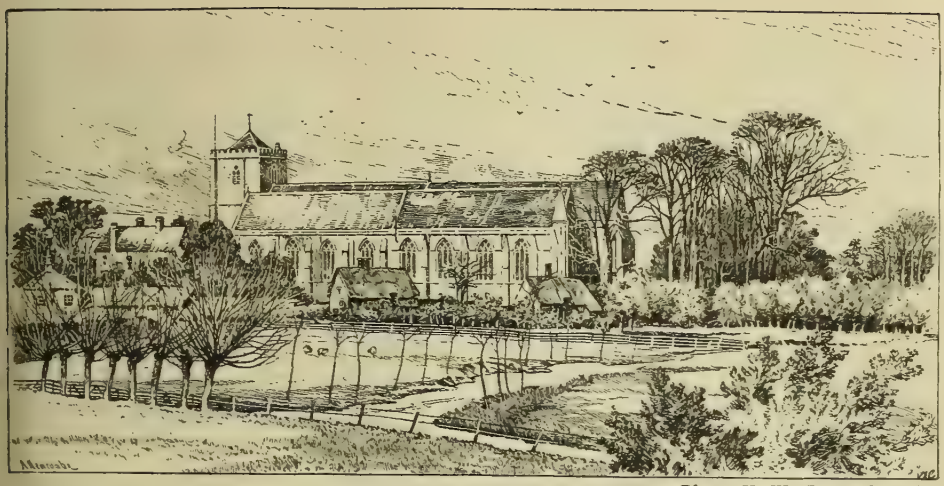
Just what Augustine and Paulinus and their followers lacked, Columba and Aidan and the Celtic school of teachers possessed. The ineffable and tireless tenderness, the deep and wide human sympathy of the Irish and Scottish

preachers, at once found the hearts of Engle and Saxon. That mighty, tender love kindled by the love of the Crucified, which burned in the hearts of men like Aidan,* a love which flowed over the souls of men to all that the Crucified made—beasts of the field and birds of the air—a love which claimed kinship and brotherhood with all things created, a love which understood and chose to share the lot of the poor, the weak, the wretched; this it was which comforted so many stricken souls with its boundless sympathy. Their awful severity towards all wrong-doing, their terrible sternness, alternated with this deep tenderness in its number-less forms, literally took the impressionable hearts of these North-folk by storm; and the conquest of hearts was completed by the contrast which the Celtic preachers presented in their own lives, coloured with rigid asceticism, prolonged fasting, cruel penances, countless vigils, long night watches, ceaseless prayer. The Celtic missionaries would have naught to do with land or gold or honours. They wanted nothing, asked for nothing, but the hearts of the men of war, to whom they told the story which they accepted themselves with a passionate belief—the story of the cross and the passion of the Christ, and His blessed work of redemption among men.

* Dean Church.

In addition to the mighty effect produce by these rare gifts and graces, the kin the chieftain, the thane, as they grew i knowledge and experience, became co scious that these devoted and earnes these self-denying and generous men, wer no mere enthusiastic talkers, but possesse vast stores of learning and knowledge; tha their homes in Ireland and Scotland wer world-renowned centres of learning, whithe resorted crowds of disciples, even fro those far Southern seats of wealth an culture—which were the object at once the cupidity and wonder of all Northmen.

It seems to us sad that this wonderfu Celtic Christianity should so soon hav disappeared, giving place to another form of our Master's religion in which the ol Celtic fervour and passionate enthusiasm was wanting. For so it was to be—an doubtless it was well. Yet while in th long roll of great churchmen many name occur to us—names such as Boniface Alcuin, Dunstan, Anselm, Bernard, Fran cis, Dominic—which in different land have played a more or less noble part i the world's history, and shown themselve in various ways "lovers of men," non since the Celtic men of God seem to hav possessed in equal degree that key t human hearts which Columba, Aidan, an their disciples used to such good purpos and such wonderful effect.



DORCHESTER ABBEY. *Photo: H. W. Taunt, Oxford.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

### WORK OF THE CELTIC MISSIONARIES IN ENGLAND.

Vessex—Influence of Oswald's Marriage upon the King of Wessex—Bishop Birinus—King Sigebert of East Anglia—Slow Progress of Christianity, and Fresh Impulse again given by Celtic Preachers—Fursey—His Poetic Visions, and their Influence upon the Doctrine of Purgatory—Gradual Spread of Christianity in East Anglia—In Spite of Defeat by Penda—Mercia under Penda—The Christian and Pagan Champions meet—Death of Oswald—Reverence for his Memory in England—Defeat and Death of Penda—The East Saxons—Their Evangelisation also due to Celtic Missionaries after Roman Failure—Cedd—Summary of the Evangelistic Work of the Roman and Celtic Missionaries.

THE historian ever loves to linger over the life of a favourite hero, and to put off the recital of the ay when the grave closed over one hom for a time his pen has clothed ith flesh and blood. Before telling f that dread day which finished all too oon the life and reign of Oswald, just a w lines must be devoted to his marriage, hich, as far as we can see through the ists of an age which possesses only scant cords of this portion of his life's story, ad far-reaching consequences. Bede, our nerring guide for this period, well-nigh ils us here. He evidently had no detailed information of that great division of the island known as Wessex, and her early story of conquest and settlement. Wessex, the country of the West Saxons, extended from the Thames to the Severn, from the little kingdom of Kent to the mountains of Wales, where the Britons had entrenched themselves; and for a long period after its complete conquest by the Northmen exercised comparatively little influence in Britain, owing to the perpetual dissensions and bloody wars among its own especial tribal chiefs and kings. During much of this dark period it remained pagan; no Christian influences

seem to have penetrated into what is now known as Sussex, Hampshire, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucestershire, which roughly made up that broad tract of England then known as Wessex.

Montalembert's words on the brighter day which at last dawned on this part of England deserve to be quoted. Intensely Roman, more or less opposed to every Christian influence which had not its source in Rome, he yet writes as follows of Wessex: "From the cloister of Lindisfarne, and the heart of those districts in which the popularity of ascetic pontiffs such as Aidan, and martyr kings such as Oswald and Oswin, took day by day a deeper root, Northumbrian Christianity spread over the southern kingdoms. . . . What is distinctly visible is the influence of Celtic priests and missionaries, everywhere replacing or seconding the Roman missionaries, and reaching districts which their predecessors had never been able to enter. The stream of the divine word thus extended itself *from north to south*, and its slow but certain course reached in succession all the peoples of the Heptarchy. Life and light infused themselves through all, and everywhere, along with the immaculate sacrifice, the hymns of a people freed from the yoke of idolatry rose towards the living God." * He then describes what he called the progress of the Celtic monks, trained in the school of the great Columba, into the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms *south of the Humber*.

For some two centuries after the early settlements of the West Saxons in the south of the island, the strength of Wessex was broken by the dissensions which arose between rival chiefs of the royal line of Cerdic. These prevented this powerful and widely extended tribe from exercising the influence in Britain which their numbers and the vast extent of the country appropriated by them, generally known as Wessex, would naturally have given to the West Saxons. Successively, Kent, East Anglia, and then, to a still greater degree, Northumbria, we have seen occupying the principal place and exercising a general supremacy in the island; but Wessex never during this period came to the front.

In the reign of Oswald (634), a king of the Odin-descended line of Cerdic, Cynegils, was recognised by his fellow Saxon tribesmen as king over a large portion at least of Wessex. About this time, Bede tells us how a missionary named Birinus, about whose nationality and previous history nothing is known, under a commission from Pope Honorius I., landed in Hampshire, with the view of sowing the seed of life in districts of Britain where no Christian preacher had as yet penetrated. Birinus found Hampshire entirely pagan, and remained in these parts. King Cynegils consented to receive baptism. Oswald, the saint-king of Northumbria, appears, however, to have exercised considerable influence in the matter of this conversion of the king of Wessex. Probably to extend the Northumbrian power in the south of the island, Oswald asked for and obtained the hand of the daughter of Cynegils of Wessex in marriage. The great Northumbrian came south, and before his marriage witnessed the baptism of his future father-in-law, the Wessex

* "Monks of the West."

king, at a place named Dorchester, near the modern Abingdon, a few miles from Oxford. Oswald and Cynegils settled Birinus as bishop at Dorchester, where the ancient abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul occupies the traditional spot which witnessed the meeting of Oswald and his father-in-law, and the solemn baptism of the latter, the king of Wessex, from whom the present Royal House of England is lineally descended.

From Dorchester as his centre, Birinus went up and down among the West Saxons, preaching and baptising, "calling many people to the Lord," in Bede's quaint language, building and consecrating churches, and in the end was laid to rest in this same Dorchester. But Bede only gives us this bare summary of his work; no detailed information was procurable in his day; not a single feature of his successes or failures, save the baptism of Cynegils under the influence of Oswald, is known to us. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle just mentions the fact that in the year 636 king Cwichelm, son of Cynegils, was baptised at Dorchester, and how in 639 Birinus baptised king Cuthred, a son of Cwichelm, at the same place.

Any direct commission from Pope Honorius to Birinus seems a little doubtful, for no communication between Birinus and Canterbury, the headquarters of the Roman mission, seems ever to have existed. This would surely have been the case had Birinus been commissioned by Rome, as Rome and Canterbury were in constant communication. It is more probable that the attempt to Christianise Wessex was the direct work of Oswald of Northumbria, after his alliance with the daughter of the Wessex king. But Christianity, in spite of all the labours of Birinus, made but a feeble lodgment at first in this part of Britain; for Kenwald, the son and successor of Cynegils, was a pagan, and only after a period of exile into which the army of the heathen Penda of Mercia had driven him, did he renounce the worship of Woden. This Kenwald was reinstated as king in 648, and then Christianity made a fresh start in Wessex, owing to the fervid preaching of a Celtic missionary from Ireland, a Frank named Agilbert, who became in the year 650 the bishop of the West Saxon peoples.

These few bare facts are all that is known of Christianity in that great portion of our island which lay between Kent and the Severn, in the first half of the seventh century. We thus gather that only a very partial conversion of the pagan conquerors took place, and that what little was done was mainly owing to Oswald's influence in the first place, while subsequently the work was taken up by missionaries from the Celtic church in Ireland.

Engle or Angle tribes occupied the eastern counties of Britain, who were closely allied by tribal ties to the Engles of Northumbria on the north, and to the Engles of Mercia on the west. The supremacy over the extensive tract of the island usually spoken of as East Anglia, after the death of the East Engle king, Redwald, who in his lifetime exercised an acknowledged supremacy over the Mercian Engles, was constantly a matter of dispute between the Engle kings of Northumbria and Mercia, who in turn claimed the over-lordship of East Anglia.

We have already noticed Redwald's unusual procedure in the question of religion, and how he set up an altar to Christ by the side of the altars of Woden and Thor. This was in the days of Edwin's exile and Paulinus' residence at Redwald's court, about the year 617. Under Edwin and Northumbrian influence, Redwald's son and successor, Eorpwald, became a Christian convert, but he failed to carry his East Engle people with him in his adoption of Christianity, and by a domestic conspiracy he was killed in 628. His half-brother Sigebert became king in his room. Sigebert had long been an exile from his country, and had resided in Gaul. During his sojourn among the Franks, Sigebert had become an earnest Christian convert, and had devoted himself to letters. He is known as Sigebert the Learned. On his return to East Anglia, in 630-631, he was accompanied by a devoted and earnest Burgundian bishop named Felix, who received much assistance from Canterbury and its flourishing monastic schools. Bede writes of this Felix as "a pious cultivator of the spiritual field," and speaking of his episcopate of seventeen years as a time full of happiness for the Christian cause, dwells on the good omen of his name, "Felix." Sigebert settled this Felix at Dunwich, a city now swept away by the encroachment of the North Sea.

The king and the bishop made some progress in Christianising the Engles of the eastern counties. But the great impulse towards their conversion was given by the arrival of one of those devoted Celtic missionaries from Ireland, whose enthusiasm was the principal agent in the conversion of the North-folk in most parts of the island. This Irish monk, whose nam was Fursey, was assisted by several com panions, his kinsmen and pupils. The came to East Anglia about A.D. 633. Th usual enthusiasm for the new faith wa kindled by this Irishman and his fellow missionaries, and the rapid conversion o the eastern Engles was largely due t their work and example. Their head quarters were fixed on the site of th modern Burgh Castle in Suffolk, wher their community was endowed by kin Sigebert's bounty with a large estate, sur rounded with woods and near to the sea Here the Irish monk erected a grea monastery, which was soon afterwards according to Bede, adorned with mor stately buildings and further endowed This great religious house became th centre and mother-house of various othe monastic foundations in the eastern counties—great houses of prayer and learning which revered Fursey as thei founder. They were mostly double communities of monks and nuns, according t the Celtic usage. Fursey subsequently retired from East Anglia, apparently hopelessly dispirited at the success of the heathen Penda of Mercia. We hear o him, however, again in Gaul, where he founded the monastery of Lagny, a smal town on the Marne, a few miles north o Paris. He died in the year 650. In Gaul his name is venerated as one of that "goodly fellowship" which took up and developed the vast, many-sided work o that noblest of the noble band of Irish missionaries—the saintly Columban.

The close of king Sigebert's career was remarkable. He was the first example among the Anglo-Saxons of a king aban-

doning his great position as a sovereign and entering the cloister. But his end was not that peaceful quiet one of which he dreamed. That defender of the old pagan chiefs, aware of the old skill in war of their cloistered king, Sigebert, appealed to his patriotism, and induced him to leave his cell and to lead their army against the

"THE KING-MONK FELL IN THE ROUT OF HIS OLD EAST ANGLIAN SUBJECTS."

religion of the Northmen, Penda king of Mercia, whose restless ambition and determined opposition to Christianity had made him so long a terror to Northumbria, was resolved to bring his East Anglian kinsmen under his rule; he invaded and harried the eastern counties. The East Anglian dreaded Penda and the Mercian host. He refused to arm himself with his old sword, but with a wooden staff he guided the campaign. It was, however, in vain to strive with the more numerous and powerful Mercian forces, and the king-monk, with his staff in his hand, fell

in the rout of his old East Anglian subjects.

Fursey (Fursæus), the Irish missionary monk, is celebrated, however, among the famous early makers of Christian England for something more than a successful career among a heathen people as a fervid teacher of the better way. "The stranger on the dank marshy shores of the oozy Yare, contemplating the lichen-encrusted ruins of the Roman camp, Burgh Castle or Garionounum, scarcely supposes that those grey walls once enclosed the cell of an anchorite destined to exercise a mighty influence upon the dogma and genius of Roman Christendom. This was the Milesian Scot Fursæus (Fursey), who, received in East Anglia by king Sigebert, there became enwrapped in the trances which disclosed the secrets of the world beyond the grave. . . . Fursæus kindled the spark which . . . occasioned the first of the metrical compositions, from whose combinations centuries later the 'Divina Commedia' of Dante arose."*

To the account of this vision, or rather visions, for he relates what took place in two of these remarkable trances, Bede devoted one of the longest chapters in the third book of his history. He was thought worthy, said our great Anglo-Saxon chronicler, to see a vision from God; from evening till the cock crowed he was permitted to see a choir of angels, and to hear the praises which are sung in heaven; he saw not only the joys of the blessed, but the conflicts of evil spirits for the souls of men who had departed this life. In his trance, when he had been lifted up on high, his angelic guides bade him look back upon the world he had left, and there he saw a mighty fire. They told him it was the fire which would consume the world, the fire which would try every man according to the merits of his work. In this awful fire Fursey was allowed to see the tormented souls of men—of men who were under chastisement, *yet not lost.* Being afterwards restored to the body, for the rest of his life he bore upon his shoulder and jaw the mark of the fire which he had felt in his disembodied soul, the flesh showing what the soul had suffered. Bede concludes his curious recital, of which we have only given a brief summary, with these vivid words—"An ancient brother of our monastery [he is speaking of Jarrow] is still living who is wont to declare that a very sincere and religious man told him that he had *seen* Fursey himself in the province of the East Angles, and heard these visions from his mouth, adding that, though it was in the most sharp winter weather and a hard frost, and the man was sitting in a thin garment when he related it, yet he sweated as if he had been in the greatest heat of summer, either through excessive fear or spiritual consolation."

The visions related by Bede of the Irish Fursey, deservedly honoured as the Apostle of East Anglia, have been dwelt upon at some length here, not because of their literary interest as being the first of similar pieces which suggested the great poem of Dante, but because it was the first recorded legend of those dreams of the night dreamed by Celtic and Saxon recluses, which instigated the members of monastic communities, founded in this period mainly by Celtic (Irish) monks in different parts of

* Palgrave's "Normandy and England."

Europe, to agree upon periodical commemorations enabling them to join in common prayer for the repose of the dead "*under chastisement, but not lost.*" The earliest community which seems to have practised this work of faith and charity were the monks of St. Gall, that great Swiss religious house founded by the well-known companion of Columba, St. Gall, the contemporary and probably the friend of Fursey. The Feast of All Souls, formally instituted in the eleventh century, and the mediæval developments of the doctrine of Purgatory, which was fraught with such momentous consequences in the story of the Reformation, may fairly be referred to those strange visions of the night,* of which the dream of the Irishman Fursey was the earliest and the most remarkable.

After the crushing defeat and the death of Sigebert, a kinsman of the slain monk-king was chosen as the East Anglian king; he possessed the singular name of Anna. As an independent Engle power East Anglia had ceased to exist. But the quiet influence of Felix at Dunwich, and the strange magnetic power of Fursey and his companion, had laid the foundations of Christianity in the eastern counties too firmly to be uprooted by a Mercian harrying, however cruel and devastating; and paganism gradually faded away in these parts altogether. King Anna was a devout Christian, and he is remarkable in the Christian story of England chiefly for the splendid zeal for monasticism shown by the princesses of his house. We shall meet them and their works later on. Anna, who was little more than an under-king in the supremacy of Penda of Mercia,

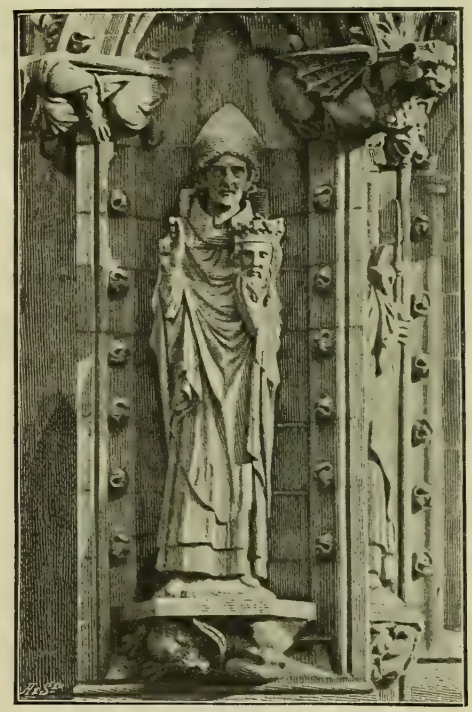
PENDA'S DOMINIONS.

perished in one of Penda's ceaseless raids in the year 654.

Mercia may be understood generally to include the Midland counties of England. Its conquerors belonged to the Engle stock. It embraced roughly all the country that lies between the Thames, the Humber, and the Severn. But under its supremacy were included large districts mainly inhabited by West Saxon tribes, notably in the south-west parts of Mercia. The exact date of the earlier conquests of the Engles in

*We have already recorded the terrible austerities of these devoted Celtic monks, who carried the practice of fasting to the extent of actual semi-starvation, which too often left them a helpless prey to the pestilences so common in those days. Modern medical science has established that such a state of bodily inanition frequently causes semi-delirious visions of the mind; and it is of interest to trace, as we may perhaps legitimately do, the rise of an error to the ascetic excesses of these saints of the early ages.

the Midlands is uncertain. It was not until the accession of the famous Penda, in 626, that Mercia became a formidable power in the island, and entered into competition with Northumbria for the overlordship of the widely extended Engle



ST. CUTHBERT, WITH HEAD OF OSWALD.
(*St. Mary's, Oxford.*)

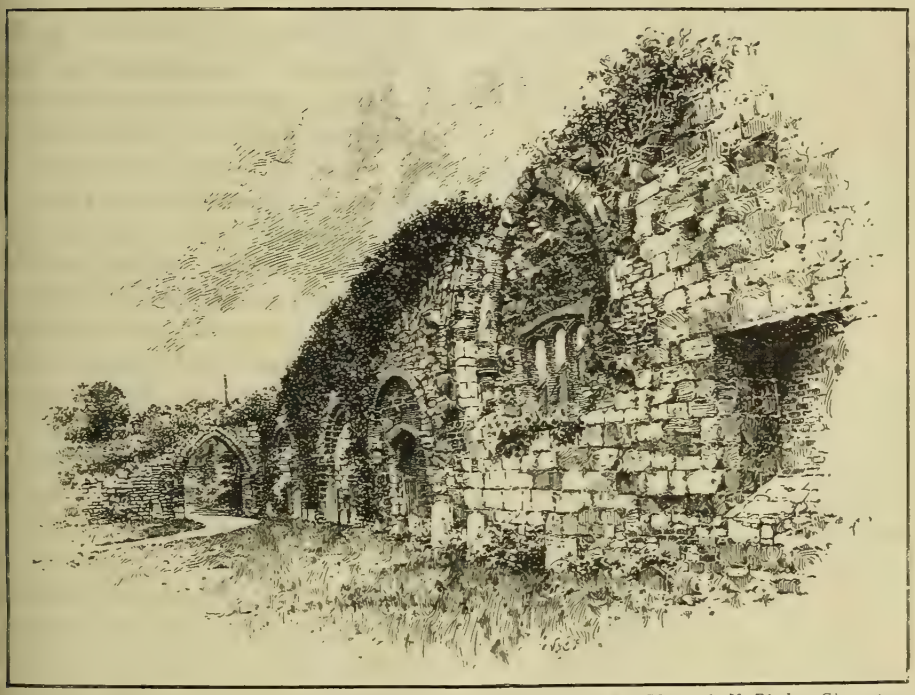
tribes. Penda was already fifty years of age when he became king. His predecessors Crida and Wibba, were kings in Mercia before him, but acknowledged the overlordship, first of Ethelred of Kent, and afterwards of Redwald of East Anglia. Penda was evidently a man of no ordinary genius; he seems to have welded the various Engle tribes of the Midlands into one powerful kingdom, and for thirty years—from 626 to to 655—was the representative champion of the old Northmen's religion in the island. "The prop and sword of heathenism, as he has been styled, his name was long a terror to the inmates of cell and minster in every Christianised district. There is a sort of weird grandeur in the career of one who in his time slew five kings, and who seemed as irresistible as destiny."*

For the first half of the eventful seventh century, while Christianity was gradually making progress—with rapidity in Yorkshire and in the district north of the Humber, slowly in the southern and western counties, fitfully in the eastern portion of the island—the whole of the Midlands remained pagan. No missionary preacher during this period appears to have penetrated into the broad lands ruled over by the iron hand of the heathen Penda. Only in the last years of the old pagan warrior do we discern any signs of change. His son, Peada, whom he had associated with himself in the government, and who, appointed by his father, was reigning about the middle of the century over the Middle Engles as under-king, wished to marry the daughter of the Christian king of Northumbria, and, mainly for love of the princess Alchfleda, adopted the faith of the Northumbrian royal house. This marriage eventually led to the introduction of Christianity into the Midlands, the great division of Britain known as Mercia. Peada brought the Princess Alchfleda into Penda's realm in the year 653.

We now return again to Northumbria, the home of real life and energy in the new Christianity in Britain, and to its noble sovereign, king Oswald. The short

* Prof. Bright.

digression which has interrupted the narrative of the great work of Aidan of Lindisfarne, Oswald's friend, was necessary in order that the progress of the religion of the Cross in the other great Engle and Saxon kingdoms in the island might be related, and the influence which Northumbria exercised in this work of conversion understood. Oswald's beneficent reign of eight years was prematurely brought to a close owing to the bitter jealousy for supremacy between the Northumbrian and Mercian divisions of the great Engle family. As far we can see into that remote age, these jealousies were accentuated by the religious inclinations of the rival houses. Oswald and the Northern Engles had adopted the new religion of Christ as preached with fervour and enthusiasm by Aidan; Penda and the Middle and Western Engles clung with bitter desperation to the gods of their forefathers. Penda preferred Woden to Christ, and constituted himself the champion of the war-god of the pagan Norsemen.



ST. OSWALD'S PRIORY, GLOUCESTER. *Photo: A. H. Pitcher, Gloucester.*

The immediate cause of dispute which led to the fatal war seems to have been the supremacy over East Anglia, which was coveted alike by Oswald and Penda. The two Engle kings, both in their several ways so famous in the annals of this age, met in deadly combat at Maserfield in the year 642; the scene of the battle is a disputed point. It is generally supposed

that the modern town of Oswestry marks the scene of Oswald's defeat and death, and the familiar name of Oswestry—Oswald's tree—still commemorates the beloved Christian hero. The Northumbrian king was outnumbered, and, hemmed in by armed foes, fell, fighting valiantly to the last. Bede lovingly dwells on the beautiful tradition which relates how Oswald died praying for his soldiers falling round him. His last words were: "May God save their souls."

When the mutilated body of the dead king was brought to Penda, the savage worshipper of Woden decreed its further dismemberment. The head and hands were struck off and fixed on stakes, and thus exposed for a whole year, till his brother Oswiu rescued the sad remains. The hero's head was then carried to Lindisfarne and reverently interred by Aidan there; the hands—one of them, the right hand, it will be remembered, had been blessed by St. Aidan after the performance of an extraordinary charitable act—were enshrined in a silver casket and placed in St. Peter's church on the summit of the rock of Bamborough. The "blessed" hand, according to a widespread tradition, remained for centuries white and uncorrupted. The head of the saint-king was disinterred in the year 875, and placed within the coffin of St. Cuthbert. William of Malmesbury relates how in Durham Cathedral the tomb of St. Cuthbert was opened, and the head of Oswald, king and martyr, was found between the saint-bishop's arms. Hence the common representation of St. Oswald, as, for instance, on the north side of the steeple of St. Mary's, Oxford, where St. Cuthbert is represented as holding the head of St. Oswald in his arms. About thirty years after the fight at Maserfield, Osthryd, a queen of the Mercians, wife to a son and successor of Penda, king Ethelred, removed the bones of her uncle—presumably the rest of the hero's remains—to the great Lincolnshire abbey of Bardney.

A romantic story is related by Bede in reference to these sainted relics. When the waggon containing the venerable bones of the great king, sent by queen Osthryd, arrived at Bardney, the monks, still actuated by the old Mercian jealousy of the Northumbrian sovereign, refused to receive the remains; the waggon with its sacred charge was left *outside* the monastery gates. That night the monks saw a pillar of light blazing above the waggon, visible to all the country-side. In the morning, struck by the heavenly portent, they eagerly opened their doors, washed the bones with all reverence, placed them in a loculus, or chest, and hung over the chest the gold and purple banner of the Northumbrian king, which in the days of his power and grandeur had been carried before Oswald.

The hallowed body was not, however, allowed to rest in peace, for in 909 St. Oswald's remains, or at least the "Bardney" portion of them, were brought by Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred, lady of the Mercians, to Gloucester, where she built a small priory to the memory of Oswald. Traditionally Oswald now sleeps where Ethelfleda laid him, beneath the shadow of the proud cathedral of Gloucester. The spot at Oswestry where the king—to whom the introduction of Celtic Christianity in Britain is mainly

›wing—was reported to have fallen, was ›ng the object of many a pious pilgrim-ge; and the grass stained with his blood ›as reputed to be greener and fairer than ny other grass.

All this may seem childish—all this everence exaggerated; we may wonder ıow at the number of churches and abbeys ıamed after Oswald; the respect and egard for long years paid to his name in istant foreign lands may excite our won-er. But this age was the age of the hildhood of the great English people; as et they were untutored, uncultured, in ome respects unspoiled. To the Engle in he days of Oswald and Aidan, Christianity ›as indeed a revelation with the fresh bloom f God's heaven on it, before it vanished nder the touch of men's hands. They ›aw miracle and sign and portent in the veryday processes of Nature. They felt ıe Christ of whom Aidan and Oswald told ıem, around them, about them, ever near ıem, and they honoured and loved the ing who gave them Aidan and the beauti-ıl faith of Christ with a passionate, perhaps ·ith an unreasoning, devotion. But can ·e find fault with them and their cult of ıeir saintly hero-king? Such hero-›orship surely refines and elevates the eople who pay it; and we, in a different ay perhaps from them, shall do well to ·easure with a reverent regard the ıemory of this man, one of the greatest f the makers of England—the memory of ıe man whom Bede well and truly calls the loved of God."

The immediate result of the battle of ıe Maserfield (Oswestry) and the death of he hero-king Oswald, was the supremacy Penda, king of Mercia, in Britain. East Anglia and the whole of the centre of the island was now directly under the Mercian sway. The power of Kent and its Jutish king was insignificant. Wessex was not united; and for the time Northumbria, from the Humber to the Forth, was apparently at the mercy of the pagan victor of the Maserfield. It seemed at first as though the cause of Christianity in Britain was doomed, now that its great defender was defeated and slain, now that the formidable champion of the gods of the old Northmen had triumphed so signally. Even the diminished kingdom of Northumbria split into two parts; the northern division, the old realm of Bernicia, and much of the Scottish lowlands accepting Oswiu, the brother of the slain Oswald, as king; the southern portion of Deira, which included Yorkshire, choosing as its sovereign Oswin, a kinsman of the fallen Oswald, one of the old royal stock of Deira. The new king was great-nephew of Ælla, the original conqueror of Deira, his father being Osric, the pagan king who had reigned for one disastrous year after the fall of Edwin at Hatfield. Over this southern portion of the once-powerful kingdom of Oswald, Penda exercised for some years the supreme authority, Oswin being little more than his under-king. The north, where the Mercian authority was never acknowledged, year by year Penda harassed by continual and desolating forays. This state of things continued for about eight years (from 642 to 651–2). But, strange to say, Oswald's distracted realm clung all the while firmly to the teaching of the Cross. This was, no doubt, largely owing to the presence and unwearied enthusiasm of

Aidan, who was the personal friend and loved teacher of Oswin, one of the two sovereigns.

At the end of these eight years, Oswiu, the king of the northern portion of Oswald's kingdom, who eventually restored the fallen grandeur and power of Northumbria, treacherously assassinated (651) Oswin of Deira, Aidan's friend, and again united the northern and southern provinces. Already, in the picture of Aidan's life, this dark crime has been alluded to, and the death of the broken-hearted Aidan as the immediate consequence has been related. This murder of the popular and well-loved Deiran king Oswin, is the one dark spot in the brilliant and useful career of Oswiu. No apologist has been found for the northern king here, although historians love to dwell on the splendour and usefulness of the subsequent career of this Oswiu.

The union of Northumbria and the great abilities of its king gradually restored the old influence of the Northern Engles in East Anglia. It was to put an end to this fast-growing influence of the Northern Engles, that king Penda determined to strike a decisive blow, which should crush the rising power of Oswiu and Northumbria. But it was Penda's last effort. The heathen warrior was growing very old. His son and under-king, Peada, had married Oswiu's daughter, the princess Alchfleda, and had embraced Christianity. The pagan influence in the heart of the Mercian country was thus undermined. Nevertheless Penda's array which he led against the Northern Engles was a formidable one — thirty mighty earldomen and thanes rallied round the doughty champion of Woden. But the decisive battle went against him. Th words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle— in their sharp, stern language—tell th story of the great pagan rout tersel but effectively. "In the year 655 kin Oswy (Oswiu) slew king Penda at Wir widfield [Winwaed was a small river nea Leeds] and thirty men of royal race wit him, and some of them were kings, an the Mercians became Christians . . . an Peada (the Christian), the son of Pend succeeded to the kingdom of the Me cians." A verse of an old battle-song the conquerors has been preserved to us—

"In the river Winwaed is avenged the slaughter Anna,
The slaughter of the Kings Sigberht an Ecgrice,
The slaughter of the Kings Oswald and Edwin."

It was during the last four or five years Penda's reign that a permanent Christia settlement was established in Essex an Middlesex among the Northmen conquero known as East Saxons. It is strange tha the great capital of the world-wide empir afterwards to be won by these Saxon an Engle peoples, whose early fortunes an slow conversion to Christianity in ou island we have been relating—Londo fell within the limits of the territory the most undistinguished of the Nortl men invaders. The East Saxon in h narrow territory, well-nigh entirely hem med in by Jute and Engle, never in th early story of England played an influenti part. In the first blush of his early su cesses, Augustine, with the aid of his faithfu

* Anna, Sigberht (Sigebert) and Ecgrice we Christian Kings of East Anglia; Oswald and Edw were the two well-known Northumbrian monarch who fell before Penda at the battles of Hatfield ar the Maserfield.

CELTIC MISSIONARY PREACHING.

friend Ethelbert, the Jutish king of Kent, established Mellitus as missionary bishop in Essex and Middlesex, and this early preacher of the faith fixed upon the restored and growing city of London as the seat of his bishopric and the centre of his work. The story of the foundation and first building of St. Paul's and the West Minster, has been told. But dark days for Christianity came quickly on in these parts, and the Christian teachers were rudely driven away by the people and chiefs, who preferred the old faith of their Norsemen ancestors to the new teaching. Mellitus fled, and the Christian colony—large or small, we possess no records which throw any light upon its numbers or its influence—was dispersed. We ask in vain what became of the primitive St. Paul's and the West Minster; for some thirty-six years a cloud of impenetrable darkness rests over the Christian story of Essex and Middlesex.

Once more we find the Engle north of the island busied about this distant province, colonised, too, by a people of a different stock—by Saxons. It seems strange that no record is preserved of any attempts made to re-sow the seeds of the faith in these eastern districts on the part of the neighbouring, Christian Kent, during all these years; no record exists of any effort to pick up the dropped threads of Augustine's work. There seems to have been a lack of missionary zeal in the Roman church of Canterbury, after its first ardour in the days of Augustine had been spent.

The evangelisation of Essex and Middlesex about the middle of this century (the seventh) came about in this wise. It has been related how in the last year of Penda, the pagan Mercian conqueror his son Peada loved a Christian princess Alchfleda, daughter of the great Northumbrian Oswiu. Partly, no doubt, for her sake, Peada became a Christian, and determined to introduce his new faith into those South-Engle districts in which lay Bedford and the Trent. From his father-in-law's land, on the advice of Finan, the successor of Aidan at Lindisfarne, four missionaries were chosen to assist Peada's work. One of these, Cedd, an Engle, a monk of Lindisfarne, was a man of singular vigour and tireless enthusiasm, and upon him the choice of Oswiu fell when, about a year later, the East Saxon king Sigebert applied for a missionary teacher to reconvert his people. This king Sigebert, known in the Chronicles as "the good," had contracted a deep friendship and admiration for the great Engle king Oswiu, and used to visit him in the north. It was Oswiu who persuaded Sigebert to become a Christian, and the story relates how this East Saxon king and Penda's son Peada were baptised together in the north somewhere about A.D. 653. The Christian rite was performed by Finan of Lindisfarne at a royal residence of Oswiu, named "At the Wall," near the old Roman wall of Severus, close to Newcastle.

Cedd was subsequently consecrated bishop at Lindisfarne, and set about his work with ardour. His labours of evangelisation were crowned with the success which usually seems to have attended these early Celtic teachers; for Cedd, though an Engle born, was a monk of Lindisfarne, and had been trained carefully in the spirit of the famous schools of Iona

nd Ireland. We hear of him ordaining umerous priests and deacons to assist im in preaching and baptising; of his ounding many churches and monasteries. 'he centres of bishop Cedd's activity were 'ilaburg, the modern Tilbury on the 'hames, and a place now destroyed by he sea, called Ythanceaster, probably the Roman Othonæ. Singularly enough, London, the old site of Mellitus' see, is ever mentioned in Cedd's successful work n Essex and Middlesex.

Cedd was in the habit of betaking himelf when he could to his old home in the orth, no doubt to gather from Finan nd other fathers of Lindisfarne, who had nown the saintly Aidan, fresh stores of ourage and enthusiasm for his hard and ifficult task. In one of these visits he eceived a noble grant of land from Ethelald, a sub-king of Oswiu, upon which e founded the subsequently famous onastery of Lastingham, between York nd Whitby (or Streonashalch) under the ickering hills.

The close of this successful missionary's fe gives one some idea of the passionate ve he and men of like spirit with himself ere able to breathe into their disciples nd pupils. It was years after, apparently 664, when, on one of his visits to his ome of Lastingham and the north, the Yellow Pest," so called from the ghastly ellow hue which came over the bodies of s victims—one of those fierce and desoting diseases which in that day used to ge at not infrequent intervals over urope — was slaying its thousands in ritain and Ireland. The missionary bishop st come to Lastingham, wearied with his ever-ending work, fell an easy victim to the disease. Thirty of his East Saxon disciples, monks of one of his Essex foundations, hearing of their loved master's death, made all haste to Lastingham; they would at least be near his grave. They soon rejoined him; for only a few days after their arrival at his favourite Yorkshire

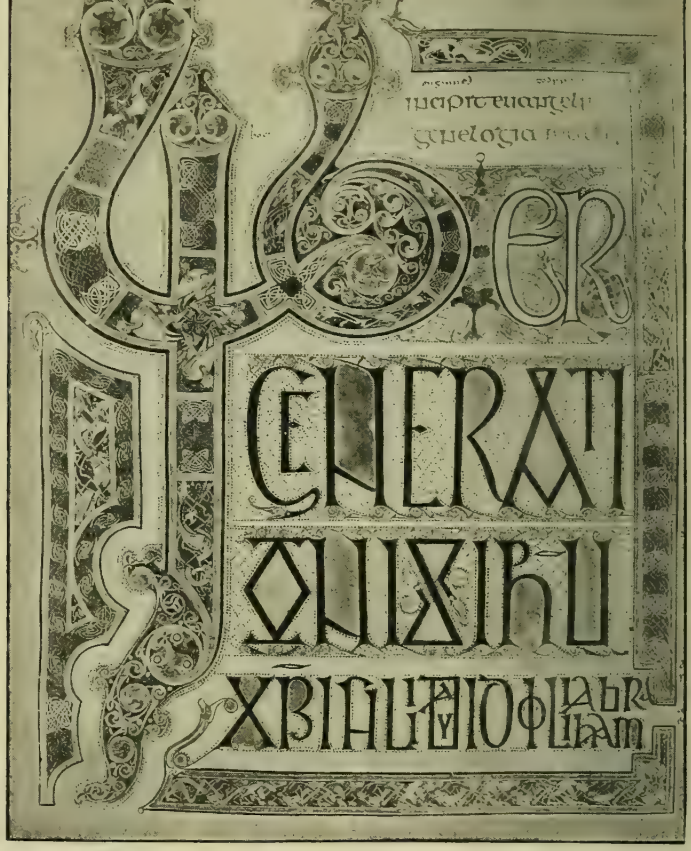
OSWIU AND PEADA.

monastery, the whole thirty were swept away by the same dire disease.

This same yellow plague of which Cedd died was especially fatal in the district round the mouth of the Thames, and a great pagan reaction passed over the country where Cedd had preached with so much power and success. King, thane, and people rivalled each other to restore the fallen altar of the offended Woden, hoping thus to ward off the fatal contagion which they regarded as the punishment of the angry gods of the North. But the pagan reaction seems to have been but

temporary, for the work of Cedd had been real, and those districts where he had laboured and taught were Christian at heart.

In Mercia, after the death of Penda, his son Peada was continued as under-king to the victorious Oswiu, his father-in-law. One of the Lindisfarne companions of Cedd, Diuma, an Irish Celt, was consecrated as Mercian bishop; and Peada, Diuma, and Oswiu together founded, in 656, the monastery of Medeshamstede, "the dwel ing-place in the meadows," the monaster afterwards known through the length an breadth of Christian England as Pete borough. A mysterious crime, however perpetrated the same year, cut short the career of Peada, the Christian son of Penda. He was murdered, the sad story said, owing to the intrigues of his wife Alchfleda, Oswiu's daughter.



BEGINNING OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW (LINDISFARNE GOSPEL BOOK).

REMAINS OF A CROSS AT WINWICK.
*(Commemorating, according to Tradition, the Battle of the Maserfield.)*

For about three years after the defeat and death of Penda, the supremacy of Oswiu and Northumbria was generally acknowledged by the Mercian Engles; as long as Peada, the son of Penda—who had embraced Christianity when he married Alchfleda, the daughter of Oswiu—lived, the rule of Northumbria was undisputed throughout the Mercian peoples. But Peada, Oswiu's son-in-law, died three years after the battle of Winwaed; and in A.D. 659 the Mercian Engles openly revolted, drove King Oswiu's thanes from the land, and raised Wulfhere, a younger son of Penda, who had been kept in concealment by the three principal Mercian chiefs, to the throne of his father. Wulfhere proved a most able ruler, and under his government Mercia rapidly obtained a power and influence greater even than it had enjoyed under the heathen Penda. Wulfhere, however, was an earnest Christian like Peada, and in his long reign Christianity gradually became the religion of Mercia.

END OF AN ARM OF THE WINWICK CROSS.
*(Conjectured to depict the Death of St. Oswald.)*

The Northumbrian Engles seem to have quietly acquiesced in this assertion of Mercian independence; and now for a long period it seems to have been generally accepted as a permanent settlement among the conquerors that Britain should be divided into three great and independent divisions — *Northumbria*, including Yorkshire, in the north; *Mercia*, including East Anglia, in the midland counties; and *Wessex*, after a time including Kent, in the southern and western counties of the conquered island. Thus the north and

midlands—two independent kingdoms—were permanently appropriated by the Engles, the south and west by the Saxons. The whole people became known as the Engle or Anglo-Saxons. Eventually the conquerors of the north and midlands gave their name to the great nation on whose broad empire the sun never sets—Engle-Land—England.

But although Wulfhere, the son of Penda, re-established the independence and restored the power of the Mercian rule over the centre of the island, the Christian work accomplished by Oswiu during the short period of his supremacy in Mercia was never undone. The great Engle chief, like Oswald and others of the Woden-descended race* of Northumbrian kings, was intensely in earnest: his teachers, trained in the schools of Iona and Lindisfarne, did their work thoroughly, and their royal pupils believed in Jesus Christ with an intense earnestness. With splendid devotion did these warrior princes, when once convinced of the truth of the story of the Cross, assist with hand and brain the efforts of the Celtic preachers of the faith. Aided by his son-in-law, Peada (Penda's son), Oswiu, during his three years of Mercian rule, did his part in laying the foundation of Christianity in the midland counties.

The first five bishops of Mercia succeeded each other in tolerably quick succession. They were all trained in Ireland, in Iona, or in Lindisfarne. Their names are treasured still in that fair list of saintly men—the makers of Christian England. The first was that Irish monk, Diuma, whom Prince Peada brought from Northumberland at the time of his marriage with Aichfleda, King Oswiu's daughter. When Diuma died he was followed by another Irishman, Cellach, who was reckoned among the disciples of Columba, coming as he did from Columba's famous house of Iona. After some time of restless labour in Mercia, he resigned his high office and returned to the solemn peace of his loved Iona. The third bishop of Mercia was Trumhere, an Engle by birth, who was consecrated in the year 659. The fourth in succession was Jaruman, who succeeded him in 662, who was followed by Chad, who for some time had ruled the northern church at York—Chad, whom we shall meet again as bishop of Northumbria.

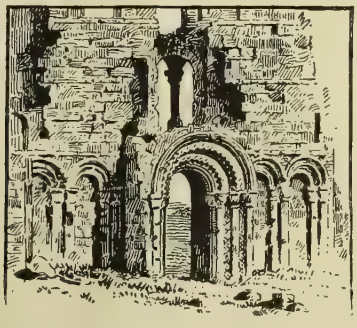
Our sketch has been simply a few rough outlines, for generally an impenetrable mist hangs over the early period of the story of the Mercian Engles, and of the East and West Saxons; Bede, our guide, giving us but few details of the southern and midland kingdoms. But through the mist and the confusion we see enough to assure us that all the Christianity of the Northmen conquerors of Mid and Southern Britain came from Northumbrian missionary preachers; that the centre of Northumbrian religious life was Lindisfarne, that little rocky island off the coast between Bamborough and the modern Berwick; that Lindisfarne looked to Iona and its network of Scottish communities as its guide and religious

* The names of "Woden and Odin" are in popular speech interchangeable; for instance, Montalembert traces the royal Northumbrian genealogy to "Odjn." Green styles "Woden" the common god of the whole conquering people, the ancestor of its kings. Sharon Turner says "Odin and Woden" are obviously the same character. The Saxon Chronicle gives "Woden" as the common royal ancestor.

centre; and that beyond Iona it looked to the flourishing Celtic church in Ireland as its spiritual mother church.

After the battle of the Winwaed, in 655, had been won by Oswiu, the Northumbrian king, all real resistance on the part of the supporters of the old gods of the Northmen was over and done. Between the Firth of Forth and the Humber, Christianity was already a power. Northumbrian missionaries had made a firm lodgment among the Engle peoples of East Anglia, and the East Saxons of Essex and Middlesex. Among the Mercian Engles of the Midland counties under Peada, the Christian son of Penda, the new faith preached by Lindisfarne teachers had been for some time steadily making its way, in spite of the disfavour of the great heathen Penda; and when Penda was slain in the great battle, the whole of the Mercian peoples and their king became rapidly Christian. In Wessex, including all the southern and western counties, the progress was slower; but it was still a progress, and Northumbrian teachers gradually made themselves centres whence the new faith was taught. Kent, we know, had received it at an earlier date and in a different form, but Kentish influence was little felt outside the comparatively narrow limits of the Jutish kingdom. Sussex, from various causes, remained the longest outside the pale of Christian influences.

Thus, for sixty years after the island had been won, and the pagan Saxon and Engle firmly established, the work of Christianising the conquerors had been carried on by Augustine and his monks in one corner only of the island; by Celtic missionary monks with far greater success in the North and East, in the Midlands, and the West. After these sixty years a new Christian influence sprang up, which the historian must take account of. Before the defeat of Penda at Winwaed, in 655, we hear little or nothing—saving in an indirect way—of the influence of *women* in the spread of the new faith among the Northmen conquerors of Britain. But that influence now became very important.



RUINS OF LINDISFARNE PRIORY, HOLY ISLAND.

A.D. 557—588. Ælla. First King of Deira (Yorkshire).
|
Unnamed.
|
Died A.D. 616. Hereric=Bregeswida (an unknown personage).
|
A.D. 614—680. Hilda. Foundress and first Abbess of Whitby (Streoneshalch).
Hereswitha, sister of Hilda, Queen of East Anglia, afterwards a nun of Chelles (Gaul).
|
Died A.D. 679. Etheldreda, wife of Egfrid, King of Northumbria, afterwards Foundress and first Abbess of Ely.
Sexburga, second Abbess of Ely (Queen of Kent).

In her early youth Hilda was baptised by Paulinus, the companion of Augustine, somewhile bishop of York, with her granduncle Edwin, the king, at York; but Paulinus does not appear to have exercised any influence over her, for during her whole career her sympathies were evidently with the Celtic church. Bede tells us that for the first thirty-three years of her life she lived very nobly among her family and fellow-citizens. Her widowed sister, Hereswitha, Queen of East Anglia, had betaken herself to Chelles in Gaul, in the Marne country, one of those monasteries for women which in the seventh century were rapidly springing up in different parts of the continent of Europe. Hilda longed to join her sister at Chelles.* But St. Aidan, who was then working with intense zeal and great power in the north, was determined that such a personality as the princess Hilda should not be lost to his beloved Northumbria The great Celtic teacher recognised thus early what a mighty influence for good among her countrymen —still largely Pagan—such a woman might be. He was her guide and friend, and induced her to give up her purpose of becoming a nun with her sister at Chelles.

* The exact date of Hereswitha becoming a nun at Chelles is uncertain. Some believe she took the veil before her husband's death.

In Northumbria an important community of women had already been founded a short time previously at Hartlepool. The abbess of this house, Heiu, resigned her post, and by the desire of Aidan she was replaced by Hilda, who for some years ruled over the Hartlepool nunnery, which is generally reckoned as the earliest among the Engles of these religious homes for women. King Oswiu, after the victory of Winwaed, gave as a thank-offering a rich gift of lands for the establishment of another community. This was the occasion of the foundation of the famous house of Whitby, the ancient name of which was Streoneshalch, at the mouth of the river Esk in Yorkshire. Of this community Hilda became the first abbess. The name "Streoneshalch" puzzles the scholar. Bede gives its meaning as "*sinus fari*" ("the bay of the lighthouse"). Modern scholarship throws doubt on this old explanation, and explains the term as an Anglian expression signifying the "cliff or craig of a settler named Streon."

On the lofty cliff overlooking the Esk as it empties itself into the sea, Hilda erected a church, and monastic buildings for her nuns around it. But the stately and romantic ruins of the abbey of Whitby, which crown the lofty hill now covered with the red-tiled

WHITBY ABBEY FROM LARPOOL.

PHOTO: CHESTER VAUGHAN, ACTON, W.

houses, the delight of modern colourists, belong to an age much later than Hilda's house—five or six centuries later, at least. We must picture to ourselves the first church of the famous Engle monastery of A.D. 657 as a rude wooden structure, framed of split trunks of trees adjusted side by side so as to give a partially smooth wall within, with thatch of straw of rushes, and side-lights only partially secured by a light lattice of split wood. Grouped round the rude church were dwellings for the abbess and her nuns and the servants of the house, including a large hall and kitchen, and further away still from the church a group of buildings, or rather huts, where the monks—for Hilda's house was a double monastery—who belonged to the same community, had their habitation.

The broad lands round the monastery were cultivated by the inmates. Forges, barns, farm buildings of all kinds and various dimensions, all roughly and rudely constructed, alternated with writing and study chambers, made up the religious house presided over by the abbess Hilda. The site was singularly picturesque. The hill of Whitby, on the summit of which was built the church and monastery, is some 300 feet above the sea. On one side is a broad view of the stormy North Sea so familiar to the Engle; on the other, the eye wanders over uplands, valleys, and vast Yorkshire moors.

Over this rude house of prayer and labour and study, overlooking sea and moorland, Hilda, the Engle princess, ruled some twenty-three years (657–680). Before she passed away her monastery had become a real power in the land; a famous school for the training of both sexes for the monastic life had been established there. Among a crowd of students, at least five of the more renowned bishops who occupy a great place in the story of the church in the next half century, received their education, or at all events much of their early instruction, at Whitby. One important Church Council was held within its walls. Thither often resorted for counsel from the wise abbess and the inmates of the religious house, kings and queens, saintly bishops, famous teachers from all parts of the island. It became also a favourite place of sepulture. Thither the remains of Edwin, the first Christian king of Northumbria, were eventually translated. There, too, king Oswiu was laid, and probably his queen Eanfleda.

Long before the great abbess died, doubtless the first rude church we have pictured on the hill of Whitby gave place to a statelier and more enduring structure. Northumbrians who had travelled to Rome, and who had seen the beautiful churches of Italy, and their elaborate adornments, men like Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop in the lifetime of Hilda, brought back with them new and nobler ideas of architecture and the ornamentation of sacred buildings. Years before she passed away, the noble church of the monastery of Ripon had been erected, and in the last years of her life the yet more magnificent pile was fast rising of Hexham, which was long regarded as the most stately church on this side the Alps. We hear of stonemasons and other artificers being brought from Gaul to assist in these works of building and adorning. The crafts of glass-making and glazing the windows of the new stone churches, skill in gold

embroidery, the art of gold chasing on the sacred rood, on the chalice, and even on the gorgeous bindings of missals, were introduced about this time into Northumbria. The rude wattled buildings, the low-pitched huts after the pattern of Iona and Lindisfarne, gradually disappeared, and gave place to stately and more enduring piles. So we may well think of the greatest and most famous of the northern homes of prayer, the foundation of Hilda, presenting indeed a very different appearance during the latter years of her life. Not improbably within the sacred enclosure on the hill of Whitby, before the year 680, when she died, there were several churches belonging to the vast community beneath her rule.

It was a scene of extraordinary activity and diligence, this holy house of Whitby under Hilda; not only a retreat for world-wearied men and women, and conscience-stricken sinners anxious to make their peace with God, but a seminary of ecclesiastical learning and discipline, in which a succession of able devoted men and women were reared, who received the inspiration which fitted them for their life's work from the great teacher Hilda.

Religious houses modelled on Whitby, double houses of monks and nuns, arose not only in Northumbria, but in all parts of the island. In the desolate Fen country, in the heart of that wilderness of shallow waters and reedy islets, whose only inhabitants were flocks of screaming wild fowl, Etheldreda, somewhile queen of the Northumbrians, founded the monastery for monks and nuns, on that little hill overlooking the never-ending fens, where in after-days arose the proud minster of Ely. In the west, by the waters of the Severn, in the beautiful West Saxon country, Osric, another offshoot of the royal race of Ida, who in after-days wore the Northumbrian crown, a near kinsman of Hilda, established a similar double community for his sister Kyneburga, which grew into the famous abbey and monastery of Gloucester. Osric, viceroy and afterwards king, sleeps still in the place of honour by the high altar, unforgotten, though some 1,200 years have passed, in that glorious cathedral of Gloucester, which in time replaced his sister Kyneburga's abbey church. Similar double monasteries for monks and nuns, modelled after the pattern of Hilda's house on the hill of Whitby, arose at Barking, at Repton, at Wimborne (at Wimborne the nuns numbered 500), and in other places, where the lady abbess was the acknowledged superior of the whole community of monks as well as of nuns. In all these cases the two sexes were rigidly kept apart. These singular double communities, Celtic in origin, flourished with extraordinary success until their active missionary work was completed, and Christianity was firmly established in the length and breadth of the land.

Bede, who, with his strong feelings in favour of Roman usages, must have disliked intensely the weight which, during the long and bitter disputes between the Roman and Celtic forms of Christianity, the influence and teaching of Hilda naturally gave to the Celtic party, ungrudgingly bears testimony to the noble life and work of the great abbess. He writes how "she taught the spirit of observance of righteousness, piety, chastity, and other virtues, but, most of all, of peace and love; how she lived

IN THE GUEST-HALL (*p.* 171).

after the example of the primitive church; how she obliged those who were under her rule to exercise themselves so diligently in the reading of the Holy Scriptures and in works of righteousness, that many could be easily found there who were fit for the ministry of the Church, to serve at the altar." It was at Whitby, under her and her successor, Elfleda, that Tatfrid and Oftfor, bishops of Mercian Worcester; that Bosa, John of Beverley, and the younger Wilfrid, bishop of York, and Ætla, bishop of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, were trained, with many another of the notable and devoted makers of Christian England. Hither flocked the richest and the poorest of the Northumbrians; in her house were neither riches nor poverty; all was common, as in the far-back golden days of the first Jerusalem church. But under the wise though austere rule of the saintly abbess the sternest discipline existed: from every dweller in that city of saints the most unswerving obedience was exacted.

After the abbess herself, the most notable of the dwellers in the Whitby monastery was the young girl Elfleda, the daughter of Oswiu, the king of the land. The princess, when the victory of Winwaed was won, was just a year old; and her father, after the custom of which we have already had an example, as a thank-offering dedicated her to the conventual life, entrusting the baby princess to his kinswoman Hilda. Hilda accepted the charge, and from that day Elfleda never left her side. She was with her at Hartlepool; she accompanied her to Whitby. During the long years of Hilda's rule there, Elfleda shared her spiritual mother's cares. She was her child, her companion, her confidant; and when Hilda passed to her rest in the bosom of God, she became her successor and abbess of the great monastery. Very nobly she carried on the Mother's work, and the fame of Whitby as a school of all that was good and pure and noble, all through the period of her long rule remained undiminished through the length and breadth of the land. Elfleda, princess and abbess, died in 713.

Strange to say, after Elfleda's death we possess no records of Hilda's house. If any existed, they were destroyed a hundred and fifty years later, in 867 or 870, when we know the Danes wrecked the great monastery. For some 207 years after its ruin by the Danes, the once famed religious house lay desolate. In William Rufus' reign, just before the year 1100, in that great church-building age—that age of expiation for the bitter wrongs done in the Norman conquest—the abbey of Hilda was rebuilt and the monastery refounded, this time for monks only. The contemporary record of the time of Rufus relates how, after the havoc and ruin wrought by the savage Danish invaders in the ninth century, after two centuries of utter neglect, after two hundred years of winter storms and frosts, so massive and enduring had been the early work, that forty shelterless altars and oratories were still remaining, to show how vast had been the extent of the monastery in the days of the old Engle kings, when Hilda and her successors had lived and prayed and worked on that wind-swept hill of Whitby.

We have dwelt at some length on the story of the great Engle monastery of the

seventh century: on its work and influence in Christianising the England of the Northern invaders. It was a notable instance of the influence of these great homes of prayer; but by no means a solitary example. The new England of the northern invader had many another; some of the same size and power, others much smaller and of less importance. But this famous house of Hilda possesses in the many-coloured story of England another title to honour: Whitby was the undoubted birthplace of English poetry.

The story of the birth of English song, told by Bede with his accustomed charm, and with his usual admixture of that supernatural element which the devout mind of this earnest, simple soul saw in every eventful scene in history, is so beautiful and real, and in its main aspects so transparently true, that—as one of our great teachers has told us—it should be the first lesson taught to every child; for "while empires die, poetry lives on, and the story of English song in this land is the foremost of all English stories."

It was somewhere probably between the years 660 and 670—when Hilda's monastery was in its glory, and ranked as perhaps the foremost and most conspicuous of the many homes of prayer and study—that one night, when numerous guests and travellers were reposing at Whitby, and spending the evening in the great guest-hall of Hilda's house, one of the dependents or subordinate officers of the community, who had been supping with, and perhaps attending to the wants of, the stranger-guests, left the guest-hall to avoid the necessity of singing or playing in his turn before the strangers. We can without much difficulty reproduce the scene in the vast hall: its long hearth, in which blazing fires were piled up; the roof with openings through which the smoke escaped; the raised benches at one end for any royal or noble guest, so frequently, we know, resident for a long or short period in Hilda's house; the long line of tables running down the hall for the less-distinguished visitors. For their amusement in the long winter evenings, one or other would recite some stirring patriotic lay, as had been the immemorial custom among the forefathers of the Engle conquerors in their great halls, in Scotland and Denmark; or would chaunt to the harp some deed or achievement worked for the love of Christ.

As the evening passed on, this one of the monastery officers, who was in charge of the stables of the community, where the horses of the many visitors were cared for—fearing lest in his turn he should be summoned to sing—left the guest-hall, as we have related, and betook himself to his stables. When his duties were discharged, Cædmon—for this was the name of the monastery attendant—retired to rest and slept: and as he slept, one came and stood by him, and called him by his name. "Cædmon, sing me something," said the strange visitant. He answered, "I cannot sing, and this is the reason why I left the guest-feast, because I know not what to sing." "Yes; sing to me," said the Presence which stood by his couch. "What song wilt thou have from me?" said Cædmon. "Sing," said the nocturnal visitor, "the beginning of things created." At once the sleeper, conscious of a new power, burst out with a poem never heard

before on mortal lips—a poem in praise of God the Builder of the world. He sang, says Bede, in the deep watches of that memorable night at Whitby, the praise of the Celestial Architect, the power and design of the Creator, the deeds of the Father of Glory, and how He, the Eternal God, built up a home for the sons of men —heaven for their roof, and then the earth.

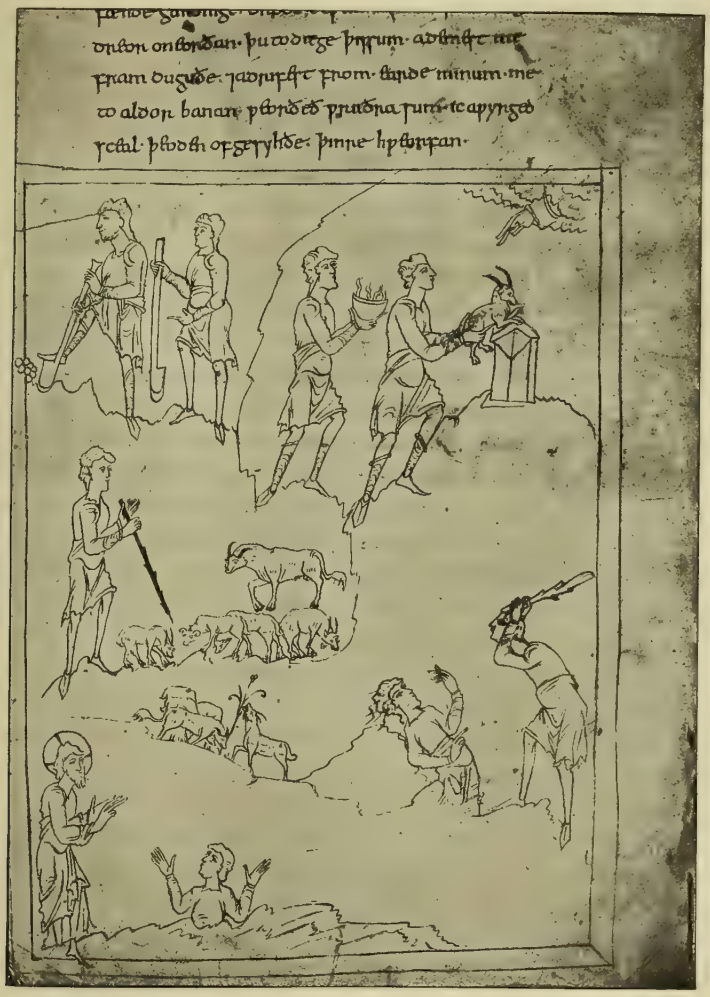
Cædmon awoke, and lo! it was a dream. But waking, he remembered all the words of his wondrous dream-song—it was a poem at once striking and soul-stirring. To his amazement he found he possessed a new strange power—he was able to go on with his beautiful night-song. At once he went, says our faithful and true chronicler, to the town reeve, one of Hilda's officers, and told him how in the night he had received this new and marvellous gift. The reeve at once led him to the abbess Hilda, and there and then, in the presence of the well-loved and stately Mother, surrounded by her saints and advisers, the herdman told his story, and sang before Hilda and her counsellors the verses he had composed in his dream the night before.

Then Hilda and her attendants told him more of holy history, and bade him turn this also, if he were able, into the melody of song. Cædmon went his way, and the next day brought to them their stories of godly love framed in the beautiful framework of poetry. This was enough. The wise Hilda at once recognised the divine gift in her servant, and began to make much of him, urging him at once to give up his work as a herdman and keeper of the stables, and to take the monastic habit. Cædmon complied, and became one of the Whitby monks. He was forthwith carefully trained in sacred lore, and devoted the remainder of his life to turning into soul-stirring verse the divine recitals of the Scriptures.

The poet-monk lived yet some years, faithful and devoted to Hilda and her house; and in those years sang the creation of the world and the origin of man; the history of Genesis, and the epic of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, and their settlement in the land of promise. He sang, too, much concerning our Lord—the story of the Incarnation, the Gospel recitals of the Passion and Resurrection, the marvels of the Ascension, and descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles at Pentecost. Some of these early poems of Cædmon, the monk of Whitby, dwelt, too, on the awful horrors of hell, and on the ineffable sweetness and undreamed-of glories of the heavenly kingdom.

He was a very devout and lovable man, was our first great Engle poet, says his faithful biographer Bede; humble, and subject to the regular discipline of Hilda's monastery; and when he had finished his beautiful songs he brought his calm and peaceful life to a fair end. For when the time of his departure drew near, his weakness grew very slowly on him, yet to the end he was able to speak and even to walk. On the night of his death he went to the infirmary where the sick monks dwelt, and asked that a place might be prepared for him; when it was past midnight, he asked for the holy Eucharist. The bystanders, with whom he had been talking cheerfully, asked him why; "for," they said, "you are not likely to die." "Yes," he replied, "bring

it to me." Before he took it, they heard him say: "I am in charity, my children, with all the servants of God." Then he strengthened himself with the heavenly food, and made ready for the other life. A little later he asked when the brethren would sing "Nocturns." "It is not far off," they answered. "Well," murmured Cædmon, "let us wait for that hour." And then seemed to fall asleep, and so died.



STORY OF CAIN AND ABEL.
*From the Cædmon MS., circa* 1000 A.D., *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

"Others after him," says Bede, "tried in the English nation to make religious poems, but none could compare with him;

for he learnt the art of song not from man —not of man came it—but divinely assisted he received that gift. Thus he inspired others to write after him; but his poetry was ever sweet and reverent—no trivial or vain song came from his lips."

Our great Engle monk-historian, who helps us so much in all conceptions of this memorable age, when the Church of England was being slowly but securely built up, with his glowing admiration for the first master of English poetry, perhaps a little under-rates the followers of Cædmon in the divine art; for in good truth they were not to be despised. But to Cædmon undoubtedly belongs the honour of being the first of his school of poets. His successors, as far as we can judge from the few great poems which, after surviving the storm and stress of the awful Danish period of invasions and harryings, have come down to us through the many centuries, were poets deserving also the name, in its highest sense; men who through the mighty gift of song were able to touch men's hearts as only a real poet can. Doubtless their religious works had much influence on the people of their age, and in no small way contributed to the steady growth of Christianity in England.

A few poems—several of them of considerable length—are all that we now possess of this early outburst of song, which began at Whitby under the influence of its great abbess Hilda. The lynx-eyed criticism of our time, as it studies these scanty relics, restricts the absolute work of Cædmon to a portion of one poem, the "Genesis." The other works, such as the "Exodus," "Judith," "Daniel," "Christ and Satan," generally known as the Cædmonian Poems, modern scholars consider to have been written by disciples of Cædmon, and others, who more or less closely adopted his method of writing. "Amongst these there were various simple paraphrasers of the sacred Books, men who sang for the monastery, not for the mead-hall. But there were others who conceived their subject in somewhat a saga fashion, and recited their work to please the warrior, the king, and the thanes as they sat in the hall at their mead. The religious element—for that was evidently the characteristic feature of nearly all the 'songs' of this early seventh and eighth century school of writers—was, however, largely introduced, and the poems—half war, half religion—touching heathendon, not yet by any means extinct among the Engle and Saxon peoples, with one hand, and Christianity with the other, equally excited and instructed the feasters."*

Of these Cædmonic religious song-writers, the names of only two have come down to us: that of Cædmon himself, the Whitby monk, Hilda's friend, the father of the school, and Cynewulf, probably a Northumbrian Engle, an imitator of Cædmon, and one who had evidently drunk deep of the original inspiration of Hilda's monastery. We have several of his works with us still, well known to scholars, such as the "Christ"; the "Elene," the story of the finding the true Cross; the "Juliana," a Christian female confessor in the days of the persecution of Maximian; the "Andreas," the story of St. Andrew; the "Guthlac," the life of the great Fen saint

* Stopford Brooke: "Early English Literature."

and anchorite of Crowland; and, perhaps the most notable of all, "The Dream of the Rood."

These poems all belong roughly to a period covered by a hundred years. Cædmon died at Whitby before 680; the last —and some think the most beautiful and striking—of these poems, "The Dream of the Rood," was written within a hundred years of the death of the founder of this first English school of poetry. They show us what a strong and powerful hold the religion of Jesus obtained in a marvellously short space of time over the hearts of the conquerors of Britain. These Christian songs, recitals, sagas, poems, in the form we now possess them, treated of the subjects which specially interested these warriors of the Saxon and Engle tribes in their new homes in our island, as they sat in the long winter evenings in their mead-halls. Some of them, of course, were more especially addressed to the dwellers in the many monasteries and nunneries, now plentifully scattered all over a large portion of the conquered island; but most of them appeal to a very different audience than would commonly be found even in the guest-hall of a religious house.

We shall have very soon to speak of another literature which arose in the island of the conquerors, more especially in the southern districts; that literature was not, however, English, but Italian. Its language was not the charmed English tongue in which, with comparatively little change during many hundred years, the noblest books in verse and prose the world has ever seen were written; it was that immemorial Latin—the language of the mighty fallen Empire, which the Church of Rome had adopted as the language of the ritual and the teaching for all the churches, far and near, in its obedience. But in that splendid outburst of English song in Northumbria — that outburst of English poetry which acknowledges the house of Hilda at Whitby as its first home—there was no trace of Italian or Latin elements. It was purely northern in spirit, in imagery, and in language. Its theology—for theology was, after all, its groundwork, and almost its solitary theme —was Catholic, pure and undefiled; but it was Celtic, not Roman Catholicism. It drew its inspiration from the teaching of the great Irish and Scottish missionaries, men who had been trained in the schools of Iona and Lindisfarne, not of Rome and Canterbury.

In the rare fragments of Cædmon, in the more elaborate songs of Cynewulf, in such poems as the "Judith" and the "Andreas," as the "Christ" and the "Dream of the Rood," the scenery is evidently drawn by men who were specially familiar with the wild and stormy Northern seas, with the wild heather and wolds of Northern countries. Quaint titles belonging only to Northmen are given to Christ, the apostles, the patriarchs, and the prophets. We meet with these strange epithets constantly in these striking and beautiful Engle poems, belonging to the school of Cædmon of Whitby. The old passionate love of the Norseman for the sea, appears again and again; but it was the wild and storm-pelted sea which raged against the Northumbrian iron-bound coasts, not the blue and sun lit seas which washed the shores of Italy and Syria. The fish and the

birds of the seas of the first English poets belong generally to northern latitudes. The beasts we meet with in these old English songs—although the scene is laid in Eastern countries—are the gaunt wolf which used to roam unhindered in the Yorkshire wolds, and the black raven of the northern moors. A notable passage in the "Exodus," which describes the coming of the Egyptian army to the Red Sea shore, well illustrates this; for the poet paints, in glowing language, the flags flying, the trumpets sounding, the ravens circling above the hosts, the wolves howling on its skirts, the haughty (Egyptian) thanes riding in the van, the king with his standard in front of the thanes; close beside him were his veteran comrades, hoary wolves of war, faithful to their lord.

Yet quainter and more suggestive of the country of these authors, are the title given to our Lord, and the saints of th New Testament and of Hebrew history We read, for instance, of the "thanes" o Christ. In the "Genesis" of Cædmon the angel who comforts Hagar is " thane in glory." In the "Andreas" th patriarchs and prophets, the martyrs an apostles, are styled the "thanes of God. Andrew and his companions are spoken o as the "thanes of Christ." In the "Christ of Cynewulf, the "thanes of Christ, highest in heaven, name Mary as the Lad of the angel hosts. In the "Genesis" w hear, too, of "Satan's thanes." Ou blessed Lord is described as the Hol One—"the stark-souled Earl." In anothe place Andrew is represented as calling hi master Christ "the Ætheling"; and ye again, Christ appears to Andrew in th

SCENE FROM "THE FALL OF THE REBEL ARCHANGELS."
*From the Cædmon MS., circa* 1000. A D., *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

form of "a young Ætheling" (or Engle noble). In the "Genesis" of Cædmon Abraham is termed the "Ætheling." Abraham, in this strange English word-painting, is described as a "Hebrew earl." The "Exodus" poem calls the elders of Israel round Moses "his earls." In one singular passage in the "Andreas" we come upon the expression, "unknown to me are the earls of elsewhere."

In these poems of Cædmon and his disciples, the influence of Hilda and the great abbesses of that age is most marked. The work of the nunneries, and especially of the double houses, in this period of building up the Church of England was very great. In this beautiful poetry, which took its rise in one of these double monasteries for nuns and monks under the government of Hilda, woman takes an equal place with man. In the "Genesis" poem, the Eve of Cædmon is a nobler conception than the later one of Milton. In a poem whose subject is the "Saviour's Descent into Hell," it is curious to find that the important place among the souls in Hades is given to a woman. It is Eve who tells the story of the Fall to Christ the Deliverer—speaking for Adam and herself. "Our guilt," she says, "was bitterly recompensed; thousands of winters have we wandered in this hot Hell, dreadfully burning." Then Eve stretched out her hands with "O my beloved Lord, born into the world of my daughter, now it is clear that Thou art God." The strange weird poem ends with Christ taking upwards with him Eve and the host of the redeemed.

Not a little of the later exaggerated cult of Mary springs from this new and lofty position taken by women in the Christianity of the new England, largely owing to the noble work done by women like Hilda and Etheldreda, and monasteries like Whitby, in this remarkable age. Indeed, the exaltation of the Virgin, so marked a feature later on in mediæval theology, is very noticeable in some of these early English songs. It is, without doubt, partly traceable to the female influence so potent in the conversion of the Northmen invaders. "The sweet and tender grace, the humility and loving kindness of the Virgin, her maidenhood, her motherhood, became the most vivid and beautiful image that filled the minds of men after the image of Christ. More than half the beginning of Cynewulf's 'Christ' is devoted to her exalting." * The "Juliana" of Cynewulf, one of these early songs, graphically sketches the life of a saintly woman confessor in the days of pagan persecution.

The story of the influence of religious women, and their homes of prayer and work, on the life of England in the seventh and eighth centuries, is not yet complete; but grave events connected with the development of Christianity in our island were taking place in the reign of king Oswiu of Northumbria, about the time when Cædmon began to sing his English songs in Hilda's house at Whitby. To these events we must now turn, as they changed the character of that Church whose history we are relating.

* Stopford Brooke.

# CHAPTER X.

## THE COUNCIL OF WHITBY. DOWNFALL OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

Strength and Weakness of the Celtic and Roman Churches—Conflict between them, and its Origin-Queen Eanfleda the head of the Roman Party—Wilfrid, his Early History and Training—Cris concerning the Date of Easter—The Council of Whitby—Colman and Wilfrid—Oswiu yield to the supposed authority of St. Peter, and virtually destroys the Celtic Church in England-Wilfrid appointed Bishop of Northumbria—Removes the See to York—Refuses English Ordinatic —Ordained in Gaul—Returns to find his See filled by Chad—Life and Death of Chad—Wilfrid Work in Mercia and Kent.

ONE of the chief causes of the success of the Celtic missionaries ceased to exist after the decisive battle of Winwaed—A.D. 655. When Penda was slain, all the heathen power of Mercia suddenly collapsed. Up to the year of that famous victory of the Northumbrian king Oswiu, the introduction of Christianity among the Engle and Saxon conquerors had been a hard and painful struggle. In Northumbria, East Anglia, and Wessex, the conquerors clung to the faith of their fathers, being naturally indisposed to listen to the claims of a religion professed by the people whom they had conquered and expelled. The natural human impatience of the restraints imposed by Christianity also pleaded for the retention of paganism, which imposed no such restraints. In the great central district of the island known as Mercia, these feelings were intensified by the attitude of the man who for so long a period had swayed the Mercian peoples —that famous warrior-statesman Penda, who hated everything that was Christian. Penda, during his long and successful career, was the popular hero of the old heathen religion, the recognised champion of paganism.

The Celtic missionaries, men of th stamp of Columba and Aidan, of Furse and Chad, were eminently fitted for th uphill work of evangelising the paga Norsemen. The fervour of an Aidar with his passionate self-devotion, touche the heart of the rough Saxon and Engl warrior in a way the Roman Augustine c Canterbury, with his love of tradition, hi zeal for law and order, failed to do. Com pared with the teacher of Iona and Lindis farne, the Roman missionary was seemingl cold and passionless. Hence the succes of the Celtic teacher and the comparativ failure of the Roman ; hence the marvel lous progress of Iona and Lindisfarne, an the long, strange "halt" of Canterbury.

But after the decisive Mercian defeat things were changed in our island ; new chapter in the story of Christianit in Britain was opened. With the deat and defeat of Penda, the cause of th supporters of the old Scandinavian religio was lost. Northumbria, the eastern por tions of the island, and by far the greate part of the south and west, were alread Christian ; and when Penda, the old cham pion of the altars of Thor and Woden, wa gone, Mercia—already, no doubt, permeate with Christian ideas—accepted at once th

religion of the Cross. The worship of the idol gods of the north lingered, however, for a few more years after the bloody battle of the Winwaed, in the insignificant dominion of the South Saxons, which was curiously isolated from the other conquests and settlements of the North-folk by the almost trackless district of the Andredsweald, a region of wood and marshland.

Christianity a few years after the death of Penda, when Oswiu was king, about the year 659, had made a firm lodgment in most of the conquered districts of Britain. In Kent and in Northumbria, between the Forth and the Humber, it was very generally the religion of the people. In Wessex and East Anglia it was more slowly but still surely winning its way. The Christian work in Kent, and in Kent alone, had been done by Roman monks. Elsewhere Celtic missionaries of the school of Iona, and later of Lindisfarne, had been the principal agents in preaching the religion of Jesus. After this, however, the work of the church in Britain no longer consisted in the evangelisation of heathen peoples; the victory of Christianity over paganism was virtually won, and the new Church of the Engle and Saxon land needed to be formally organised. For that totally different work it may perhaps be doubted if the Celtic missionary, with all his enthusiasm and devotion, was equal to the trained ecclesiastic equipped with the tradition and authority and vast experience of an organisation which embraced all the rest of Catholic Christendom. At all events, the decisive struggle between the two schools of Christianity was not long delayed, and shortly afterwards the Celtic church everywhere gave place to the Roman church.

On first thoughts it would seem a hard and unfair lot for this earnest and devoted church that it should everywhere give place to men trained in another and different school of Christian thought. But the Celtic missionaries *had done their work.* As missionaries, as pioneers of a new faith, these Celtic preachers have rarely been

OSWIU'S SUPREMACY.

equalled in the long story of Christianity. But when they had thus laid the foundation, it is easy to see, with the light now afforded us by the divine providence unfolded in history, that another set of men, brought up in quite a different school, were needed to build up the edifice of Christianity. It may indeed be doubted whether, as some writers maintain, the triumph of the church of Aidan must necessarily have resulted in an ecclesiastical chaos like that of Ireland in later times; since Saxon England was never a prey to

the clan-system, and never possessed the swarm of travelling bishops which apparently was an important factor in that result. Neither can calm historical judgment altogether endorse the statement made by others, that the Celtic form of Christianity was utterly devoid of the power of organisation, which now seemed necessary for the needs of the time. We have found already solid proofs to the contrary, and shall further see that up to the very last, until superseded by the power of the State being thrown into the other scale, her works and her triumphs were as striking as ever. Yet the dispassionate historian can still see weighty reasons why the change which was now to take place may well have been ordained by the Eternal Wisdom. It must never be forgotten that the Roman Church, though already corrupted by Grecian philosophy, Eastern asceticism, and pagan superstition, was far more pure in dogma and practice at this period than in a later age. She was th heir and representative of all that had bee best in the Roman Empire. She had im bibed not only Rome's great system of law but the far greater *idea* of law; and tha other genius and faculty of organisation ha descended upon her, which had made th Roman world. Later on these gifts wer exaggerated and distorted, and in a mor advanced period became great evils; bu in that early age they did invaluable wor in controlling the tyranny of chieftain who were often both ignorant and savag She had, further, gathered to herself th culture and learning of the ancient worl These and the other chief fruits of civilisa tion were at this time mainly preserved b the Roman clergy; and when we come t dwell upon the scholarship which ver soon after this period became the glory England, we must never forget that it wa from Rome and Rome's dependencies th precious materials had to be brough

THE CREATION OF EVE.
*From the Cædmon MS., circa* 1000 A.D., *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

Lastly, Rome represented at that time the great body of Christendom; and however far ecclesiasticism had already departed from truly apostolic doctrine and practice, she represented it not unworthily as compared with the smaller independent church, which was now about to enter upon the final struggle. The triumph of the Celt meant isolation from all this; the triumph of Rome meant at least, as has been well said, that the English Church "should have a share in any advances which were made by Christendom at large." And the sequel curiously showed that not in England, but in Celtic Ireland, the greatest resistance to the ultimate great Reformation of the Church was found.

THE COMPLETION OF THE ARK.
*From the Cædmon MS., circa* 1000 A.D., *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

The change began in Northumbria, in the very citadel of the church of Aidan; and the first and most important agent

in the great change was Eanfleda, the queen of Oswiu, the Northumbrian king. Eanfleda was a Kentish princess, trained carefully in the Roman school years before by the famous teacher Paulinus, who had accompanied her mother Ethelburga when she left the court of her father Ethelbert to live in Northumbria, where her husband Edwin was king. Her genealogy will show the stock from which she came :—

Ethelbert, King of Kent (Augustine's convert) = Bertha (a Frankish princess from Gaul).

Edwin, King of Northumbria = Ethelburga (afterwards Abbess of Lyminge, near Folkestone, Kent).

Oswiu, King of Northumbria = Eanfleda.

Round queen Eanfleda gathered gradually what may be termed a Roman party, all intensely anxious to introduce Roman customs, rites, liturgical forms, and, above all, Roman discipline and obedience into the Northumbrian church. The queen had with her her Kentish chaplain, trained in the Roman obedience ; and often, no doubt, was visited by an old man known as James the Deacon, the only survivor who had shared in the almost forgotten work of the once famous Roman missionary Paulinus, and whose age and long experience doubtless gave him weight in the counsels of the church.

Eanfleda was also strongly backed up by the influence of Oswiu's eldest son, Alchfrid (from his age it seems probable that Alchfrid was Eanfleda's stepson). Alchfrid had married a daughter of Penda of Mercia, and Oswiu had entrusted him with the government of a province, where he ruled as sub-king. Dying before Oswiu, however, he never succeeded to the throne of Northumbria. But in the momentou period which preceded the famous Churc Council of Whitby, when decrees wer passed which virtually put an end to th influence of the Celtic church, Alchfri was still living, and exercising no smal weight at the Northumbrian court. Th queen, the sub-king Alchfrid, James th Deacon, and others who formed the Roma party, received much help also from

young scholar gradually pressing into th front rank of ecclesiastical personages, an who afterwards, under the name of bisho Wilfrid, became famous throughout th western world.

This Wilfrid, who was born in the yea 634, belonged to a noble Engle family. harsh stepmother rendered his home lif unhappy, and at a comparatively early age under the patronage of queen Eanfleda who was attached to him when he was stil a boy, he became a monk in the famou house of Lindisfarne. In the communit he soon became master. His zeal fo monasticism, his ardour and great abilit in his studies, attracted the attentio of his superiors. Strangely enough, i that great Celtic centre of Lindisfarne under the influence of Aidan himself with all the traditions of Iona and Ireland around him, young Wilfrid had been drawn insensibly towards the Roma church, of which in after days h became the unwearied and successfu

champion. To Wilfrid there was something wanting in the rude simplicity of Lindisfarne and the mission churches. Not improbably his royal friend Eanfleda influenced him here. Under her protection the young monk set out for Rome, a centre which he passionately desired to visit. The first stage of his journey was Canterbury, where the friend of the Kentish princess Eanfleda was naturally warmly welcomed by the Roman monk Honorius, then the archbishop.

Wilfrid left Canterbury accompanied by another young Northumbrian noble, a very few years his senior, who, like Wilfrid, had dedicated his life to "religion," and who was afterwards known as Benedict Biscop, the unwearied religious-art collector, the founder of monasteries, the introducer of Roman architecture, music, and painting into his native Northumbria; a name deservedly held in the highest honour by all in every age who love to worship God in the beauty of holiness. The friendship was thus begun between the two who were destined in so remarkable a manner to influence the Christianity of England.

At Lyons Wilfrid for the first time saw the Roman ritual displayed in all its pomp and stateliness, and the sight no doubt strengthened him in his determination to reform and change the simplicity and baldness, as it seemed to him, of Celtic worship. The heart of the archbishop of Lyons, Aunemund, was won at once by the young, brilliant, and enthusiastic monk, and he invited Wilfrid to stay with him, offering him the richest bribes; but Wilfrid's purpose was to study Christianity in its venerable and immemorial seat at Rome. In Rome he was recognised as an ecclesiastic of the highest promise. Here, at headquarters, he received the utmost kindness and attention; he was instructed in all the mysteries of the Roman policy, and returning again to his friend the archbishop of Lyons, received the Roman tonsure; and, what was most important, completed his studies in Roman traditions and learning.

Wilfrid stayed three years at Lyons, until the violent death of his patron, the archbishop, put an end to this period of his career. He narrowly escaped death himself in the Lyons troubles. He then returned to his native Northumbria, still comparatively young, but with a great reputation for sanctity and learning, and ardent in his desire to introduce the stately ritual of Rome and the elaborate discipline of Lyons and Italy into his own church. He soon attracted the notice of Alchfrid, the sub-king, Oswiu's son. Alchfrid and Wilfrid became devoted friends—their romantic friendship being compared to that of David and Jonathan. The prince and sub-king Alchfrid, the enthusiastic and eloquent monk, thoroughly trained in all the learning and traditions of Italy, with the queen and her court, it may well be conceived formed a powerful party, determined to bring about a sweeping change in Northumbrian Christianity.

The saintly and beloved Aidan had passed away. But something of his spirit had descended on the head of his successor at Lindisfarne, Finan; and under his wise promptings and earnest support, the splendid evangelising work of the Celtic missionaries in Middle and Central Britain went on. The years of Oswiu's reign,

which immediately followed Penda's fall at Winwaed, were years of wonderful activity. No one contemplating that restless, successful missionary zeal could have dreamed that the end of that great church, as the dominant church of Britain, was nigh at hand, and that another spirit would soon inspire English Christianity; that other customs, other rites, a rule and obedience never heard of in Ireland, or Iona, or Lindisfarne, would soon quietly and almost imperceptibly, among English Christians take the place of the traditions of the great Irish home of prayer; would supplant the teaching so deeply rooted in by far the largest portion of the conquered island, the teaching of Columba and Aidan, of Ceadda and Fursey.

The sub-king Alchfrid, Oswiu's son, and Eanfleda, Oswiu's queen, steadily pursued their efforts to bring about a change. The first mutterings of the storm were heard in Ripon, where Alchfrid had founded an important monastery. There the famous Eata, the pupil of Aidan, a monk of old Melrose (Mail-ros), was the first abbot. Among his trusted companions was a young monk named Cuthbert, who afterwards rose to great favour and won enormous popularity among the Northumbrians. Alchfrid had built and richly endowed the Ripon monastery, and, in consequence, thought himself justified in requiring its monks to celebrate Easter at the date fixed by Rome, and also to change their other customs, in which the Celtic church

WHITBY ABBEY.

ffered from the Italian line. Eata and is companions stoutly refused to alter ny of their rites and practices, hallowed y what they deemed immemorial use; ying that they would, rather than nange, give up their new home. Alchid took them at their word, and expelled nem, and they returned to Melrose. Vilfrid was appointed abbot of Ripon n the room of Eata, and thus began his ong connection with Ripon. This highanded proceeding of Alchfrid took place bout the year 661.

Colman, who succeeded Finan as bishop nd abbot of Lindisfarne, was wanting in nany of those qualities which gave to men f the stamp of Columba and Aidan the nagic key of hearts. He seems to have een an upright and righteous man, but vas stern and unbending, without tact nd wanting in sympathy. Wilfrid, on he other hand, though imperious, possessed very many of those winning qualities which especially belong to leaders of men. The differences between the two churches were growing daily more pronounced, and he jealousy between the Celtic and Roman schools increased with alarming rapidity. But it was the difference between the churches as to the date of keeping Easter, which brought the bitter dispute to a climax.

It seems to us now but a trivial matter, his trifling difference in the Easter date, o have occasioned so serious a schism; but t must be borne in mind that the questions which lay beneath the surface were far graver, and really turned upon the momentous question: were the churches of Britain to acknowledge or not the supreme authority of Rome? The immediate cause which led to the summoning by king Oswiu of the famous Council of Whitby, was the scandal in his own court of his queen and her many followers, including his son Alchfrid, the sub-king, observing strictly the fasting and humiliation of the solemn season preceding the festival of Easter, while the king and his thanes, following the use of the Celtic church in the date for the celebration of the great festival, at the same time would be keeping the great Easter feast with all joy and ceremonial observance. Thus in the same year two distinct Easters would be kept in the same royal household! * To reconcile

* Since the earliest days of Christianity a division in the Church existed as to the proper date for the celebration of Easter. (*a*) The churches of Asia Minor generally followed the custom of the Jews, by placing Easter Day on the fourteenth day of the first lunar month. This use is generally known as the *quarto deciman*, and did not tie Easter Day to Sunday. (*b*) The churches of the West, Palestine, and Egypt fixed Easter Day on the *Sunday* after the fourteenth day of the month nearest the vernal equinox. This date was probably fixed so as to avoid keeping the feast with the Jews. The Council of Nice (A.D. 325) adopted this use, erecting it into a law of the Church. (*c*) The ancient Jewish cycle of eighty-four years had been universally followed to fix this date. But the Alexandrian (Christian) astronomers discovered in this cycle errors in calculation, and induced the Roman Church to adopt a new paschal cycle (*which is now universally received*), and which limits the celebration of Easter to the interval between the 22nd of March and the 24th of April. This *amendment* in the ancient Jewish cycle had not reached the Celtic churches, isolated in the west by the northern invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries. These celebrated Easter always on Sunday, but this Sunday was not always the one kept by the Romish Church after the Alexandrian amendment in A.D. 525. Thus it happened, shortly before the Council of Whitby, that king Oswiu and the Celtic church in his court were *eight days in advance* of Eanfleda the queen and the Roman Church, the king celebrating the Easter feast, while the queen was still commemorating the commencement of the Passion in the services for Palm Sunday.

these painful differences in practice was the ostensible reason for the calling of the Council; but, as has been remarked, the schism between the two Christian schools was aggravated by far deeper grounds of difference. It cannot, however, be too distinctly reiterated that no divergences in fundamental doctrines ever appear to have existed between Rome and Canterbury on the one side, and Iona and Lindisfarne on the other. No grave charge of heresy ever seems to have been urged by Rome against the Celtic teachers in Britain.

The Council was summoned—following the example of the great Eastern councils—by the sovereign lord king Oswiu. The meeting-place determined upon was the great double monastery of the abbess Hilda, of Streoneshalch, on the hill of Whitby. Probably the meeting-place was the guest-hall of the holy house, already described in the story of Cædmon. It must have presented a singular scene, that council of Streoneshalch, or Whitby, held in the spring of the year 664. The discussions were carried on evidently in the presence of a numerous and notable assembly, consisting of the thanes of Northumberland and a number of Engles of a lower degree, who appear to have stood during the debate. A crowd of monks and clergy were also present.

But there was a little group upon whom the eyes of thane and commoner, monk and nun, were bent—a group made up of men and women whose names have come to us down the long stream of centuries as makers of the Church of England, which has exercised for so many eventful years so vast an influence over the fortunes of the great Anglo-Saxon race; an influence which time fails to dim, and whose futur influence, to those living in the la decade of the nineteenth century, pr mises to be more far-reaching than eve The little group on the daïs or raise platform at one end of the guest-hall the Whitby house of prayer, included th powerful Engle king Oswiu and his so the sub-king Alchfrid; the abbess Hil and the queen Eanfleda; the Celtic bisho of Lindisfarne, Aidan's successor, Colman the old man James the Deacon, once th companion of the forgotten Paulin —James the Deacon, who carries o thoughts back to the long-dead Augu tine of Canterbury; Agilbert, the Fran trained in one of the famous Irish school somewhile bishop of Dorchester, ne Oxford, but afterwards bishop of Paris Romanus, queen Eanfleda's Kentish cha lain; and the one who became th most famous of them all, the youn abbot of Ripon—Wilfrid, the learne and eloquent, the tireless, impassione advocate of Roman order, and Roma use, and Roman obedience.

The strange and marvellous progre of Christianity in these pagan lands r ceived a wonderful testimony in th general national interest displayed in th memorable assembly. It was thronged b the greatest and noblest, and by man of lower degree of the conquering Eng peoples. It was presided over by th greatest king who had as yet guided the destinies in their newly-conquered hom Only a few years before, the altars Woden and the pagan gods of the Nort were the acknowledged centres of Eng worship; and now a great national as sembly, under the presidency of a might

Woden-descended hero-king, met quietly to discuss points of ritual and order belonging to the Christianity of the old conquered British peoples. All this strange and mighty change had been wrought about through the preaching and the devoted lives of a handful of poor Celtic preachers, whose homes were the desolate wind-swept islands of Iona and Lindisfarne!

King Oswiu, the Woden-descended warrior, formally opened this state assembly of his Engle nation by urging the benefits of uniformity of custom among those united in faith, and then he shortly stated the question he had called them together to discuss and to decide: When should the solemn Easter feast be kept? The king called on Colman, the bishop of Lindisfarne, the successor of Aidan and Finan, the acknowledged chief of the Northumbrian church, to speak and to explain his ritual and practice to the assembled thanes and others.

"My usage," said Bishop Colman, "is what I learnt from the fathers. They and the elders who came before them, like Columba 'of the Cell,' were evidently inspired by the Holy Ghost, and these traced up their usage to John the Apostle."*

Agilbert, bishop of Paris, excused himself on the plea that the Engle tongue was strange to him, and that, if he spoke, his words would have to be repeated by an interpreter, and asked that Wilfrid, the young abbot of Ripon, might take his place. Wilfrid seems to have spoken with great skill and eloquence, if occasionally with some exaggeration. He was evidently master of his subject; his long training in Lyons and Rome had well equipped him for such an argument. "We keep our Easter," he said, "as we have seen it kept at Rome, where the blessed Peter and Paul taught and suffered. We have seen it kept in Italy and Gaul; we know that our time of celebrating it is the unvarying use throughout Christendom; only the Picts and Britons, dwellers in two most remote islands of the ocean, foolishly persist in their opposition in this matter to the rest of the world."

To this bold and somewhat sweeping assertion the bishop of Lindisfarne answered: "It is surely an error to speak of our traditions as foolish, seeing that we only follow the example of that great apostle St. John, who was allowed to lay his head upon our Saviour's breast. Columba, our blessed father, followed this usage of St. John, and taught his disciples to do the same. Could Columba—loved of God—have acted and taught contrary to the divine word?"

Then Wilfrid spoke with great nobleness about the holy Columba. He styled him "our Columba as well as yours." "They no doubt—Columba and his followers—in their pious ignorance loved and served God, but no one was with them to tell them of a more perfect way. Had they only known what we know and you know now, surely they would have followed this

* Though the Celtic church claimed to derive their "uses" from St. John, they were not "quarto decimans," for the Celts celebrated the festival on a Sunday. The differences in *the rites* no doubt really arose from the Celtic adherence to the Jewish cycle, which had been amended by astronomers.

more perfect way. But, great and good as was Columba, can we for an instant place him before the chief of the Apostles, to whom the Lord was pleased to say, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church . . . I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven'?"

Thus was first definitely advanced, in the history of the English Church, that very same ground for claiming universal obedience which was put forth in the Encyclical of Leo XIII. at the close of the nineteenth century. But the circumstances were very different. Ecclesiastics were giving their own interpretation of documents they alone possessed, and of which no one else was able to question such an interpretation. There was no one to ask for some evidence that Peter ever was at Rome in his life, or had ever consecrated a Roman bishop. There was none with sufficient historical faculty to point out—not even the Celtic bishop Colman—that Peter's own practice could not have been that now advocated, and that the real point at issue was some proof of Apostolic authority, conferred directly upon the Roman See, to enforce upon all, changes in times and customs, which that See might think fitting from time to time to make. The king himself may probably have been glad of any plausible excuse for ending that most deplorable diversity of practice in his own household, which had been the original cause of the Council. At all events, at this juncture king Oswiu interfered, and, turning to the bishop of Lindisfarne, said, "Colman, is it then true that our Lord spake thus to St. Peter?" "It is true, O King," replied the Celtic teacher. "Can you then," went on king Oswiu, "show me a similar authority given to your Columba? Colman answered in the negative. Kin Oswiu then—possibly with a smile—speak ing to both parties, said, "Then you bot agree that the keys of heaven were give to Peter by our Lord?" Colman an Wilfrid both answered "Yes" at the sam moment. "Then," replied the king, "m words will be only the echo of yours. think, like you, he is the gate porter heaven. I will not dare to oppose him. will obey him in all things, lest when reach the doors of heaven, those doo open not to me if I am the enemy of th one who carries the keys."

This quaint, half-playful decision of the king evidently pleased the thanes and th members of the assembly; and, as Bed tells, both those who were seated in th places of honour and those standing roun lifting up their hands as the sign of the approval, adopted without further discu sion Oswiu's half-jesting, half-serious co clusion. In this summary way, with smile probably still playing on his lips, th Engle king in reality put an end for ev to the influence of the Celtic church England! For, as we shall see, from th day forward another spirit reigned in th Christianity adopted by the Engle an Saxon. The day of Iona and Lindisfarn was past.

Bede gives us a report of this "Easter discussion at the great Whitby Council considerable length. He intimates th there was, besides, no small debate on th question of the tonsure, but he gives no details. There is no doubt that on th and other smaller matters the mind the assembly generally was made up the use of Rome must be adopted.

No one was more deeply sensible of the strong current setting now in England against the Celtic school and its teaching, than Colman, bishop and abbot of Lindis-

THE COUNCIL OF WHITBY.

farne. At once he seems to have made his mind up as to his future course. He would resign his crozier as bishop and abbot, betake himself to Iona and to Ireland, the mother of Celtic Christianity, and, with the Irish elders and the abbots and bishops of her mighty monastic homes, take counsel as to the dim and clouded future of the school of Christianity they loved. But to yield to Rome and the Italian uses one jot or tittle, Colman of Lindisfarne, as far as he was concerned, sternly refused. So Colman and many of his monks, carrying some of the bones of their sainted father Aidan, left for ever the wild home which the great Iona teacher had founded and loved so

well. "What heart," generously writes an eloquent pleader for Roman customs, and a writer who disliked intensely the Celtic school, "is so cold as not to understand, to sympathise, and to journey with him along the Northumbrian coast and over the Scottish mountains, when, bearing homewards the bones of his father Aidan, the proud but vanquished spirit returned to his northern mists, and buried in the sacred isle of Iona his defeat and his unconquerable fidelity to the traditions of his race?"*

The government of the famous Lindisfarne monastery was, at the suggestion of Colman, entrusted to Eata, the pupil of Aidan—the abbot of Melrose—that Eata whom we have seen rudely thrust out from Ripon by Alchfrid, the sub-king, for not adopting the Roman uses. The bishopric of Lindisfarne fell to Tuda, a good man and religious, says Bede, who, though he had been in Ireland, had already, in the matter of the keeping of Easter and the tonsure, conformed to Roman practice. But Tuda soon passed from the scene, a victim of one of those terrible and often-recurring pestilences, which swept over England only a few months after his acceptance of the high office. The same year, A.D. 664, died bishop Cedd, the successful missionary of Essex, at his loved house of Lastingham, as has been already related.

Tuda was the last of the Celtic bishops of Northumbria. His premature death gave a new impulse to the now dominant Roman party. Tuda's selection had been almost a matter of course: for many years he had been acting as coadjutor bishop. But when he passed away the field was open for new selection. Again the Witan or popul assembly was convoked by king Oswi The assembling of the Northumbria Witan for such a purpose as the electio of a bishop, even of so important and va a see as that which the new bishop wou be required to preside over, is very not worthy from an ecclesiastical point view, and moreover, shows how vit a matter Christianity and its workin had become in the eyes of the new converted Engle peoples. Such a callin together of the national assembly to ele or to ratify the election of a bishop archbishop, although not unknown in th history of the Church, is of comparativel rare occurrence.

A general agreement of opinion on th part of the dominant party in the Church—at the head of whom was Alchfrid, Oswiu son, the sub-king—at once seems to hav designated as bishop of the great North umbrian see, an office which carried wit it the virtual headship of the church the Engles, the winning orator and abl advocate who had done so much at th recent Council at Whitby to obtain a com plete recognition of the supremacy of th Roman see, and of her right to impos her "uses" upon foreign churches. Bu although Wilfrid, abbot of Ripon, was thu chosen apparently by the unanimous wis of the king and people to the great office it will contribute to the understanding not a few of the events in that great an stormy life if we remember that thi election of Wilfrid was viewed by th adherents of the Celtic school in th Northumbrian church—hopelessly defeate but still numerous—with the most intens

* Montalembert: "Monks of the West."

dislike and distrust. It must also be ever remembered that, with all his great powers and splendid earnestness, the disposition of Wilfrid was at once imperious and unyielding. Intensely convinced of the wisdom of the policy of his school of thought, he utterly failed to see the touching beauty and the winning fervour of the Celtic school of Christianity. He was not the man ever to win over others who differed from him, and even many of the leaders of the party of Rome—Rome, which he served with a loyalty that only ended with his life—feared while they admired him. For the moment, however, the murmurings of the men who were attached to the old teaching were hushed, and Wilfrid became the bishop of the whole of the northern Engles.

His first public act was an index to the life-work he had set himself to carry out—the supremacy of Rome. To the mind of Wilfrid the greatness and prosperity of the church were intimately bound up with obedience to one supreme head. Even in his early monastic life among the disciples of Columba and Aidan, when he lived in the rough huts, and prayed in the bare and simple church of Iona, the young student had been powerfully attracted by the thought of the majesty of Rome—of the wisdom and knowledge of the long-descended pontiff, daring to trace his spiritual ancestry up to the martyr Prince of the Apostles himself; as well as by the stately and imposing ritual of which he had heard and read so much, but upon which he had never as yet gazed. When the desire of his heart was accomplished, and he had seen mighty Roman centres like Lyons under a great archbishop, and later, Rome itself and her pontiff; when he had drunk deeply of the wonderful stores of learning and tradition laid up in that marvellous treasure-house, the views and outlooks of his early monastic life were strengthened—possibly enlarged—and he consecrated his life to the work of bringing his own distant and semi-barbarous people into the obedience of this mighty church and her ruler. Then, and then only, Wilfrid felt—as many a really great soul has felt with him—would the church be enabled to discharge her duty to the world. There must—thought Wilfrid—be some great central power to organise and direct, and where necessary to restrain, the mighty forces of the Christian church; and the only power on earth which in his opinion could fulfil this high and difficult function, was Rome.

The newly-chosen bishop of Northumbria made not the least pretence of any desire to conciliate the church of Iona and Lindisfarne. On the contrary, he seems deliberately to have ordered his course of action so as rather to wound and to slight the Celtic school of thought, which had done so noble a work in the evangelisation of Britain. First of all, Lindisfarne, through Wilfrid's influence, had ceased to be the seat of the bishops of Northumbria. Lindisfarne, with all its touching and tender memories of the saintly Aidan and the bands of devoted missionaries who had gone forth from the Holy Island of the northern see, to preach and to teach among the pagan Engles and Saxons; Lindisfarne, whose poor and lowly church had so often echoed with heartfelt thanksgiving for ever new and undreamed-of successes won by her monk-preachers in the broad Engle

countries—ay, and far beyond even the distant Engle boundaries; Lindisfarne, with her never-to-be-forgotten story, was now to be no more the spiritual capital of the land she had won for Christ. *York* was to take her place; York, with her traditions of the vaunted Roman Empire; with her later memory of the failure of Paulinus. But all the traditions which haunted York, though they belonged to a vanished empire and an unsuccessful work, were *Roman;* while the splendid records of Lindisfarne, never to be forgotten by Englishmen, were *Celtic*.

And this was not enough; a yet deeper and more personal affront was still to be launched at the ancient church. Wilfrid declined to be consecrated by any of the bishops of his own country, several of whom have been since venerated as saints. The abbot of Ripon classed them all as schismatics. The arch-see of Canterbury at this moment was apparently vacant, the same yellow pest, above alluded to, having carried off Deus-dedit (Frithona), archbishop of Canterbury, and Tuda of Lindisfarne in the same year (A.D. 664). Wighard, the Saxon monk, was not appointed to the arch-see before 667; and Wighard died at Rome before his consecration. The see of Canterbury was thus vacant.

The strange refusal of Wilfrid to accept consecration at the hands of any of the English bishops, shows, however, *how entirely the Christianity of England was Celtic*. It shows that this determined champion of Rome considered that no bishop of his native country was in full communion with the Holy See. His biographer and friend Eddius attributes to him such language as the following, addressed to Oswiu and his son Alchfri "My Lord Kings, I must first of all co sider the best means of reaching t episcopate without exposing myself to t reproaches of true Catholics." The ki thus addressed allowed his plea, and ga him money and a great train of followe to enable him to present himself to t Franks with the magnificence ever de to Wilfrid's heart, and which he deem suitable, too, for the bishop of so gre a kingdom as was Engle Northumbr These high-handed actions, with which t abbot of Ripon began his famous episco career, show how determined he was uproot the old order of things, and reduce the whole of Christian Engla to the obedience of Rome.

At Compiègne, in Gaul, he met friend who had supported him at t Council of Whitby, Agilbert, somewh bishop of the East Saxons, but th bishop of Paris. Wilfrid was there co secrated with extraordinary pomp. Twel bishops assisted at the august ceremony; such importance was it considered by t Romish party, who dreaded the enormo and ever-active power of Celtic Chr tianity, then advancing with such rap strides on the continent of Europe, than to the indefatigable work and energy the pupils of Columban of Luxeuil. T bishop of York was carried through t church of Compiègne, in the midst of t crowd of worshippers, on a golden thro which was borne by bishops.

Wilfrid, however, was mistaken in thin ing that the victory of Rome was alrea completely won in England, and he pr longed imprudently his stay in Gaul; f on his return to Northumbria he found

piscopal seat invaded by another, whom Oswiu had appointed bishop in his room. This intruding prelate was the saintly

FIGURE OF ST. LUKE.

*From the Gospel Book of St. Chad, about* A.D. 700, *in the Cathedral Library, Lichfield.*

Chad, an Engle by birth, and a former pupil of Aidan. Such a curious and rapid revulsion of feeling on the part of the powerful Northumbrian monarch is attributed by some to the influence of the abbess Hilda, by others simply to the long neglect by Wilfrid of the bishopric. Alchfrid, the sub-king, the loyal friend of Wilfrid, had disappeared from the scene. We have no record of his end, but he probably had died during Wilfrid's absence in Gaul.

Chad, one of the saintly makers of our church, who in this curious irregular way, apparently through the simple

appointment of the Engle king,* obtained the great Northumbrian bishopric, was no ordinary man. Utterly devoid of personal ambition, his whole longing seems to have been to win souls to his Master's side. There is no doubt that he disliked Wilfrid, and that his sympathies were entirely on the side of the old Celtic church, in the midst of which he had been trained ; yet he seems to have made no strong efforts to reverse the decisions of the Whitby Council. He evidently acquiesced quietly in the Roman use as regards Easter, and adopted without protest the Roman form of tonsure, regarding these changes, involving no doctrinal points, as inevitable. Chad was one of those rare and beautiful characters of whom all men of different parties, and belonging to varied schools, speak with reverence and love. He appears in an eminent degree to have possessed those high and endearing qualities which seem to have been the especial heritage of the great Irish and Celtic saints of this age. Some writers believe that Chad and his saintly brother of whom we have already spoken, the East Saxon bishop and abbot of Lastingham, came originally from Ireland.

While he was bishop of York the labours of Chad were never-ending. Very different from Wilfrid, he cared nothing for pomp or state. His ideal of a great pastor was a Columba or an Aidan, the latter of whom he had known ; not a stately bishop of Rome or of Lyons, living with all the magnificence and state of a great earthly prince. Not that men of the stamp of Pope Gregory the Great loved pomp or state for pomp and state's sake, but because

* *See* page 196.

from their hearts they believed th Master's cause would be better advanc by His chief servants assuming among m the ensigns of lofty rank and supre power. But Chad and the Celtic sai chose to do their work in a different w and they won their strange empire o men's hearts by different instrumen Their churches were of the rudest, si plest construction. Their dwellings we huts of the roughest and most primiti form. Their favourite homes were ca and bee-hive huts, in desolate wind-swe islands like Iona and Lindisfarne ; rou groups of wattled dwellings in the fore like Columban set up in the first instan at Luxeuil, or Guthlac built for himself the fen lands round Crowland.

Bishop Chad, like his great Irish maste was an intense student of the Holy Scr tures. These Celtic saints read and mus as they journeyed from place to pla among the people. He was ever mo ing about in his vast diocese: travelli always during his restless life on fo he was equally at home in the hovel the serf or in the hall of the than and thus he won the love and admirati of uncounted multitudes of the yet ha pagan Engles among whom he lived a moved, and to whom he preached wi that passionate fervour and moving el quence, the peculiar gift of these old Cel saints ; ever the holy man of God, passi amongst his people continually.

We will—anticipating a little the cour of events—finish Chad's beautiful life-sto which has left so deep an impression up the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. T time came when, to secure the peace of t church, he deemed it wise to resign

eat charge in Northumbria. With perct content he retired for a season to s dead brother's Yorkshire monastery of astingham; this was somewhere before e year 669. But he was not suffered to vell for long in a retirement singularly tractive to the true follower of Columba d Aidan. Largely owing to the inience of his old rival Wilfrid—who, as e shall see, again rose to the highest sition in the church, and who with an grudging admiration revered Chad's mple earnest piety—Chad was summoned om his retreat to the Mid Engle counties, Iercia; and there, with the assistance of s powerful monarch, Wulfhere, a son of e old heathen Penda, he did a grand ork in the evangelisation of the Midngles, still, many of them, pagans in ought and practice. Lichfield, in the ntre of England, was his new headarters; and in middle England he lived e same hard and devoted life as he had ed in old days in Northumbria.

One of Bede's charming stories is deted to the last hours of this great and od man. Its scene was a little church rrounded by a group of monastic buildgs, where now stands the fair cathedral Lichfield. Chad had been bishop of ercia about two years and a half when e end came to his beautiful life. It was wonder, Bede tells us, that Chad rejced to behold the day of his death, or her the day of the Lord, seeing he had anxiously prepared for it. It came to e great saint through an attack of one of se desolating pestilences which so often ept in these times over England, and ich were so specially fatal to these early angelists, whose toil-worn frames, spent with labours and watchings and fasting, rendered them sadly unfit to bear up against the pestilence when it seized them. Among the monks who lived with Chad was one named Owini, remarkable for his pure life. This Owini had held high office at the court of the Northumbrian king, Egfrid, the son and successor of Oswiu. He had been the master of the household of his queen, Etheldreda, before that princess took the veil and became the foundress of the monastery of Ely; and when his royal mistress gave up the world, Owini followed her example.

This Owini was no student. At the gates of the secluded monastery of Lastingham, in East Yorkshire, the "House" of the two brothers, Cedd, the bishop of the East Saxons, and the yet more famous Chad of Lichfield, the former courtier and minister of the queen presented himself clad in a plain garment, and carrying an axe and hatchet in his hand, and asked to be admitted into the brotherhood, as he had determined to renounce the world; he said that he would not live an idle life among them, but would labour with his own hands. At Lastingham he became the friend and confidant of Chad, and in his Mercian work, during his residence at Lichfield, this Owini seems ever to have been with the saintly bishop.

In the course of Chad's third year as Mercian bishop, came over the community what Bede styles a mortality sent from heaven: this was one of those often-recurring pestilences we have referred to, known as the yellow or black plague, and which was probably some form of typhus fever. Many of the Lichfield community

sickened and died. While this pestilence was still brooding over Lichfield, one day, when the brethren were in the church, and the bishop, probably sick, was alone in the oratory of his cell, Owini was engaged in some garden work, when he heard of a sudden a sweet unearthly sound as of angelic music coming near; the sounds then seemed to rest over Chad's cell, and then to be issuing from the cell itself. While wondering what this might mean, he saw Chad opening the window of the little cell and beckoning him. The bishop bade him call at once the brethren who were in the church. They came and stood by their beloved master. He charged them to live at peace among themselves and towards all others, and to preserve the rules of regular discipline which he had taught them. Then Chad added, the day of his death was at hand; the brethren went away from their master in sorrow. But Owini immediately went back to his master's cell, and kneeling before him, prayed him to tell him the meaning of that song of joy he had heard coming out of the oratory in the earlier part of the morning. Chad answered him, "If you heard this singing, and knew of the coming of the heavenly company, I charge you in the Lord's name do not speak of it to anyone before my death. The music came from angelic spirits who were sent to speak to me, to tell me of my heavenly reward, which I have for so long earnestly waited, to assure me that in seven days they would return and take me hence away with them." It exactly happened, says our faithful chronicler, as Chad told Owini. He sickened with a languishing distemper, and on the seventh day, after receiving the Holy Communion, died, departing the joys of heaven.

The death of St. Chad happened in t year 672. For more than twelve centur the memory of this lovable man and u wearied worker in his Master's cause h been treasured in Lichfield and the Mi lands. He was buried in the little chur of St. Mary, but his remains were aft wards removed to St. Peter's great churc Bede, who only lived a few years lat describes his shrine as a wooden structu in the form of a small wooden house, a covered with tapestry.

To return now to Wilfrid. The co duct of the Northumbrian king in th deposing him, and setting up anoth bishop in his room, was an act whi in Wilfrid's eyes and with his Rom views, must have appeared reactionary a inexcusable; but to the king it probab presented itself in a different aspect. the light of that declared intention resistance to Roman authority as suc avowed later on by his third son Aldfri it may be that, notwithstanding his fi acquiescence in Wilfrid's recourse to Rom ordination, further reflection, aided doub less by representations from the Celt party, suggested to Oswiu state reaso for a protest which has been found b too necessary by many successive Engli sovereigns. It is, moreover, to be remem bered that Celtic ideas of a bishop seem have been more connected with functi than with territorial jurisdiction: the gre number of Irish Celtic bishops, and th frequent subjection to monastic discipli has already been recorded. The dioces idea which we now connect with

bishopric, seems to have been more or less a distinctively Roman idea: amongst Celts and Saxons, at this time, it rather seems to have been considered that while it belonged to the Church alone to confer spiritual functions, it belonged to the State to appoint where they should be exercised. It will be observed that the succeeding Engle sovereigns seem to have claimed and exercised the same rights of appointing to bishoprics, and that three such saints as Chad, Eata, and Cuthbert, alike appear to have seen nothing improper in obeying the king's mandate. Indeed—and this is still more remarkable—the archbishop Theodore himself, in carrying out his own policy a few years later, seems to have been willing to avail himself of these much looser Celtic ideas. It was an indefinite and transitional period in the history of ecclesiasticism, however, and the precise truth is not easy to ascertain. But there need be no hesitation whatever in admiring the conduct of the deposed bishop on this occasion. Wilfrid accepted his degradation with all the humility and grace of a true saint, and made no resistance. In silence he retired to his monastery of Ripon and quietly pursued his work there, beautifying and enriching that famous house of prayer.

OWINI AT THE MONASTERY (*p.* 195).

He was not, however, allowed long to remain in cloistered seclusion, for Wulfhere, the king of Mercia, and his queen Ermenilda, a Kentish princess, an earnest and devoted Christian, summoned him to

their side to assist in the still further development of Christianity in those districts, occupied by the Midland Engles. There the work prospered greatly, several new monasteries were founded, and paganism gradually disappeared from central England. While quietly working with the Mercian king and queen, Wilfrid was asked by Egbert, king of Kent, to assist in the government of the Kentish church, which at this junction was without a head, Wighard, who had been chosen to sit in the chair of Augustine, in succession to Deus-dedit, having suddenly died at Rome.

For several years, then, while Chad was acting as bishop in Northumbria, Wilfrid worked in the Midlands and the South East, without any settled home save his own monastery of Ripon. At no period of the great churchman's stormy and eventful life did his character show to greater advantage than in these years of misfortune and exile from his own see; when, with silent submission but with unwearied activity and zeal, he did the work which lay ready to his hand, refraining from all interference with Chad, who was also one of the little band of true workers for God, but whom Wilfrid, of course, regarded as an intruder. During this period Wilfrid exercised a vast influence over Wulfhere and Ermenilda, the king and queen of Mercia (Middle England), and Egbert, king of Kent. The result of this influence over the sovereign lords—aided by the power which his own blameless life and restless energy and undoubted eloquence won for him among the peop —was the gradual adoption of the Roma use universally throughout Mercia. I Kent, of course, Celtic customs had ev been unknown; there the original wor of the Roman Augustine had never bee interfered with. In the great Midlan monasteries, such as Peterborough, sever of which were founded in this period, th Romish use was universal. The Italia tonsure, the date of the Easter festiva and its liturgical uses, became graduall general. The rule of St. Benedict, to approved and sanctioned by the bisho of Rome, was universally introduced, an gradually seems to have superseded the ol Irish and Scottish rule of Iona and Lindi farne. Indeed, largely owing to the wor of Wilfrid, the Roman pattern of churc government and order with singular rapidit took the place in England of the Celti practices introduced by the first generatio of missionaries of the faith.

The work of Wilfrid in the Midland during the period of his exile from h great northern see lasted nearly fou years. In the year 669 a great chang came over his fortunes, and a new an powerful influence was introduced int England which, though subsequent somewhat antagonistic to Wilfrid's pe sonality, completely consolidated his lif work as regards the great question of Roma supremacy. This new power, which aro in England in the fourth year of W frid's work in Mercia and Kent, can from the arch-see of Canterbury.

# CHAPTER XI.

## WILFRID AND THEODORE. GROWING POWER OF ROME.

Brief History of the Canterbury See—Choice of Archbishop left to the Pope—Hadrian—Consecration of Theodore to the Archbishopric—His vast Influence in the English Church—Restores Wilfrid to the See of Northumbria, and makes Chad Bishop of Lichfield—Diligence of Wilfrid—His zeal in Building Churches—Lamentable Course with regard to Queen Etheldreda, and consequent Quarrel with King Egfrid—Theodore introduces Parochial Organisation—In concert with Egfrid deposes Wilfrid and divides his Diocese—Wilfrid Appeals to Rome—Work in Friesland—Vindicated at Rome—While at Rome Wilfrid guarantees English Orthodoxy—Imprisoned by Egfrid—On his Release works amongst the South Saxons—Strange Conduct of Archbishop Theodore—Fall of King Egfrid—Reconciliation and Reparation by Theodore—Death of the Archbishop—Wilfrid again Deposed and Banished by Aldfrid, retiring to Lichfield—Council of Nesterfield deciding against him, he Appeals for the second time to Rome—Triumphant Vindication there—Resistance of Aldfrid to the Papal Decree—Reinstated by the Council of the Nidd—Wilfrid's last years—His Work and Character.

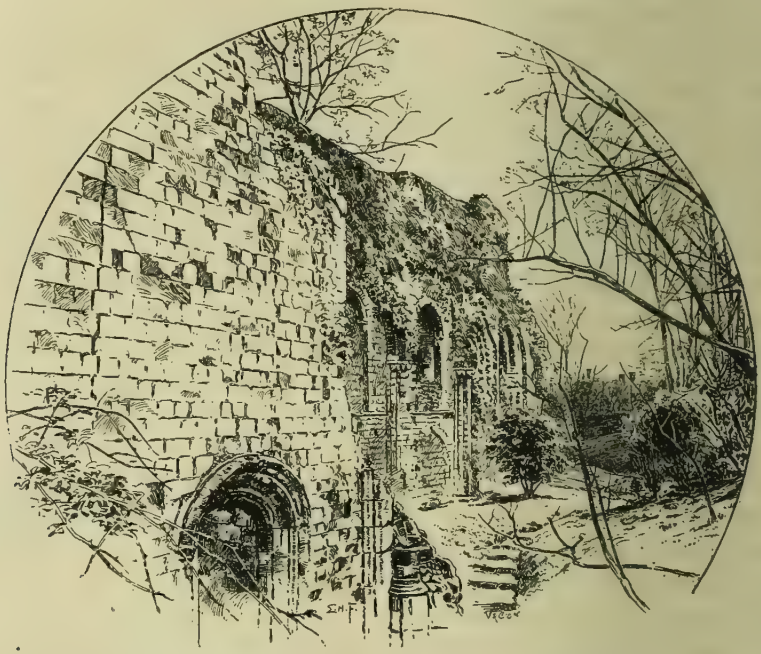
SEVENTY-TWO years had passed since the Roman monk Augustine had landed at Ebbsfleet on the Kentish coast, and had established his successful Roman mission at Canterbury, under the protection of the Jutish king Ethelbert and his Frankish queen Bertha. As we have seen, the successful work of Augustine's mission had been almost exclusively confined to the narrow limits of the Jutish kingdom of Kent, in the extreme south-east corner of the island. In recognition of the earlier successes of Augustine, the Roman see had conferred upon their first missionary the dignity of the pall and the lofty rank of archbishop of the English. The dignity and the rank were continued to his successors at Canterbury. But these successors, although possessing lofty sounding titles, were of little weight outside the narrow limits of the Kentish kingdom, and the power of that Kentish kingdom was completely overshadowed by the great Engle supremacy in the North and Midlands, and even by the widely extended though divided rule of the West Saxons, which reached from the confines of Kent to the Severn lands in the west.

The line of the first archbishops of Canterbury was as follows :—

| | | A.D |
|---|---|---|
| These five first archbishops were all *Italians*. | Augustine lands at Ebbsfleet | 597 |
| | Laurence - - - - - - - | 605 |
| | Mellitus } Original companions of Augustine - - | 619 |
| | Justus - - - - - - - | 624 |
| | Honorius, also a Disciple of Pope Gregory, possibly also companion of Augustine - | 627 |
| | Deus-dedit, an Anglo-Saxon, whose name originally was Frithona - - - - - - | 655 |
| | Wighard. one of the clergy of Deus-dedit, nominated to archbishopric, but died in Rome before consecration - | 667 |
| | An interval of some three or four years, during much of which time Wilfrid worked in Kent. | |
| | Theodore, a Greek of Tarsus | 668-9 |

With the exception of Augustine, during these seventy-two years none of these men were of conspicuous ability. God-fearing, quiet men, they did their work

soberly and unostentatiously, but their influence was little felt outside Kent: another and a stronger spirit was at work which changed Pagan into Christian England. The first five archbishops were Italians; three of them companions of the first great Roman missionary Augustine. been supreme in the south-east, and ki Egbert of Kent, agreed to nominate Wi hard, a Canterbury monk, to the vacant se Wilfrid had already demurred as to t position of the English bishops. So it w agreed that to silence opposition Wigha should proceed to Rome and be consecrat



CHURCH OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S MONASTERY, CANTERBURY.
(*To the left is St. Ethelbert's Tower.*)

The fifth, Honorius, if not a companion of Augustine, certainly had been trained in the same Roman school of thought. Bede calls him a disciple of Pope Gregory. When Honorius died, his successor, the Saxon Frithona, a native of Wessex, was chosen. Frithona changed his barbarous name into the Latin "Deus-dedit." His episcopate was in no way remarkable, and when he passed away king Oswiu of Northumbria, whose power seems to have there. But he died almost directly aft his coming to Rome. The two king Oswiu and Egbert, therefore agreed leave the appointment of the archbisho of Canterbury to the Roman bisho known in history as Pope Vitalian.

The choice fell upon one Hadrian, a African by birth, a man of vast learn ing, abbot of a monastery near Naple Hadrian, however, declined positively th high office; but although he never filled th

hair of Augustine, he still exercised the ighest influence in the development of he English church. It was on the strong ecommendation of Hadrian that Theodore, a very great name indeed in the history of the Church of England, was finally chosen by the bishop of Rome to be archbishop of Canterbury. Theodore was an Asiatic Greek, being a native of St. Paul's city of Tarsus in Cilicia. He too, like his friend Hadrian, was a man of profound learning and of the highest reputation, his knowledge being so extensive and various, that he was known among his contemporaries as "The Philosopher."

TWELVE SCENES IN THE LIFE OF CHRIST.
(*From a Latin Gospel Book of the Seventh Century.* Illustrations probably added later.*)

Thanks to the policy of the Northumbrian king Oswiu, whose supremacy over a large portion of England during most of his long reign was more or less acknowledged, the shadowy pretension of the archbishops of Canterbury to spiritual

* From the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It belonged to St. Augustine's Monastery in the ninth or tenth century.

authority over all the conquered portions of the island became a reality; and the tact and splendid abilities of the new archbishop did much to advance and then to maintain these lofty pretensions. Wilfrid had done great things in Northumbria and Mercia; and during the years of his rise to reputation and power, during the years of his rule at York, and subsequently during his exile in Mercia, had helped to accustom men's minds to the idea of the awful authority of Rome; and the archbishops of Canterbury were the accredited ministers, the official lieutenants of the Roman see. But great as was Theodore's success in consolidating the church in England into the Church of England, and in establishing the principle of the Roman obedience from the Forth to the English Channel, it is not too much to say that he could never have done this had not Wilfrid gone beforehand as Rome's pioneer. Theodore virtually consolidated Wilfrid's successful work.

The Greek monk, who was so strangely promoted to the metropolitan see of this country at a comparatively advanced age (he was sixty-seven years old when he began his English work), may with truth be considered to have been the founder of the Church of England. Before Theodore, a few great bishops perfectly independent one of another, with a certain number of important monasteries and nunneries, made up—with the Christian population—the church in the island; after Theodore these scattered units were welded into one Church, owing obedience to Canterbury, and through Canterbury acknowledging a sort of obedience to Rome, whose rites they adopted and whose usages they followed.

Pope Vitalian, who at that time wa the ruler of the Roman see, in accordanc with Oswiu's and Egbert's request, ap pointed Theodore, the Greek, to Canter bury, but made it a condition that Theodor should be accompanied by Hadrian, whor he had in the first place nominated to th chair of Augustine, but who had refuse the dignity. The reason of Pope Vitalia insisting upon this condition, was to saf guard English Christianity. The trut evidently was, that while at Rome The dore's vast practical ability and indomitab will in organising was recognised, som doubt existed at headquarters as to h perfect orthodoxy. Bede's cautious wor deserve to be quoted. Hadrian was ap pointed as his permanent counsellor—h was, too, his dearest friend—"that h might take special care that Theodor after the custom of the Greeks, should n introduce anything contrary to the tru faith into the Church where he presided. This somewhat mysterious allusion cleared up when we remember that th Monothelite controversy,* really a conte for life and death to the Catholic Churc because it involved the reality of ou Lord's willing self-sacrifice, had bee troubling Christendom for more tha thirty years. Many of the Eastern c Greek Christians had been mixed up wit this really fatal heresy, and Pope Vitalia and his advisers evidently suspected tha Theodore, the archbishop-elect, had som leanings in this direction, and neede the constant presence and loving counsel of a great teacher to keep him in thi particular in the paths of orthodoxy.

Theodore gladly accepted the companion

* See page 214.

hip of his friend Hadrian; who proved himself eventually worthy of the confidence of Rome, and, as the archbishop's right hand and adviser in theology and learning, raised the Church of England, during Theodore's wise rule, to an undreamed-of position as a great Catholic teaching centre. Theodore and Hadrian were accompanied to England by the Northumbrian scholar, Benedict Biscop, whom we have met with before as Wilfrid's friend and companion in early life, and whose special work in his native country will come before us presently.

It was not till May, 669, that the grand old man, as he has been well styled by his biographer, took his seat in the basilica of Augustine in Canterbury—a great and memorable day for the Church of England, which during his unexpectedly long episcopate he was so wisely to organise and to strengthen. Benedict Biscop was appointed temporarily abbot of the great Canterbury monastery, a position, however, which he shortly afterwards vacated in favour of Hadrian.

Archbishop Theodore's first important work in England was to investigate the curious position held by Chad, who for some three years had been acting as bishop of the vast northern see of York, to which Wilfrid had been lawfully appointed and canonically consecrated in the august ceremony, already related, at Compiègne. There seemed no doubt but that Chad was an intruder, and the archbishop plainly gave to him his opinion as to the transaction. Chad at once offered to resign his great office. With all humility, he told Theodore "he never deemed himself worthy of it; but that at his monarch's bidding he had accepted it, considering it was his duty to obey him."* Theodore was moved at the exceeding gentleness and piety of the man, and even appeared to waver in his judgment as to the propriety of Chad's retaining possession of the see of York; but Chad was only too eager to free himself from a burden he had never desired, and retired to the quiet seclusion of his dead brother's monastery at Lastingham, in East Yorkshire. Wilfrid at once returned, and without opposition took possession of the vacant chair of the great northern bishopric. The gentle, holy Chad, however, was not long allowed to remain in his loved retreat at Lastingham; for, at the instance of Wilfrid—who, in spite of all that had gone before, admired his saintly rival with a real admiration, an admiration that not improbably had induced his silent acquiescence when Chad took his place at York—Chad was summoned to Wilfrid's work in Mercia and Middle England.

Chad, for peace sake, and for the sake of preserving the unity of the church, submitted at Theodore's request to a fresh ordination, and subsequently to a renewed episcopal consecration, and some three years later, in 672, closed his beautiful life as bishop of Lichfield, as we have related already.

Wilfrid, now reinstated in York, A.D. 669, occupied at length a proud and undisputed position in the church of his native island. For the next nine or ten years the main interest in the story of the church clusters round the two, Theodore

* Attention has already been drawn (p. 196) to the probable difference between Celtic and Roman ideas regarding a bishopric and its functions.

and Wilfrid—Theodore in the South and the Midlands, Wilfrid in the North of England and Lowlands of Scotland. The two eminent prelates worked generally independently one of the other. Both of them, however, were devoted adherents of Rome—her customs, ways of government, and order. Outwardly, at all events, there was no jealousy, or even the appearance of rivalry between these two great makers of the Church of England. At the Synod, often called the Council of Hertford, held by Theodore in 673, Wilfrid did not appear, but was only represented by delegates.

This Synod is memorable not by reason of its debates or resolutions, which were curiously uninteresting — but because it was the first of all national gatherings, and formally united the national churches into an ecclesiastical province. Thus the Church of England is older than the English monarchy, for there was a united Church of England embracing the whole population—Jute, Angle, Saxon—a century before the general supremacy of king Egbert of Wessex. "Theodore," writes Bede, "was the first archbishop whom all the English churches obeyed."

Present at this Hertford Synod of Theodore's, besides Wilfrid's delegates, were four other bishops—Bisi, of East Anglia; Putta, of Rochester; Leutherius, of the West Saxons; and Winfrid, of the Mercians; and probably many church teachers who were not bishops. Nine resolutions or canons were passed. No. 1, a repetition of the agreement as to keeping Easter. Nos. 2, 6, 8, contained regulations as to the separate jurisdiction of bishops. It would seem that there was some laxity in the claims of bishops t perform sacerdotal functions in diocese entrusted to brother bishops. Thes canons also dealt with certain ill-advise claims to superiority of rank now an then claimed by certain prelates ove their brother bishops. Nos. 4 and 5 forbad monks and clerics roaming about at the pleasure; such were not to be receive without the commendatory letter of th prelate of their own diocese. No. 3 asserte the independence of monasteries fro vexatious episcopal interference. No. 1 maintained the sanctity of marriage amon laymen. No. 7 ordered that the syno should meet at stated intervals. No. treated of the increase of the episcopate this canon—the most important of all—was, however, withdrawn for the time.

The second provincial Synod was hel under the presidency of archbishop Theo dore some seven years later, in 680, a Hatfield in Hertfordshire, "in order t certify the Pope as to the orthodoxy of th church under his (Theodore's) rule, and s to add to the testimony of the Wester Churches, now to be brought to bear o the East."* The names of the bishop who attended this early Synod do no appear, but other teachers, as at Hertford besides bishops, appear to have bee present. John, the precentor, is specified a commissary from the Bishop of Rome The decrees of the Hatfield Synod unde Theodore are important, in that they defin positively the faith of the English Church from which, in the more important par ticulars therein defined, it has neve swerved. The record of the Council A.D. 680, declares that its members, firmly

* Professor Bright: "Early English Church."

dhering to the teaching delivered by Christ to His original disciples, to the reed of the holy (Nicene) fathers . . . . onfessed the Holy Trinity, that is, the anything: glorifying God the Father without beginning, and His Only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before the ages, and the Holy Spirit proceeding ineffably

WILFRID IN STATE (*p.* 207).

One God in Three Consubstantial Subsistences or Persons of equal glory and honour; it acknowledged the five Councils and the Lateran Council held in the time of the blessed Pope Martin. "And we glorify our Lord Jesus even as they glorified Him, neither adding nor taking away [*inenarrabiliter*] from the Father and the Son [*et Filio*]." We have here a plain assertion of the double procession of the Holy Spirit, which was originally a gloss introduced into the Constantinople recension of the creed of Nice, by the great Spanish Councils of Toledo in the sixth and seventh

centuries, intended to strike at Visigothic Arianism by emphasising the doctrine of a co-equal and consubstantial Son. The theological language of St. Augustine contains explicit assertions to the same effect.*

In the year 670 Oswiu's glorious and lengthy reign was closed. After an interval of some years his remains were claimed by his daughter, Elfleda, the pupil of Hilda, and her successor as abbess; and the illustrious Engle king was laid to sleep in the famous Whitby abbey which he had founded. There, by the side of king Edwin, and with many other royal and distinguished dead, king Oswiu still rests beneath the grass-grown floor of perhaps the most striking ruined abbey in England.

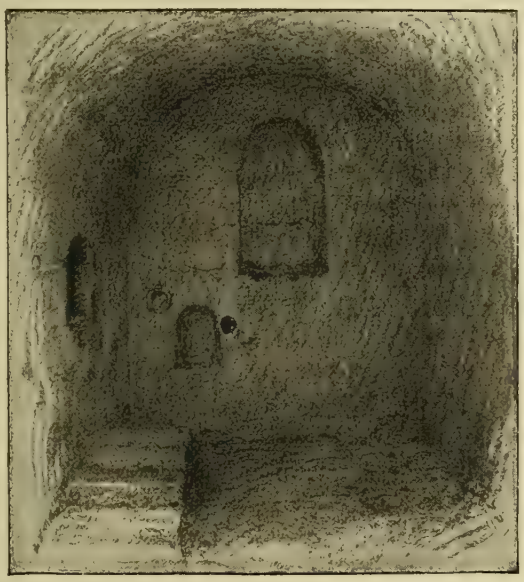
His son and successor, Egfrid, for a long season continued the friendship of his father Oswiu with Wilfrid. These nine years were the most successful and brilliant of Wilfrid's eventful career. His biographer and dear friend, Eddius, gives us many details of his work-filled, restless career. He tells us of his severe, austere life; of his nights passed in prayer; of his days often spent in studying the Holy Scriptures. Different from some of the mediæval saints, Eddius relates how he washed from head to foot every night in cold but consecrated water, and persevered in the custom until far advanced in age, when the Pope, fearing for his health, forbade him to continue the practice. His immense diocese, which stretched from the Humber to the Clyde, he constantly traversed, multiplying priests and deacons for the new parishes which were everywhere formed; travelling, now o foot, now on horseback, in all weathers an in all seasons, baptising, preaching, co firming; everywhere, it is related, gathe ing round him eager crowds longing t hear his eloquent, fervid words, and t receive the blessed Sacraments at his hand Monastic communities were multiplie and at these schools were established, an to them resorted the children of th noblest rank, entrusted to Wilfrid's care t be trained for the secular as well as fo the purely religious life.

In his monasteries Wilfrid was especiall anxious to introduce and to cultivat music and singing, recognising how power ful an aid to devotion was sweet an solemn music. Under his wise car Northumbria became a great and renowne centre of sacred song, rivalling here th yet more celebrated school of Canterbur under Theodore and Hadrian. Like man other eminent churchmen, Wilfrid wa also a great builder. From his early day in the rough, wattle-built huts of Lindis farne, he had dreamed of stately homes o prayer with which he longed to replac the low wooden churches of the Iona an Lindisfarne teachers; and now in his da of power he reproduced as well as he wa able some of those noble churches an basilicas he had gazed upon with awe an admiration in Roman Italy, in Lyons an southern Gaul. Masons, glaziers, painter were ever in the train of the unwearie bishop of the north. The church of Yor was one of his earliest works. The firs church of Edwin and Oswald had faller into sad decay. Under Wilfrid's care new roof of lead covered the minster; th windows were for the first time glazed, s

* Compare Professor Bright: "Early English Church," chap. xi.

at the birds could no longer fly in and it; the walls were carefully plastered, d the altar was decorated.

On his own Ripon he bestowed the most voted attention. Eddius speaks with pture of the noble basilica erected there. othing in England had yet been seen to mpare with its lofty porches and its lumns of polhed stone. On e day of its nsecration ing Egfrid d the leading anes of Northmbria, with a eat concourse, me together, d in their resence, with uch pomp and remony, the ishop of York edicated the hurch to St. eter, vesting e altar with recious coverngs of purple nd gold. Upon the altar thus vested, Vilfrid laid the far-famed Book of the ospels which he had prepared. This agnificent copy of the Gospels was ritten on purple vellum with letters of old; the binding was of plates of gold ncrusted with precious gems.



ST. WILFRID'S NEEDLE, RIPON CATHEDRAL.

Yet more magnificent even than his urch of Ripon, was the abbey of Hexam, where Wilfrid had founded a great onastery on lands given to him by the ueen of Egfrid, Etheldreda, afterwards foundress and first abbess of Ely. The Hexham abbey was dedicated to St. Andrew, in memory of that church so dear to Wilfrid and the lovers of the Roman school, whence came Augustine and his first little band of missionaries. Hexham Abbey, with its deep-dug foundations, its vast crypt, its porches and pillars, its spiral staircases and galleries, its lofty and imposing spires, for two centuries after its completion by Wilfrid and his architect, was looked upon as the most beautiful and stately house of God on this side of the Alps. This wonderful church, with all its accumulated art treasures, such as reliquaries, shrines, books, was sacked and burned by the Danes in 875, some two hundred years later.

Thus Wilfrid's power and influence grew. At times he seemed to throw aside the simplicity and homeliness with which he won so many hearts among even the lowest of the people, and appeared abroad escorted by a train, dressed and armed with all the splendour of royal guards; no doubt thinking that such appearances in public would impress men's minds with a sense of the grandeur of a church whose chief

minister was thus honoured. Some think, and perhaps rightly, that such display stirred up envy and evil speaking, and may have deeply offended the king, who was gradually alienated from the great bishop. But there was a deeper and more direct cause of the enmity which, after this long period of noble work, separated the Northumbrian monarch from Wilfrid.

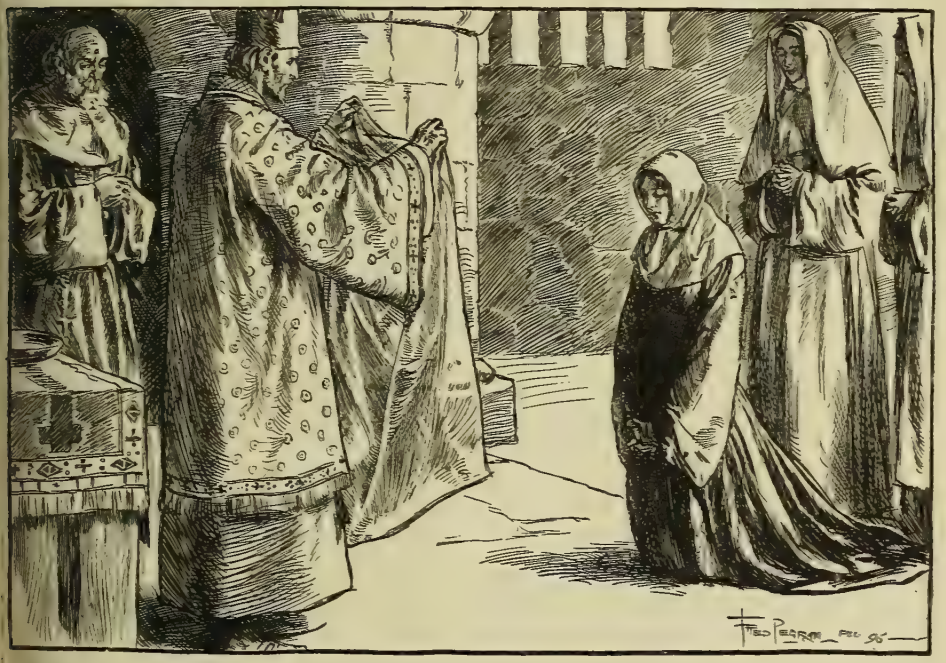
Etheldreda, the queen of Egfrid, a daughter of Anna, the East Saxon king, was famed for her great beauty. In her youth she loved dress and ornaments, and years after, when dying as abbess of Ely, famed far and wide for her sanctity, alluding to a painful tumour in her neck from which she was suffering, said to the bystanders, "I believe now I am enduring this pain that I may be absolved from the guilt of my thoughtless levity in the days of my youth, having now this swelling and burning on my neck instead of the gold and precious stones which once used to adorn it." The passion for a cloistered life, so common in these days among the great ones of the earth, especially among women, took possession of the Northumbrian queen; and led to a deplorable domestic tragedy, which further caused an adulterous marriage and a war.* She desired to leave her brilliant court and her husband, and dedicate her life to what, according to the strange ideal sedulously promoted by ecclesiastical exhortation, was considered "religion." Egfrid, who loved her tenderly, was bitterly opposed to her wish, and summoned the all-powerful bishop Wilfrid to influence the queen to remain with him. Etheldre however, remained steadfast to her resol and Wilfrid was suspected, probably w good cause, of abetting the queen's p pose. She fled from the court and to the veil at the hands of Wilfrid at great double monastery of Coldingham which house the princess Ebba, the a of Egfrid, was abbess.

The king pursued her thither, and wanderings of Etheldreda as she f from her husband have formed the s ject of a curious legendary roman In the end, in her own East Angl land the queen found a refuge; and the on the low rising ground above the desol fens, she founded the famous double ho of Ely on the spot where the stately cat dral of Ely now stands. But the importa share which Wilfrid took in the transacti for ever made a hopeless breach betwe him and king Egfrid; and from this may be said to have commenced celebrated misfortunes of the bishop.

During the nine years of Wilfri splendid work in Northumbria, in midlands and southern districts of Engla Theodore and Hadrian, the two old m the one from the East, the other from No Africa, the faithful lieutenants of Ro had also been working unwearyingly, w a large measure of success. The two jo neyed unceasingly together through vast dioceses of the southern and midla districts, organising the church, correcti abuses, preaching and teaching, care everywhere to enforce the Roman custo especially the Roman use in the matter the date of Easter. We can even tr their presence in Wilfrid's diocese as

* Green traces the war between Egfrid and Wulfhere, partly to the shelter given by the latter to queen Etheldreda.

s Lindisfarne; for there is no doubt but nat Theodore, although interfering but ttle in this period with the great northern ishop, regarded himself, and was regarded ven by Wilfrid, as metropolitan, and, in a nse, the supreme ecclesiastic in England. It is to archbishop Theodore and Hadrian, of the kingdoms or sub-kingdoms into which the conquered island was divided; for instance, the vast Engle division of Northumbria, stretching from the Humber to the Clyde, formed one huge bishopric; Mercia, the other great Engle division, including all the Midlands, formed another



ETHELDREDA TAKING THE VEIL.

specially in the south and midlands, that he commencement of parochial organisa-ion is traced. Many churches were built n this time; and in not a few instances esident priests, not attached to any nonastic community, were appointed to ake charge of them. It is to Theodore lso that an increase of the episcopate is wing. Hitherto only a very few bishops ad been appointed—usually one bishop aking the oversight of the church in each ecclesiastical province; East Anglia, again, constituted another; Wessex and Kent each had their solitary chief pastor. With such men as Wilfrid in Northumbria and Chad in Mercia, prelates of such distinguished ability and possessing such varied gifts, any distribution of their dioceses would have been a difficult if not a hopeless task. But when Chad died in A.D. 672, and some six years later Wilfrid incurred the bitter enmity of the

Northumbrian king, Egfrid, Theodore was able to split up the large division of Northumbria. In other parts of England his task of sub-division was easier, where there were no prelates of the commanding talents of Chad and Wilfrid.

We possess an abiding monument of the zeal and industry of these two aged men, in the well-known collection of moral and penal institutes known as the Penitentials of Theodore — "Liber Pœnitentialis." This work was drawn up by some priest from Theodore's oral answers to questions concerning discipline. It was the first book of the kind published by authority in the western church, and was the foundation of all the other similar collections — "libelli pœnitentiales" in England. This work, and Theodore and Hadrian's renowned school set up at Canterbury in St. Augustine's Monastery there, spread the reputation of the English archbishop for ecclesiastical learning and canon law all over Europe. Schools were also established in many of the greater monasteries; but the great seminary was in Canterbury, where classes were established not only for ecclesiastical music and for Greek and Hebrew theology, but also for the more secular subjects, including arithmetic and astronomy, and the art of illuminating and writing books. England under the influence of this eminent man became an important literary centre. "Never," says Bede, writing enthusiastically of this period of Theodore's work, "since the Anglo-Saxons landed in Britain, had more happy days been known. We had Christian kings at whose bravery the barbarous nations trembled; all hearts were inflamed by the hope of those celestial joys which had just been preached to th and whosoever wished to be instructe sacred learning found the masters that needed close at hand." In this Canterb school was trained a young scholar un Theodore and Hadrian, whose work influence extended throughout Engla and even far beyond. His name Aldhelm, to whose work we shall prese return.

But now Theodore and Wilfrid ca into collision. The breach between k Egfrid and Wilfrid, which resulted larg from the unhappy part the bishop pla in the matter of Etheldreda's leaving husband and adopting the monastic was never repaired. The king, on the grettable and sorrowful dissolution of his marriage, wooed and won another prin —Ermenburga, a sister-in-law of the W Saxon king. The new queen hated Wil from the first; perhaps on account of devoted friendship to her predeces Etheldreda; or it may be—for family and sympathy were strong among Saxons and Engles—that she sim adopted her husband's domestic wro It was Ermenburga who pointed out king Egfrid — still smarting from wound Wilfrid's influence and cond had inflicted on his once happy ho life—how the enormous power of a s ject like the bishop would in time ov shadow the throne; she painted to husband in glowing colours, in langu stimulated by hatred, the pomp and luxu the vast, ever-increasing riches of Wilf the number of monasteries all devo to his person, the innumerable array his vassals, and the growing influence the all-powerful ecclesiastic.

Now Theodore of Canterbury's wishes to subdivide the enormous Northumbrian diocese were well known at the court of Egfrid; already at the Church Council which Theodore had summoned at Hertford in 673, the archbishop of Canterbury had mooted his proposition of subdivision, but finding grave opposition from Wilfrid, had adjourned his request. Egfrid and Ermenburga now determined to strike an effective blow at Wilfrid, and threw themselves with ardour into Theodore's designs. The Northumbrian sovereign met Theodore at York while Wilfrid was absent, and the king and the archbishop agreed to depose Wilfrid and to divide his vast diocese into four divisions.

As far as we can judge now, archbishop Theodore's action in the matter of the deposition and banishment of Wilfrid was contrary to all church order, and will ever remain a blot upon the fair fame of the prelate's great and useful career. Indeed, the old man himself recognised this, and years after, shortly before he died, tried to make what amends were in his power to the injured bishop. The diocese of York and Northumbria was subdivided into four dioceses—of York, Hexham, the northern portion of Mercia, and Lindisfarne. Over the last named, it was proposed to appoint the deposed Wilfrid. Curiously enough, the three bishops who were placed over the new sees were monks taken from the ancient Celtic monasteries, who, while recognising the now universally adopted Roman customs, were naturally hostile to the great Roman reformer and supplanter of those Celtic traditions and uses in which they had been brought up, and to which they, no doubt, were still passionately attached. In all these transactions, Egfrid and Theodore evidently made use of the old animosity which still existed between Rome and the school of Iona and Lindisfarne.

In vain did Wilfrid remonstrate; in vain did he publicly demand an explanation of the strange procedure of Theodore and Egfrid. "It is," said he, "simple plundering." They replied, "We charge you with no crime, but we will not change our determination." Then said the deposed and plundered Wilfrid, "I appeal to the judgment of the Bishop of Rome." This was a memorable act, *this first appeal to Rome* on the part of a great English subject, and one that, as will be seen, in the coming ages led to far-reaching consequences.

The exiled and fallen bishop was accompanied on his journey to Rome by a numerous train of devoted followers, and his journey Romewards was an eventful one. The ship which bore him from the shores of England was carried by tempestuous and contrary winds far out of its course. At last he landed on the low and marshy shores of Friesland. These districts were then inhabited by a northern tribe to whom Christianity was unknown. It was one of the peculiar features of the character of Wilfrid that he could at once forget his personal troubles, and perhaps ambitions, and throw himself with ardour into any new work which appeared ready to his hand. He resolved to act as missionary to these pagan Northmen amongst whom thus unexpectedly he found himself; and for a whole winter, neglecting himself and

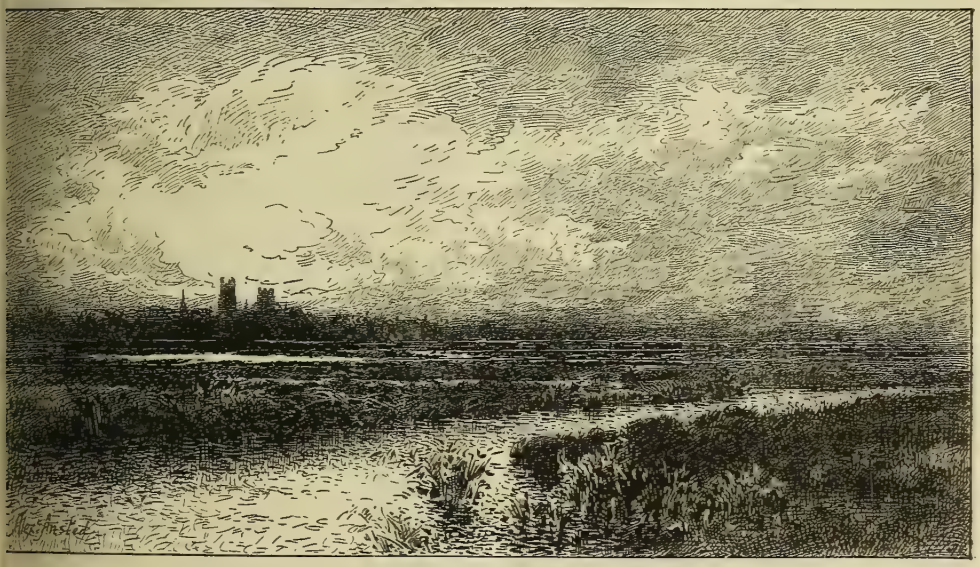
forgetting his wrongs, with splendid eagerness addressed himself to this new work. His rare power, his singularly winning manner, his intense earnestness, won many converts to his Master's faith, and the seeds of Christianity were sown far and wide by him and his companions in that comparatively unknown district.

At length, in the year A.D. 679, he appeared in Rome. Before his arrival, however, envoys from England, charged by archbishop Theodore and the great and powerful abbess Hilda, had already brought the story of Wilfrid's deposition to the Roman bishop and his councillors. Wilfrid and his great work, his wrongs and his ambitions, were all well known at Rome. But Rome and its astute bishop, with that wisdom which usually characterised its policy, had recognised in Wilfrid one of its most devoted and able servants, and had in large measure grasped the nature of Wilfrid's great work in the past in England. It had recognised the part Wilfrid had played in the substitution of Roman for Celtic Christianity in the new England of the Northmen, and determined to give every facility to the famous exiled bishop to plead his cause before the Roman judges to whom he had appealed.

The bishop who claimed to be the head of the Mother Church of Western Christendom, entrusted the hearing of the important cause to an assembly of fifty bishops and presbyters, over which he presided in person. After a careful and patient hearing the Cardinal bishops of Ostia and Porto reported to the presiding Bishop of Rome, that Wilfrid was innocent of any crime meriting deposition. The Engle prelate had submitted himself without reserve to the judgment of Rome, and Rome directed that he should be at once restored to his vast northern see; that he should divide that see as archbishop Theodore desired, but that the coadjutor bishops should be chosen by Wilfrid himself. There is no doubt but that this decision was a fair one for by Theodore at least, owning fully the Roman obedience, Wilfrid had been undoubtedly harshly and illegally treated, and his past labour and splendid success in his work had surely merited a very different treatment. At the same time the wisdom of archbishop Theodore's policy in England was recognised and endorsed by the authoritative prescription of a new arrangement of dioceses, the number of which were at once to be largely augmented in the island. But Wilfrid, not Theodore, was to select the northern prelates who were to be his suffragans. The bishops who had been appointed by Theodore and king Egfrid in their division of Wilfrid's large diocese, were necessarily to be at once deposed.

While Wilfrid was at Rome Etheldreda, somewhile queen of Northumbria and subsequently foundress and abbess of Ely, died, still young, of one of those contagious disorders which, as we have said, were then so frequent. Etheldreda had been one of Wilfrid's dearest friends, and his unhappy influence over her in inducing her to take the veil and leave her husband king Egfrid, had no doubt been the principal cause of the bitter enmity which king Egfrid had lately displayed against him. Among the far-reaching projects for

he future work of Christianity in England which Wilfrid entertained, was the entrusting great power into the hands of *women converts*, whose enormous influence he foresaw in matters connected with religion. He fully appreciated the work and energy, and recognised the vast power of a Hilda or an Ebba, both scions of the royal house of Northumbria. But the weight of these eminent and devoted women was thrown on the side of the old Celtic party. Wilfrid longed to train up similar influential women, from whose devotion and energy he hoped much in the future work of evangelising those districts of the island where paganism was still dominant. The disposition and ability of queen Etheldreda were well known to Wilfrid, who thought in her he had found a fitting instrument for his plans. Hence, perhaps, the deplorable part he took in assisting her to break away from her marriage tie; affording thus a terrible demonstration of the danger which had arisen even in this early age, that in furtherance of the ends of a gigantic ecclesiastical system, all other human interests, however sacred, might be trampled under foot. The great double monastery of Ely, which Etheldreda founded amidst the fens of East Anglia, and the reputation she rapidly acquired, showed that Wilfrid had rightly estimated her great powers. Her premature death was a great misfortune to him; but her work at Ely was enduring.



ELY, FROM THE FENS.

During Wilfrid's stay at Rome the Council was held which considered and condemned the Monothelite heresy. For half a century this strange heresy, which affected the Catholic doctrine respecting our Lord, had troubled the Church, and

had been widely spread in the East.* A synodical Letter framed by the Council, written to the Emperor of the East, was signed by 120 bishops, among whom the name of Wilfrid as the representative of English bishops appears. Wilfrid at this juncture undertook to guarantee the faith of all the Anglo-Saxon bishops, as well as the faith of the churches in the north of the island, among the Scots, and also of the churches of Ireland. This shows that Wilfrid and the Roman party had no doubt as to the orthodoxy in fundamental matters of the Celtic church, to which in matters of rites and uses he was so opposed.

Wilfrid then returned to his native country, and presented at once to king Egfrid the instructions of the Bishop of Rome, which ordered his immediate reinstatement in his northern see. The Northumbrian monarch convoked an assembly, at which the letters from Rome were publicly read. Without questioning, however, the authority of the Mother Church of Rome, the Council decided that the judgment in favour of Wilfrid had been bought. The bishop was imprisoned, and all access to him was rigidly forbidden. His captivity was most rigorous; he was shut up in a cell into which daylight scarcely penetrated, and was stripped of everything. More moderate counsels, however, soon prevailed, and king Egfrid offered to restore part of his old diocese to the imprisoned bishop if he would consent to acknowledge the falsity of the Roman decree. Wilfrid, of course, absolutely refused to do any such thing, and the imprisonment again became more rigorous. The captive was transferred to a northern fortress near Dunbar. From this irksome captivity he was soon, however, released through the intervention of the princess Ebba, abbess of Coldingham, who represented to the king and to queen Ermenburga, who was then suffering from illness, the grave scandal which the harsh treatment of so great and eminent a man as Wilfrid stirred up.

Wilfrid was now once more at liberty, but he was landless and homeless. He hoped to find an asylum, and perhaps congenial work which his soul longed for, in Mercia, but there the animosity of the Northumbrian king pursued him, and Mercia drove him forth. The same strange destiny hunted him out of Wessex, where the queen was a sister of his enemy Ermenburga. Thus driven away from the more civilised kingdoms of the Northmen conquerors, Wilfrid took refuge among the South Saxons in the

* MONOTHELISM is defined by Theodore, bishop of Pharan in Arabia, one of the earliest teachers of this heresy—who wrote about A.D. 616—as "in the incarnation of our Saviour there is but one operation, whereof the framer and author is God the Word, and of this the Manhood is the instrument, so that whatsoever may be said of Him, whether as God or Man, it is *all the operation of the Godhead of the Word*." In opposition to this, the orthodox doctrine teaches that the faculty of willing is inherent in *each* of our Lord's natures, although, as His person is one, *the two wills act in the same direction*—the human will being exercised in accordance with the divine. The Monothelites were condemned as heretical in the 6th General Council, held at Constantinople, the last which the Anglican Church acknowledges as a General Council. It lasted about ten months, A.D. 680–1. It was summoned and presided over by the Emperor Constantine the Fourth. The Monothelites were pronounced unorthodox, as holding a heresy *which destroyed the perfection of our Lord's humanity by denying it a will and an operation*.

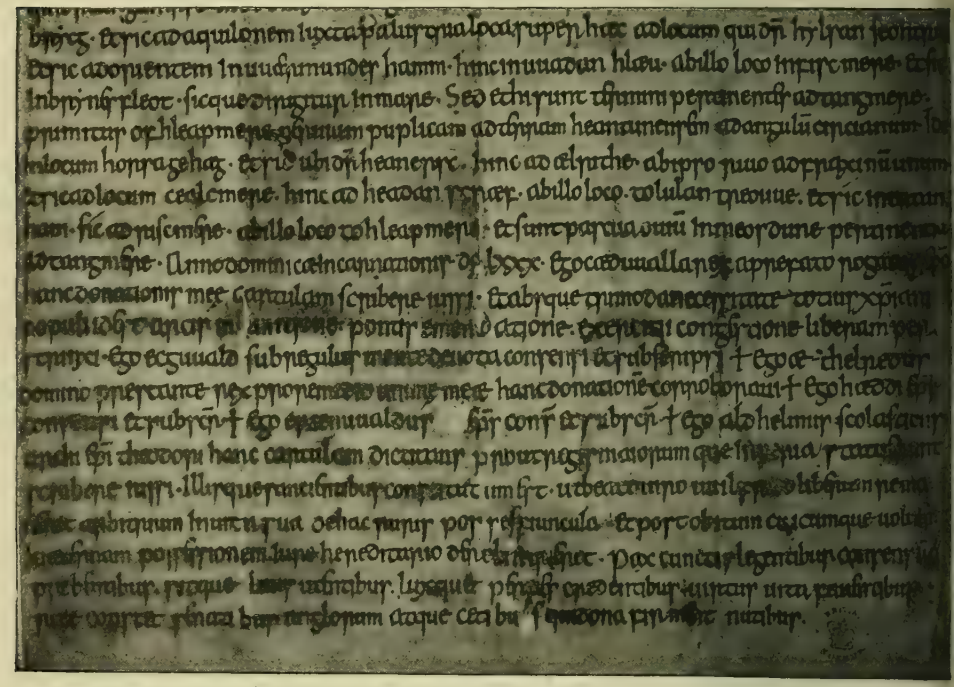
ntry lying to the west of Kent—a dis-
rt lying round the later-built city of
Chichester, and including the coasts running
out into the English Channel, a penin-
a on which the ancient cathedral of
Selsey was subsequently erected. These
South Saxons were still, for the most
rt, pagans — men who, when the
Engles and East and West Saxons were
cepting the religion of the conquered
habitants of the island, held sternly and
olutely to the faith of their Northmen
efathers. They were in a measure cut off
m the more civilised districts of Kent
d Wessex by the forest screen of the
-reaching Andredsweald. Among these
oples the banished Wilfrid settled.

The brilliant and versatile teacher quickly
n their hearts. Among these uncivil-
d pagans he played the part, now of a
herman on their coasts, teaching them
w and cunning devices in the craft; now
became among them the earnest and
quent preacher; now he acted as their
voted friend and comforter when dark
ys of famine and drought came upon
e country. His popularity among these
ild heathen folk seems to have been
undless. One of the characteristics of
is singular man was his power of adapt-
g himself to all sorts and conditions of
en. He was equally at home in the
uncil-chamber at Rome, discussing the
ost profound and difficult questions of
hristian statecraft, as in the rough wooden
all of a South Saxon king or thane,
guing on the fishing or harvest prospects
the simple fisher-folk or tillers of the soil;
-day the ardent and impassioned mission-
y-evangelist, amid the sands and dunes
Frisia; to-morrow the eloquent and
persuasive orator at a great national assembly of Engles, discussing the gravest questions of churchmanship with king and thane, bishops and abbesses; equally the trusted friend of the polished and saintly royal abbess of Ely or Coldingham, as of the rudest fishermen of Frisia or Selsey. He carried with him ever the same winning tongue, the same real sympathy, the same power as a wise counsellor of the king and abbot, of the fisherman and the hunter; wherever his varied fortune led him, success attended him. For ages he was revered as the first devoted apostle of the Frisians and of the South Saxons—the one who first, and with strange success, bore the message of the Gospel to a whole people, who, till they heard the voice and felt the handpress of Wilfrid, were devotees of idol gods and worshippers in idol temples.

The king of these wild South Saxon folk became his devoted friend and admirer. He gave him broad lands in his domains, and there the exile founded a monastery which subsequently became the seat of the bishop of the South Saxons. For five years Wilfrid lived among these people, helping, guiding, teaching them. His name was never forgotten, but was treasured for ages as the name of the saintly father who brought a whole people to Christ.

Throughout this long period of Wilfrid's career, the conduct of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, is hard to explain. Indeed, apologists of Theodore are obliged to confess that his behaviour to Wilfrid for many years appears a blot on a singularly good and useful life. In the first instance, the prominent position, almost one of

complete independence of the see of Canterbury, which Wilfrid occupied in the North of England, may have excited jealousy. But after his rival had fallen, no reason can be found for the continuance of the persecution on the part of Theodore. It could not be any difference concerning the Roman question; for the strange thing in the painful relations which for so many years existed between these two eminent and distinguished ecclesiastics, who did so much good work in laying the foundation of our church, was that both of them were ardent adherents to Rome and her policy; that both of them placed the supremacy of Rome, the adoption of Roman uses and practices, compliant obedience to Rome, among the grea objects of their lives. It may be tha the wise metropolitan deemed it best t keep himself clear of the strong person hostility which obviously actuated th king, and for which Wilfrid had give too much reason. But there are othe evidences that there was something i Wilfrid's character which inspired amon his contemporaries great dislike as wel as great love.



END OF A CHARTER OF CÆDWALLA, KING OF WESSEX, A.D. 680, GRANTING LANDS TO WILFRID.*

In the year 685, when Wilfrid was i the midst of his noble and most successfu work in the south of England, archbisho

* The charter is witnessed by Egwald, sub king; Ethelred, a king; Hæddi, bishop; an Aldhelm (then a scholar of archbishop Theodore) who drew up the charter.

Theodore again filled up the sees of Hexham and Lindisfarne, which had been carved out of the vast northern province, without consultation with Wilfrid, in

WILFRID WITH THE SOUTH SAXONS (*p.* 215).

whose diocese they originally were—as if the bishop of York were either dead or canonically deposed. Two of the most saintly and venerated men of the age were placed in these sees—Eata, the pupil of Aidan, generally known as the abbot of Mailros (Melrose), and the yet more distinguished Cuthbert. We hear, again (probably for the reasons already indicated), nothing of any remonstrance on the part of these distinguished men of God respecting the apparent infringement of bishop Wilfrid's episcopal rights. Cuthbert was sorely disinclined, it is true, to accept the episcopate, but his reluctance was apparently based as stated elsewhere, on quite other grounds.

A terrible fate, however, awaited king Egfrid of Northumberland. In the very same year, 685, in which Cuthbert accepted the bishopric of Lindisfarne, and Eata the see of Hexham, Egfrid's army invaded Ireland, and cruelly ravaged a portion of that country; not even sparing monasteries which had for a long time been celebrated throughout the western world as centres of religion and learning. In the following year the king himself headed an expedition against the northern Celts, and harassed with relentless cruelty a large part of the Lowlands of Scotland, districts which during the preceding reigns had acknowledged the supremacy of Northumberland. But at last the army of Egfrid engaged the Celts in a disadvantageous position, where the Engles were utterly routed; and the awful news was brought to queen Ermenburga that "Egfrid and the flower of his nobles lay a ghastly ring of corpses on the far-off moorland of Nectansmere," in Fife. Queen Ermenburga, also the relentless enemy of Wilfrid, became a nun, and subsequently an abbess of a religious house. "Thus this Jezebel," as the biographer of Wilfrid terms her, "changed suddenly from a wolf into a lamb." Northumbria never recovered from the effects of the fatal fight at Nectansmere, and from that day ceased to occupy the first place among the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

Upon the fortunes of Wilfrid the day of Nectansmere exercised a marked influence. Two of his deadliest enemies had disappeared from the great arena of life. Egfrid was dead, and his queen was a veiled nun; and his third foe, Theodore, was now a very old and worn-out man. He was more than eighty years of age when the fight at Nectansmere broke up the power of Northumberland. Theodore, apparently shocked and appalled at the awful ruin which had fallen on his friend king Egfrid, and feeling that the hour of his own death was approaching, determined not to pass away before he had made some amends to the great bishop whom he had wronged. He sent for Wilfrid, still working among the South Saxons, where he was dearly loved, and in an interview which had London for its scene, made him the most ample amends in his power; addressing Wilfrid as "Most Holy Bishop," and confessing his deep sorrow for the evil he had wrought against him; acknowledging, too, that there was no fault in Wilfrid. The reconciliation between the two old enemies was complete. It is a happy "memory" in the life of that eminent church organiser, Theodore, that he had the courage to acknowledge his error, and the nobility to make signal efforts on behalf of his old foe, in the years that yet remained to him of life and work.

Theodore lived more than five years after this act of justice. He even tried to bring it about that Wilfrid should succeed him in his high office as archbishop of Canterbury; but this wish never came to pass. Still, however, the old man had the satisfaction of seeing that through his exertions Wilfrid was admitted into the intimate friendship of Ethelred the king of Mercia, who after the death of Egfrid on the field of Nectansmere became the most powerful king in England—a friendship which remained unbroken till death, and which years later, when Wilfrid again

became a homeless exile, stood him in good stead.

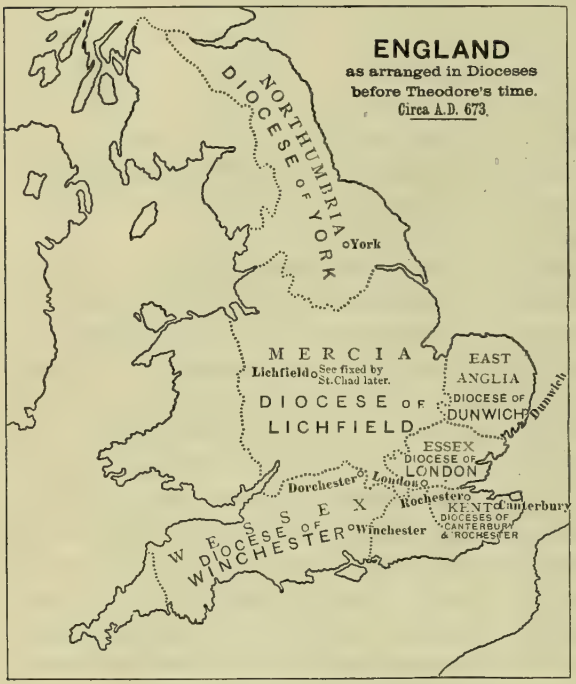
But the old archbishop was not content with securing the powerful friendship of the Mercian monarch for his former enemy, but set himself the far more difficult task of reinstating Wilfrid in his old position in the north. The influence of Theodore was very great. He was not only the acknowledged Primate of the Church of England, but his reputation for vast learning and knowledge extended far beyond the confines of Britain. He was recognised everywhere as a wise statesman, as well as a great churchman and profound scholar. Backed by him, Wilfrid obtained from Aldfrid, a younger son of the great Northumbrian king Oswiu, the brother and successor of the dead Egfrid, the restitution of his vast monastic estates at Hexham and Ripon; and was even reinstated as bishop of York, and was allowed to appoint or re-appoint the suffragans of that great see. Thus, in the year 687 Wilfrid again appears on the stage of public life, as the head of all the Northumbrian churches.

A little later, full of years and honours, died Archbishop Theodore, after an eventful episcopate of two-and-twenty years. He had successfully consolidated and organised the Church in England, over which, when a comparatively old man, he had been suddenly called to preside. With the solitary exception of his strange conduct to Wilfrid, for which he had made all the amends in his power, no flaw can be traced in his grand and noble life. The old Greek monk holds, and ever will hold, among the long and distinguished line of the archbishops of the mother church of England, a prominent place. As a profound scholar and a teacher of scholars, England owes him a deep debt. Under his wise and thoughtful rule, powerfully aided by the work of his friend the monk Hadrian, Canterbury became not only a centre of scholarship—a scholarship by no means confined to theology—but "a producer of books." From the days of Theodore the land had its own scholars, and soon had no need to seek its bishops and teachers in foreign lands; it soon *taught* its *teachers*.

But Theodore was something more than a scholar and teacher. When he came to England he found the supremacy of Canterbury a very shadowy and unreal thing. Before he passed away, all the many bishops among the Engles and Saxons acknowledged the primacy of the mother church of Canterbury. Church order had indeed been evolved out of chaos. The Church of England, from the Forth to the Thames, from the Essex marshes to the banks of the Severn sea, was more or less obedient to the decrees of Canterbury, and Canterbury was the obedient and loyal servant of Rome.

The dream of Roman order and discipline was thus largely realised in England. In the lands of the Engle and Saxon conquerors, Celtic independence in church matters was now a thing of the past; but here, although Theodore did much good by way of organisation and consolidation, and even of development in the matter of the Roman obedience, which permanently changed the spirit and character of the Church of England, it must be confessed that the first and most important steps in this work were taken by Wilfrid. It was on the 19th

of September—the exact date has been preserved—690 A.D., that Theodore, at the ripe age of eighty-eight, expired.




EARLY SAXON DIOCESES.

Wrapped in his monastic habit as a shroud, the remains of the famous Greek archbishop were laid, not in the porch where so many of his predecessors lay, but in the church itself.

Wilfrid, when his powerful rival died, was fifty-six years old. The complete reconciliation of the two bishops some four or five years before, will ever gently throw a veil over much that is sad and regrettable in the story of the two who worked so much noble work in the church they both loved well. About three years before Theodore's death thanks to the archbishop of Canterbury's powerful pleading, Wilfrid had been restored to his great position in Northumbria by the reigning king Aldfrid, the son of Oswiu the brother of Egfrid slain at Nectansmere. For about five years Wilfrid's rule continued in the church of the north, and the causes which immediately led to his downfall in 691 are not very clear. That he had many determined enemies among monks and nuns, and powerful Northumbrian thanes still secretly attached to the old Celtic uses, is clear. These looked upon Wilfrid—and rightly—as the destroyer of that ancient school of Christianity which they loved best; and their influence may have inaugurated a renewed formal protest against all authority connected with Rome, which the king, a little later, openly avowed. He had, too, other foes—men who had profited by his former deposition, and who, now he was restored, had to put up with the loss of much, if not of all they had gained by the exile of Wilfrid and his friends. Then his own imperious disposition was ill adapted to conciliation; in his long exile and painful sufferings he had forgotten nothing. The result of intrigues and counter-intrigues against the mighty bishop ended in a fresh decree of banishment being put out by the Northumbrian court, and once more Wilfrid found himself an exile.

But here the dead hand of his old enemy,

who in later years had become his warm friend—the archbishop Theodore—was felt to some purpose. One of Theodore's kind actions in behalf of Wilfrid was the firm friendship he had established between Wilfrid and the powerful Mercian sovereign Ethelred. In this his hour of need Ethelred welcomed him, and gave him the then vacant see of Lichfield, the chief position in the church of the far-reaching Midlands. For eleven long years the deprived Northumbrian bishop lived under the shadow of the Mercian throne, ruling and administering the Christian church of the Midlands in peace. They were eleven very quiet years, and history has little to say about them.

The arch-see of Canterbury was filled after the death of Theodore by a priest-monk named Berchtwald, formerly a monk, as some suppose, in the famous and ancient monastery of Glastonbury, and afterwards abbot of Reculvers, near Canterbury, on the Kentish coast. Berchtwald was an offshoot of the royal house of Mercia. Thus we have the strange sight of a descendant of Woden in the chair of Augustine! He, like his predecessor, was a man of great learning, though, as Bede tells, he was far from equalling Theodore. Berchtwald was a wise, gentle prelate, and ruled at Canterbury nearly forty years. But he too, in the early years of his archiepiscopate, was no friend to Wilfrid; and one of the most remarkable facts about the whole series of transactions is that the more famous men of the great Canterbury school, who certainly had no dispute with him on the question of Roman discipline, appear to have been ever hostile to him; notably the learned Hadrian, Theodore's friend, who for thirty-nine long years was abbot of St. Augustine and head of its renowned school. Even his old companion, Benedict Biscop, the architect, musician, and scholar, the founder of great monasteries, in the later portion of his career seems also to have been no friend to him.

During these eleven years of Wilfrid's quiet life and work at Lichfield there was peace also in the northern province; but it was accompanied evidently with an uneasy feeling that Wilfrid was still the lawful

THEODORE'S DIOCESAN SYSTEM.

bishop and head of the Northumbrian dioceses, and that the ruling prelates held their positions illegally, as Wilfrid had never beer canonically deposed. The men who loved Rome (and they were many) could not forget the great Council held there in the years 679-680, and the letter of Agathon, the Bishop of Rome, formally reinstating Wilfrid in all his great offices. A Council was summoned at last to consider the whole question anew. It met probably at Nesterfield, near Ripon, in the Northumbrian realm, in 702. King Aldfrid, Berchtwald of Canterbury, and most of the English bishops, were present. The tone of the assembly was bitterly hostile to the exile, who was invited to be present and to plead his own cause. Every effort was made to induce Wilfrid of his ov accord to submit himself and to resign, b the old man firmly refused. His faithf friend and biographer Eddius, among othe in later days William of Malmesbur gives us some of the arguments press home in the course of the debate by t eloquent and earnest Wilfrid. "Shall I asked the indignant veteran bishop, "sig my own condemnation, I who—unworth though I be—for forty years have born the name of bishop?" He then enume ated his chief successes in that long period "Was not I the first, after the death those great ones whom St. Gregory sen from Rome, to root out the poisonous seed sown by Scottish missionaries?" We ca hear still the murmurs of bitter disapprov

(*Photo. by Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.*)
RECULVERS (AT PRESENT TIME).

bunding through the Council at these nprudent words reflecting on Aidan and Columba and the Irish saints; but, disegarding all prudence, Wilfrid went on: Was it not I who brought back the whole of Northumbria to the true Easter and the Roman tonsure? Did not I first each the church in England the sweet harmonies of the primitive church in the esponses and chaunts of the two alternate choirs? Did not I introduce among you he rule and order of St. Benedict [at hat time, in countless houses of prayer or both sexes, almost the invariable rule and practice]? Am I, after such a life, such a record, to condemn myself? I appeal to Rome."

Thanks to the safe-conduct promised by the king, the old man returned safely to Lichfield. Notwithstanding the adverse decision of the Council, and the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the monks of Ripon who were faithful to Wilfrid, the Mercian king continued, as he had promised Theodore, the exile's steadfast friend. Again, with a few faithful adherents, the almost worn-out bishop set out on the long and weary journey to Rome, to conduct his appeal.

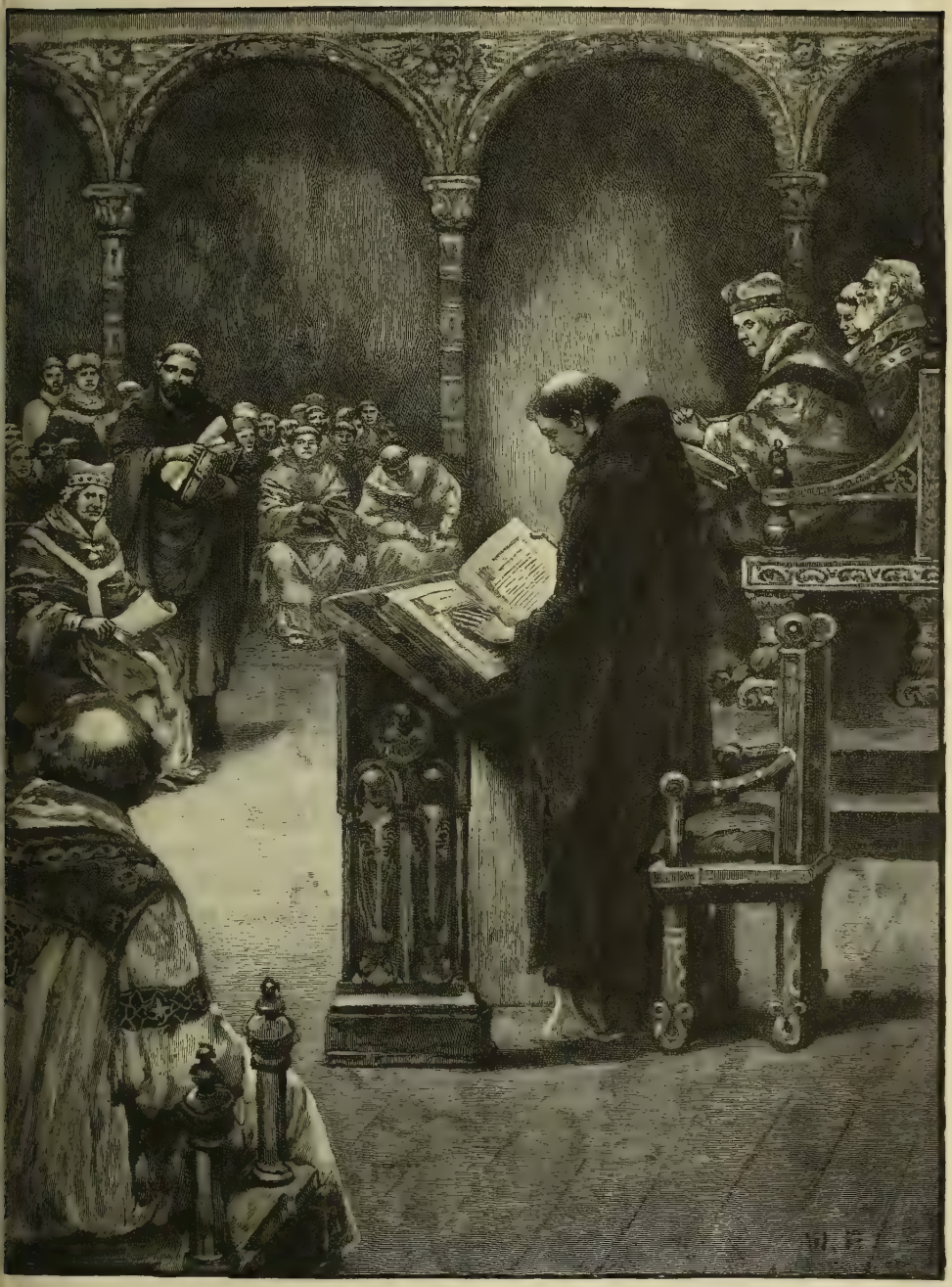
This was his third visit to the Eternal City. In the first visit, as a young and ardent scholar, burning to assist the cause of Rome and to introduce Roman rites and uses, and above all Roman obedience, into the growing church of his native land, aided with all the influence and gifts of his queen Eanfleda, he had spent a happy and a useful time there, and had seen much and learned much. Again in middle life he had gone to Rome as a renowned and persecuted bishop. This second time, surrounded by an influential train of devoted followers, he had presented himself to the Pope and asked for that simple justice at the hands of Rome, which was denied him by his king and brother-prelates at home. He was then received with all honour, treated during his lengthened stay with all distinction, and was pronounced innocent of every charge which his enemies then made against him. Now a third time he visited the Mother Church of Christendom, of whose vast pretensions and enormous claims to universal dominion he had been the notorious and successful champion during a life of restless work and arduous toil, again asking for that justice, which he maintained was persistently refused him in his native land.

But on the occasion of this third visit Wilfrid was past seventy years of age, worn out with labour and disappointment, comparatively poor, and only accompanied by a few faithful followers. Most of his friends had passed away. At Rome many had heard of, but few had seen Wilfrid. The reigning Bishop of Rome was John VI., a Greek. Five bishops or popes had sat in the "chair of St. Peter" since Wilfrid had so successfully pleaded his cause before Agathon the Benedictine pope. Once more he prayed for justice. A careful and thorough investigation of his case was ordered. The judges appointed to hear the story held, it is said, as many as seventy sittings—so important did the Roman statesmen deem the matter. The case lasted four months. Deputies from Berchtwald of Canterbury, as representing his accusers, severely denouncing the deposed bishop, were heard at length. The pleadings of Wilfrid seem to have been gentle,

and the request he made of the Roman see generous and moderate as regards his adversaries. He offered to give up his claim to his vast diocese, and only begged that his two important foundations of Ripon and Hexham, with their daughter monasteries, should be left to him.

One very striking scene reported must have occurred at the close of the long trial. It took place at a crowded meeting, at which were present not only the judges appointed, but many of the clergy and nobles of Rome who had been summoned. The acts of the former Council were solemnly read, and when the reader came to a passage which spoke of the triumphant acquittal of Wilfrid years before, and how he had been positively admitted, as will be remembered, to bear witness of the faith of the bishops of England, the assembly was amazed, and each man asked himself, Who, then, was this other Wilfrid? Then Boniface, an old counsellor of the Roman bishop, who had lived himself in the days of the first Council, when Agathon was pope, rose up and with great emphasis said, "This Wilfrid now accused before you is one and the same with the Wilfrid whom Pope Agathon not only acquitted, but placed by his side as a man of stainless faith and life." Then it was unanimously agreed upon by the Council, that one who for forty years had been a bishop must be sent back with all honour to his country. The Pope further ordered archbishop Berchtwald, along with bishop Wilfrid, to convoke a council, and to summon the bishops who had intruded into Wilfrid's diocese, and if possible to end the differences. If this was found to be impossible, these bishops were to be sent to the Holy See of Rome for a formal trial. Letter were formally addressed by the Pope t the kings of Northumbria and Mercia asking for their help and assistance i these matters, for the love of that peac which our Lord left to His disciples.

Wilfrid, himself, now world-weary, wishe to remain in Rome, and there to end hi days. But he was commanded to return and to bring the important cause to a con clusion: at the same time the Pope—move by pity for the old man—forbade him t continue the cold bath which every night th austere prelate imposed upon himself b way of mortification. Before, however, h had accomplished the whole of the lon journey, Wilfrid fell dangerously sick a Meaux, in Gaul. For four days and nights says his biographer Eddius, he lay un conscious. On the fifth day, of a sudde he raised himself up—Eddius tells us—an asked for his friend, the priest Acca. Acc was a monk of Lindisfarne, very learned devout, and a famous musician. Seeing hi beloved master had revived, Acca knelt dow and thanked God. Then together they a talked with holy awe of the last judgment But Wilfrid having desired to be left alon with Acca, said to him, "I have just had vision; one clothed in white came to m and said, 'I am Michael the Archange and am sent to tell you how God has hear the prayers of your brothers, and that you life was to be prolonged yet several years.' The bishop recovered, and returning t England was kindly received by archbisho Berchtwald, who at once determined to com ply with the orders of Rome, and promise that the decrees of the Council of Nester field should be revoked. In Mercia Wilfri found his old friend king Ethelred



HEARING OF WILFRID'S APPEAL AT ROME.

cloistered monk. He welcomed the renowned bishop to his new home with the deepest affection, and sending for his nephew, who had followed him on the throne, commended Wilfrid to him. As regards Mercia and Canterbury, all seemed to promise well.

But in Northumberland, where, if he were received again as bishop, great and grave changes would be necessary, and high offices would have to be vacated—where Wilfrid, too, had many relentless enemies—matters were very different. The king temporised at first, but soon distinctly refused to comply with the directions of Rome. "As long as I live," he is reported to have said, "I will change nothing *out of regard to what you term a mandate of the Roman See*," an emphatic deliverance which, as we have hinted, may possibly explain much that had gone before. In a very short time after this refusal, however, king Aldfrid sickened with a dangerous malady. The dying sovereign, as was natural to the ideas of that age, thought it was the hand of God punishing him for his treatment of Wilfrid, and before he died, in the presence of his sister Elfleda, who followed Hilda as abbess of Whitby, he charged his successor—whoever he might be—in the name of the Lord, "for the repose of my soul and his own, to make peace with Wilfrid."

A dark and gloomy time truly now lay before the once great and prosperous Northumbria. The dead king Aldfrid's children were still young. A usurper named Eadwulf seized the crown, and peremptorily ordered Wilfrid to leave the realm within six days. Eadwulf's reign, however, lasted but a few weeks. Another revolution placed Osred, the son of Aldfrid, a boy only eight years old, on the throne. Wilfrid's friends, with the aid of the abbess Elfleda of Whitby, who had become an earnest supporter of the long-banished bishop, prevailed upon archbishop Berchtwald to summon the Council insisted upon by the Pope when he gave judgment on the appeal at Rome.

The Council met somewhere on the banks of the Nidd, not far from Ripon. Wilfrid and the archbishop of Canterbury, who, in deference to the Roman judgment, had espoused the exile's cause, arrived together. The boy-king and the principal northern thanes, and the bishops—men of the highest character and reputation—who filled the sees claimed by Wilfrid, were all present. But the principal and most influential personage there seems to have been the abbess Elfleda of Whitby, who pleaded in Wilfrid's behalf the dying words of her brother king Aldfrid. The conciliatory spirit shown by Wilfrid at Rome was again manifested, and, in spite of much opposition, the aged and sorely-tried bishop obtained all and more than he asked for at Rome. The great monasteries of Ripon and Hexham and their dependent houses, together with the vast possessions attached to them, were given back to Wilfrid as he had requested, with the rank and position of bishop of Hexham. This arrangement satisfactorily closed the long controversy, Wilfrid recognising the other Northumbrian bishops of York and Lindisfarne, and a solemn Eucharist sealed the compact.

Two remarkable incidents of the pacific Council of the Nidd, A.D. 706, must be especially noticed as bearing on the future

ortunes of the Church of England. The irst, the powerful influence evidently exerised by Elfleda, abbess of Whitby, over he Council, an influence exerted in favour of Wilfrid. At the Council held in Rome, n 679, to consider the first appeal of Wilfrid, it will be remembered that Hilda, abbess of Whitby, was specially epresented. The successful interference of Ebba, abbess of Coldingham, when Wilfrid vas imprisoned by king Egfrid, has been lready related. These and other casual ndications of the great position filled by hese early abbesses in the English church, re powerful side-lights which give us some onception of the weight and influence xercised by women who devoted themelves to religion.

The second incident, is the deference aid in these very early days, in the Church of England, to the decision of the Pope or Bishop of Rome. It is true that his interference was warmly resented by ing Aldfrid in the first instance, when Wilfrid asked to be reinstated in accordnce with the judgment given by Rome; ut Aldfrid, as Elfleda bore witness, is said o have repented on his death-bed of this esistance, and the decision of the Council f the Nidd, just related, is mainly based n the Roman judgment. Some years efore, the archbishop Theodore, after a ong disregard of the wishes of Rome in he case of Wilfrid, in the end gave way, nd as far as he was able carried out the riginal decision of the Pope Agathon. Theodore's successor in the archbishopric, Berchtwald, after a prolonged resistance, ompletely gave in to the wishes of the Pope, and virtually acted as his faithful instrument in the affair of Wilfrid, although evidently contrary to his own judgment. The king of Mercia, too, submitted to Rome, and complied fully with its requirements. All this, happening as it did in these eventful times, when the foundation stones of the Church of England were being laid, bore its fruit in after-days, and was the precedent for Rome claiming a perpetual right of interference in all matters connected with the church in this our island.

Only three or four years more, and that great figure of Wilfrid will have disappeared from the world-stage, on which for so long a time he had played so distinguished a part. These were, however, for the aged bishop years of perfect peace. No one, prince or churchman, attempted to break the truce ratified in the "Nidd" assembly. He lived now in one, now in the other of those stately groups of buildings which he had years before erected with so much care and love at Ripon and Hexham. Matchless piles they were, which men say were unequalled in those days on this side the Alps. Occasionally he would journey as far as Mercia, and visit some of those centres of religious life and teaching he had spent so much of his life in establishing and fostering. He was ever surrounded by a group of devoted friends, who passionately admired the generous enthusiasm, the tireless zeal, and the winning character of the great prelate, now deservedly famous throughout western Christendom. It was a beautiful evening to a long and often storm-clouded life, and the historian, even if he hesitates to approve of all Wilfrid's aims and methods, loves to dwell upon it. No fair-minded

critic can help admiring with an ungrudging admiration that noble, work-filled life, or rejoicing that such a brave and patient servant of the church, after much affliction, passed away surrounded with love and admiration.

At last the end came, not suddenly, but heralded by unmistakable warnings. In one of his progresses from Hexham to Ripon a deadly faintness prostrated him, somewhat similar to, but more distressing than, the attack to which he well-nigh succumbed at Meaux, in Gaul, as he journeyed that last time from Rome to England. He was carried to Ripon. Thither hurried numbers of abbots and other Churchmen devoted to him, to see for the last time their beloved master. Their prayers for his recovery, however, were again heard, and Wilfrid recovered for a time; but he was sensible that the end was not far off, and looked upon this last seizure as a solemn warning that the time of his departure, indicated by the archangel in his dream at Meaux, was at hand. Fearlessly and calmly he made his final arrangements. He had a large treasure of gold and silver and gems laid up in his great monastery at Ripon. This he divided into portions. One of these —the largest—he wished to be devoted as an offering to two of the Basilicas of Rome, those dedicated to Santa Maria Maggiore and St. Paul; another was to be divided among the poor of his people, "for the salvation," as he phrased it, "of my soul"; another was to be given to the future abbots of his houses of Ripon and Hexham; the remainder to be divided among the companions of his last exile, "that they," he said, "might have the means of living after my death." He forgot no one. "Remember," he added "that I name Tatbert, my cousin the priest, who has never left me, to be prior of Ripon, to succeed me when I die. I do all this that the Archangel Michael may find me ready when my hour arrives; and I do not think it is far distant." The listening monks fell on their knees weeping; Wilfrid blessed them, commending them to God, and then he left them and his well-beloved Ripon, starting on his last journey through Mercia. They never looked on his face again in life.

His last days were spent, as usual, in work. He visited one after the other of the many homes of prayer and mission work he had established in the far-reaching territory of Mercia, carefully arranging for their future. The last memorable act of his life was the consecration of the church at Evesham, the church which grew eventually into that famous Worcestershire abbey, the scene of one of the most notable events in English history, and the grave of one of the noblest of Englishmen —Simon de Montfort. As the antiquary and the scholar look wistfully and sorrowfully on the fair and graceful Bell Tower, still the chief ornament of the beautiful Vale of Evesham, the solitary remains of that once great home of prayer and learning, they should remember that the last act of Wilfrid was to dedicate that famous house to God. Wilfrid's consecrating service is one and not the least of the remarkable memories which cluster round the mournful wreck of Evesham.

From Evesham he journeyed slowly

towards Oundle, in what is now known as Northamptonshire. By his side rode his dearest friend and relation, Tatbert. Something whispered to Wilfrid it was his last opportunity of telling his early memories; as they rode side by side he poured over to his companion many details generally unknown respecting his past eventful life. At Oundle his malady again seized him. There was no suffering during the "passing" of that great soul; he was even able once more to rouse himself so as to bless the group of weeping monks who with broken voices chanted prayers and psalms round their dying master. As they reached the 30th verse in the 104th Psalm — "Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are exalted"— the faint breathing ceased, and the soul of Wilfrid entered into the open vision of God.

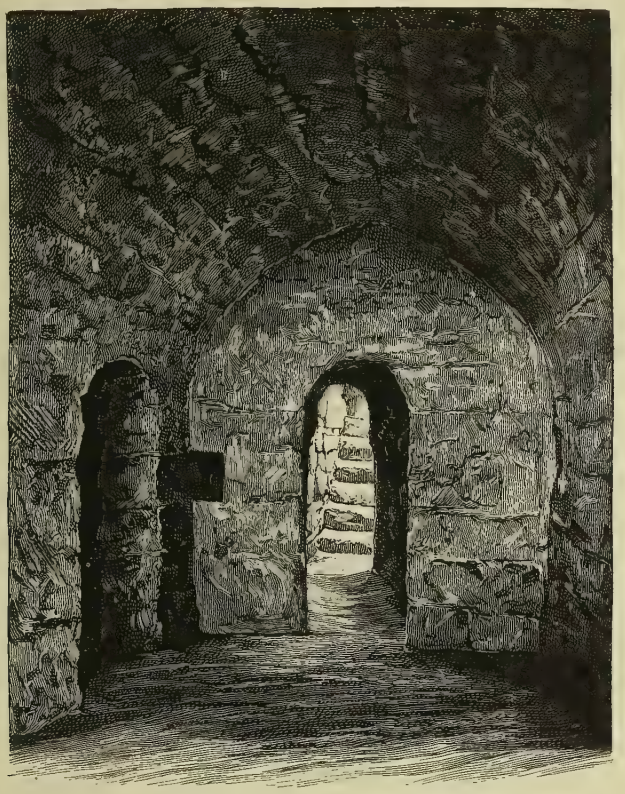


*Photo. by C. C. Hodges, Hexham.*

THE CRYPT, HEXHAM.

He was, when he breathed his last, seventy-six years old, and had been a bishop and one of the most conspicuous personages in western Europe for forty-five years. One of his last injunctions was singular. He wished the shirt in which his dying body was clothed, still

moist with his last sweat, to be sent to a certain abbess Cyndreda, who had been once one of his converts, and was always his devoted friend. This curious relic was at once despatched to her by Tatbert, who heard his words. A similar thought occurred to Cuthbert in his last moments.

We catch sight of something of the intense veneration with which the renowned bishop was regarded by his contemporaries, from his biographer's account of a great meeting of abbots and monks at Ripon, where his venerated remains were laid by his own request, by the south side of the altar, on the first anniversary of his funeral. "They went on," said Eddius, "to sing complines in the open air. Then they saw the whole heaven lighted up by a great rainbow, the full radiance of which proceeded from the grave of the saint. We all understood by this that the intercession of the saint was to be, by the goodness of God, an impregnable rampart round the vine of the Lord and His family."

Though many had been his friends and devoted admirers during his life, this circle was enormously enlarged after he had fallen asleep. His tomb became at once a favourite object of pilgrimage, and the scene of many reputed, and not improbably of some real miracles. For it is demonstrable that certain disorders receive alleviation, and in some cases a cure, amid the glowing scenes and exalted faith peculiar to those spots which men love to invest with an awful sanctity. This, even in our day of exact science and lynx-eyed criticism, has taken place not once or twice at Lourdes. And the popular veneration with which Wilfrid was regarded was a long-enduring one. We trace its existence four centuries after the saintly bishop' death. Many churches were dedicated t God in his name, and there was scarcel a cathedral that did not possess withi its walls an altar and a chantry of S Wilfrid. Canterbury cathedral, how ever, disputes with Ripon the honour o the possession of the body of the greatl honoured saint. Dunstan is credited wit having translated it to the metropolita church. Another record says it was Od who removed it, having found the Ripo shrine grievously neglected. There is n doubt but that Lanfranc deposited wha he supposed were the bones of Wilfric in a splendid shrine in his cathedral but the advocates of Ripon maintain tha the body of another Wilfrid—not of th renowned bishop of the seventh century— was removed to the southern cathedral. A "Indulgence" of archbishop Grey in th thirteenth century positively states that th "remains" of Wilfrid at Ripon were pe fect, and were exhibited to worshippin beholders. It is certain that one of hi arms, encased in silver, was in the Yor treasury in the sixteenth century, at th epoch of the Dissolution. It has been sug gested that somewhere in the walls of tha ancient crypt beneath Ripon Minste undeniably part of Wilfrid's work, an which still is popularly called "St. Wilfrid Needle," the bones of the saint still rest.

While the substitution of Roman fo Celtic Christianity throughout England wa of course the great achievement of Wilfrid life, more or less connected with th momentous change was the almost un versal introduction of the Italian Benedi tine rule into the many monasteri

iginally founded by Wilfrid, and fluenced by him, in various parts of ngland. From Hexham in the north, Canterbury in the south, before ilfrid's death, the land was covered with ese powerful monastic garrisons of "re-gious" of both sexes, more or less devoted the Roman see. In the north and ntral districts of the island, some of these, ch as Hexham and Ripon, Peterborough d Ely, obtained a reputation that ex-nded far beyond the limits of England. His stubborn and in the long run suc-ssful resistance to the claims made by werful princes, such as Egfrid of North-nbria, to nominate, depose, or translate shops at their pleasure, bore fruit, not ly in his own lifetime, but even for nturies had a powerful effect for good for evil on the government of the Church England. While on the one hand it rved as a strong precedent when noble-inded patriotic prelates desired to resist e tyranny and greed of the monarch and s advisers; on the other, such a precedent the general submission on the part of onarchs and prelates to the sovereign dgment of Rome, enormously aided the er-growing pretensions of the Roman e to interfere in the ecclesiastical fairs of England — an interference, as story points out, frequently disastrous in s consequences. "Thanks to Wilfrid," rites a Romanist historian of great wer, "until the Norman Conquest, four nturies later, no English king dared bitrarily depose a bishop from his see." Different minds have variously estimated ilfrid's work. The Romanist writer turally speaks of his life and restless iling with undisguised enthusiasm and ungrudging admiration. To men of the Roman school he is one of the grandest heroes who live along the many-coloured pages of our island story. He is the perfect English saint who first fully recognised the true work and office of the Pontiff of Rome, and who spent the many years of a splendid and devoted life in bringing home to the hearts of Englishmen the conviction that the fortunes of the English Church were closely bound up with their acknowledgment of and implicit obedience to Rome and her Bishop, as the successors and inheritors of Peter and his claims. To writers of another school, his title to honour rests on different grounds. They see that in his eyes discipline and organisation were essential to a powerful church; and that the Christianity of the Roman school possessed all the qualifications he deemed lacking in the ancient Irish and Celtic churches. Rome was, moreover, the possessor of tradition and custom, of a ritual and a practice which it professed to trace to apostolic times. Other considerations, which we have already briefly sketched,* were also doubtless, though perhaps more vaguely, present to his mind. Recognising all this, with all his vast powers he worked to replace the Celtic preachers with others better fitted to carry on and to develop and to organise the Christianity which they had so nobly and successfully preached. This, all schools of thought can recognise as his real title to honour. Those who admire and revere the great Celtic teachers, may and do deplore Wilfrid's way of working. It was rough, often cruel and hard, and frequently unsympathetic; but in the main

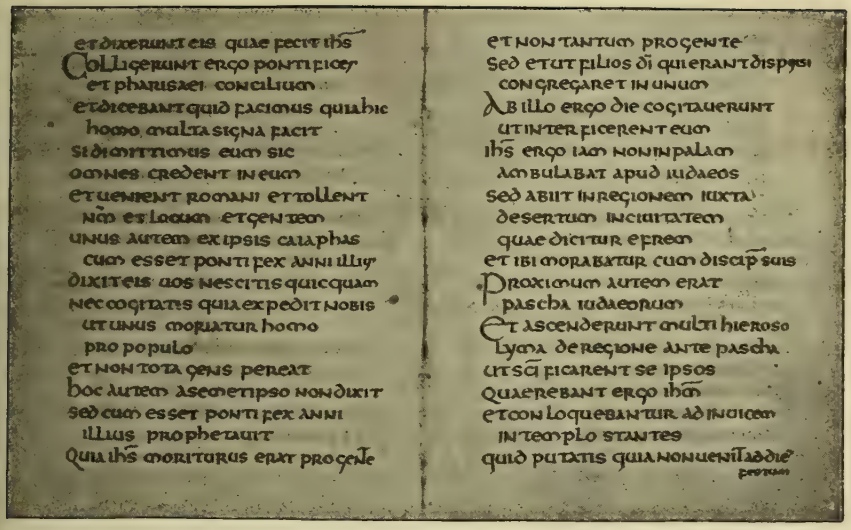
* See pp. 180–1.

his instinct was true, and hence, in spite of many subsequent changes, his work has affected permanently the form and order and organisation of the Church of England.

All, too, must admire the conduct of this great churchman in adversity. Patient indeed in tribulation, he never lost his high courage, and when driven out of home and power, when stripped of all his soul loved and prized, he braced himself up to new and different toil. Never is the character of this great and eminent man seen to better advantage than as an exile among the sand hills of Frisia, or when banished and proscribed among the poor, rough pagans of Sussex. He laboured with hand and brain unweariedly for months in Friesland, for years in Sussex, to win the souls of the untutored barbarians, among whom his lot was so strangely cast, to his adored Master, Christ.

In the gallery of historical portraits of the great prelates of the Church of England, Wilfrid's will ever occupy a distinguishe place. He was the precursor of men lik Dunstan and Odo, Lanfranc and Anseln Thomas A'Becket and Stephen Langton In certain crises of the lives of thes distinguished men, Wilfrid was never for gotten, and perhaps unconsciously imitated It is true that we see now in a very differen light some deplorable acts in the life o this great bishop and statesman. But i is hard, in England, amid the complicate environments of the last years of the nine teenth century, fairly to judge a Christia bishop of the seventh century. It i especially difficult to realise that what no would be impossible, may have been bot wise and patriotic in that far-back age o half-veiled Paganism and Christian disorde The fair and impartial judge will surel give to Wilfrid a high place among thos true Englishmen who have, according t their light, served faithfully and devotedl their country and their God.

PORTIONS OF OLD CROSS, FROM HEXHAM (8TH CENTURY).



PAGE FROM GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, XI. 46—56 (7TH CENTURY).
*(Said to have been found in the Coffin of St. Cuthbert. From the Library, Stoneyhurst College.)*

## CHAPTER XII.

### CUTHBERT, THE LAST GREAT CELTIC SAINT.

thbert's Early History and Vocation—His Gifts as a Preacher—His Austerities—His Teacher Boisil —Cuthbert's Influence for Peace—Life as Prior of Lindisfarne—Retirement to Farne Island—Called thence to the See of Hexham—Last Days and Death at Farne—Strange History of his Remains.

WHILE the events just related were happening; while Theodore was accomplishing such great things the South and Midlands, and was or-nising the Church of England; while ilfrid in the north was carrying out, th different instruments and in a newhat different spirit, a similar work; ile both Theodore and Wilfrid were rking with real but quiet enthusiasm d general success to replace the old ltic practices and uses of Christianity h Roman teaching and traditions, the religious and devotional Christian spirit of the north was receiving a remarkable impulse through the labours and example of one of those rare saints, who from time to time have arisen to influence in an especial degree men's lives, and to sway their hearts.

It was as far back as the year 651, the year that Aidan died, in the early days of Oswiu's reign in Northumbria, that on the pastures of Lammermoor a shepherd boy named Cuthbert told his shepherd companions how, in the quiet watches of the

night, he had seen a vision of angels bearing with them from earth to heaven a spirit of surpassing brightness. On that night, Aidan, beloved of men, passed away. From that moment the life-work of Cuthbert was decided upon: he would devote himself to the task of winning souls to God, and his story well illustrates the religious life of the time.

Giving up his shepherd life, the young Cuthbert presented himself to the solitaries who were dwelling in that cluster of straw-thatched huts built round a small rude church or oratory, near the banks of the Tweed on a green sheltered spot called Mail-ros ("the bare promontory"), afterwards known as Old Melrose, a mission station of the great house of Lindisfarne. Among these solitaries of Mail-ros dwelt two men notable among the famous group of Celtic religious teachers of that age of devoted missionary work—Eata and Boisil. Eata holds an especially distinguished place among the leaders of the Celtic church, and filled various important positions during many years. He was one of the twelve Engles first selected as companions by the holy Aidan. These two from the very first saw in the character of the young shepherd, the promise of rare future distinction in the career to which he had consecrated his life.

From the first days of his joining the little Mail-ros community, Cuthbert surpassed all his brother monks not only in his devotion to study, prayer, vigils, and manual labour, but also in his rare power of winning the hearts of the pagan dwellers in the neighbourhood. He quickly became celebrated as a rarely successful missionary preacher. Not only by his personal gifts, by his sweetness of character, by his singular eloquence, did he attract and these wild Engle dwellers in Lammerm and the surrounding districts, but by reputation which his manner of life s won for him. The extraordinary aust ties which he practised, according to view of sanctity in that age, surrounded person with a peculiar awe and venerati Men told how he passed whole wi nights in the bitter cold of the pa frozen waters, according to a custom unknown among the more earnest Ce saints. He was seen, for instance, now again to plunge into the sea, and, rema ing a long time in the deep cold wa would sing his psalms and hymns. O says one of these folk-stories current am the people, a friend and disciple of C bert watched him during a certain ni vigil issuing from the deathly cold wat and then as he fell on his knees renew his passionate prayers, the disciple saw otters following him from the sea, licked his numbed feet and limbs u life and warmth returned.

From Mail-ros the abbot Eata t Cuthbert for a time to the monastery Ripon, founded by the sub-king Al frid, Oswiu's son. There Cuthbert known as the self-sacrificing and devo guest-master, receiving poor wearied t vellers with peculiar kindness and love. will be remembered that Eata and his mo were soon driven out of Ripon by Al frid for their devotion to the ancient Ce customs. Cuthbert returned with them their old home at Mail-ros, and then sumed his missionary labours in the Scott Lowlands. In the great pestilence of year 664 his first master and teacher, prior Boisil, fell sick. Cuthbert, too,

cked by the deadly malady, but re-
ered suddenly, and devoted himself to
sing his loved friend. The story of
sil's last days is singularly interesting,
tells us something of the touching
ndships and enduring piety of these
y teachers of English Christianity. As
hbert watched his dying friend, Boisil
told his disciple's future greatness, and
ed him, as death was waiting, to learn
n his old master all that he could during
very few hours still left for them to be
ether there. "I have but seven days
aining," said the dying Boisil to Cuth-
, "in which I may speak to you."
hbert then asked him what they should
l together in that short precious time.
hn the Evangelist," replied Boisil;
have a copy containing seven sheets of
nn,' which we can with God's help
d, one for each day, and meditate thereon
ur as we are able." They did so, not
bling themselves with minute and
le questions, dwelling only on St.
n's divine lessons of faith and love.
the seventh day, as he had predicted,
sil fell asleep.

When Boisil died Cuthbert was ap-
nted prior of the house in his room.
abbot of Mail-ros, Eata, was also
ot of Lindisfarne, and seems to have
cised a general supremacy over the
y communities in that district. He
equently became bishop of one of the
ded portions of Wilfrid's diocese. It
no doubt owing to the quiet influence
Eata, assisted by his favourite pupil
hbert, that the Celtic church in North-
ria peaceably accepted the decrees of
Council of Whitby, and the general
titution of the Roman uses for the
customs of the old Celtic church. Eata, Cuthbert, and many earnest men of the old church, submitted to what they felt to be inevitable. There is no doubt but that they felt grieved and pained at the passing away of the old spirit of Celtic Christianity, dear to them from so many familiar associations, precious through so many hallowed traditions handed down from Columba and the famous Irish saints before him. But men like Eata and Cuthbert, when brought into contact with Rome and its immemorial history, with its power of organisation, with its love for obedience and law and order, consciously or unconsciously seem to have felt that the future of the church they loved better than life belonged rather to the Christianity of Rome, than to that strange, passionate, but ill-disciplined Christianity of Ireland, which after all was better fitted to win than to maintain the empire over men's hearts.

Then the same influences which worked so strongly, as we have seen, with Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop in their early life, were no doubt at work in the hearts of men like Eata. The contrast between the stately churches of Rome and Lyons, of Italy, of Southern Gaul, and the rough, rude, straw-thatched, wattled Celtic churches, was no doubt often vividly and truthfully put before them; and the stately services of the lordly basilicas of Rome and Lyons were no doubt, by wandering monk or foreign scholar, put side by side with the plain and simple cult of the Celtic oratories, with more or less eloquence, as they talked together by the hearthside in the long winter evenings. To thoughtful men like Eata, the powerful abbot of Ripon, Mail-ros, and Lindisfarne, the bishop of

Hexham, trained though he was in all the traditions of the loved Columba and the saintly Aidan, these things must have had weight. Perhaps, after all, the Master's religion would appeal to men's hearts with greater force through the medium of an imposing ritual in a stately church, than it could do through the medium of the earnest but plain and simple rites of Lindisfarne. It is certain, at all events, that Eata and Cuthbert and their disciples made no effort to resist the Roman influence after the Whitby Council, but that they adopted its uses and quietly followed its teaching. The example of such men was of enormous weight.

Cuthbert was transferred from Mail-ros to Lindisfarne.* There he led the same life to which the Celtic monastic teachers were accustomed—a life partly spent in the practice of all the austerities of the cloister, partly lived outside among the people, preaching with unwearied assiduity and devotion. The cloister life with these teachers was a preparation for the public work. It is said that Cuthbert only slept one night in three or four; so ardent was he in his perpetual studies, so fervid in his prolonged and passionate prayers. Many stories are told of his wonderful power over the souls of men, of his brave patience, of his unruffled temper, of his angel face. The reputation of his unheard-of austerities won him a love and devotion among the Engle peoples of Northumbria similar to that possessed by Columba of Iona—greater even than that exercised by the saintly and well-loved Aidan.

* The dates here are doubtful. Bede speaks vaguely of "many years" as prior at Melrose and Lindisfarne.

His was a strange nature. In 676, a twelve years of marvellous success prior, teacher, missionary, he determi to withdraw himself altogether from m and to give himself wholly to prayer study. The place which he chose for solitary cell was a little island called Fa several miles to the east of Lindisfarne the midst of the stormy North Sea, utt ill-suited for human habitation, sterile desert, without water, fruits or trees. this dreary spot Cuthbert dug out of living rock with vast labour a little cel rather two cells—one an oratory, the ot his dwelling-room. From this cell, could see nothing but the sky above h as he wished to be quite undisturbed. hide of an ox suspended before the trance to his strange dwelling, which turned according to the direction of wind, afforded him a slight defence aga the severity of that wild climate. A li plot of ground sown with barley supp him so sparingly with food, that dwellers on the neighbouring coast ch to think he was fed by angels with br from Paradise.

Round their popular saint the North brians have gathered many a legend. of them, no doubt based on what re happened, tells how the wild sea-b would gather fearlessly about the man God whom they loved, and allow him stroke their soft plumage and caress th A still more beautiful memory of his ei years' sojourn on this lonely sea-rock, is account of the numberless visits he ceived there from all sorts and conditi of men, who sought from the revered s advice or consolation. These "pilgrim sorrow," as they have been beautif

led, came from great distances. Throughout all England spread the rumour that on ea-girt rock, off the inhospitable rocky rthumbrian coast, lived an anchorite

EGFRID ENTREATING ST. CUTHBERT (*p.* 238).

o was the friend of God, and who was ely skilled in the beautiful craft of the aling of human suffering. It was said all the crowds of penitents and worldary ones who sought the presence of thbert on the rock of Farne, that no rrowful soul carried back the same sad burden of remorse or care which he had taken with him. These eight years were the happiest of Cuthbert's life. The troubles which rent the church of Northumbria—the strange vicissitudes of bishop Wilfrid's life—seem to have been unnoticed by the solitary in his cell, but who yet in his own strange way influenced so powerfully the religious life of his time.

The closing scenes in Cuthbert's career commenced in the year 684. In that

year a strange scene took place on the lonely rock of Farne. The king of Northumbria, Egfrid, Oswiu's son, accompanied by his principal thanes, landed at Farne, and kneeling before the solitary Cuthbert, besought him in the name of the archbishop Theodore that he would consent to be bishop of the diocese of Hexham, a division of Wilfrid's great Northumbrian province. After a long resistance Cuthbert consented to be a bishop, only stipulating with his old friend Eata that the bishopric should be Lindisfarne, his well-remembered home of many years. This was agreed to, Eata taking himself the see of Hexham. For two short years, therefore, the solitary of Farne played the part of a bishop. He was consecrated at York in the presence of seven other prelates. His new office made no difference in his character. He renewed his old life as a missionary monk, which he had given up when he retired to Farne some eight years before. Only in his journeyings among the people the influence of his preaching and apostolic labours were perhaps augmented by his new dignity. The two years were filled up with constant, unremitting toil. He would penetrate into the most distant and wildest districts of his diocese, preaching to crowds, confirming fresh converts, ever the most devoted friend and pastor and teacher of the poorest and saddest of his people. For long years after the saintly monk-bishop had passed away, his memory remained green among his flock. And those who had been privileged to hear him, would tell their children of the pale, worn bishop with the angel face, who had gone in and out amongst them. They would remind one another how he we when he prayed and taught, and h sweet and holy his words had seemed them. The memory of no man, perha has ever taken such deep, enduring ro among a people.

But it came to an end all too soo Worn out by the ceaseless toils he i posed upon himself, his frail strengt already exhausted by years of austerity a self-denial, gave way, and he returned his little cell and oratory at Farne to d Herefrid, the abbot of Lindisfarne, gi us some touching details of his last hou For some days he chose to be absolut alone. "Then," says Herefrid, "I ca to him and found him dying." The gre saint was suffering much, but w supremely happy as he lay motionless his hard stone couch. He asked Herefr to bury him in Farne. "I would sle here," he said, "in this very spot, whe I have fought my little battle for t Lord. Bury me in this linen shroud whi abbess Verca, the friend of God [s was abbess of Tynemouth, and a roy princess], gave me." Herefrid—he te the little story himself—warmed so water and bathed a painful ulcer whi was occasioning great pain to the bish and then begged the dying master drink a little hot wine, for he was qu worn out with pain and abstinence. Th Herefrid gently reproached him for fusing all companionship during the last days of suffering. Cuthbert replie "It was the will and providence of G that I should suffer a little affliction. grew weaker when I was left alone, a for five days and nights I have remain without moving." Herefrid asked hi

[y reverend bishop, how have you
uported life during this weary vigil?"
Ten lifting up a little cloth, Cuthbert
wed him five onions. "This," he said,
as been my only food for five days;
en very parched I tasted these." Here-
r. besought him to allow one of the
nks from Lindisfarne to remain with
n. Cuthbert consented. Herefrid fur-
r asked him to give his consent to his
ial in his own church at Lindisfarne,
ong his people who loved him so truly.
is he agreed to. The weakness rapidly
reased. "Carry me," he said, "into
oratory." He was laid close to the
ar there. A monk whom he named—
Wahlstad, whom he specially asked
as his attendant—never left him again.
One with him relates how the dying
nt spoke little, the severity of his pains
ng very great; but being pressed to
a few farewell words which would
treasured up, Cuthbert charged the
thren to be at peace among themselves,
l to practise true humility. "Have
ce and divine charity among your-
es, and when you are called to
liberate, be very careful that you are
nimous in your plans. Let there be
tual concord between yourselves and
other servants of Christ; never despise
ers who belong to the faith. If you
ever driven from Lindisfarne, carry
bones with you." This last was a
nge charge. Was it prophecy? "*Study
gently*," went on the dying saint, "and
efully observe the Catholic decrees of
Fathers, and practise with zeal those
itutes of the monastic life which it
pleased God to deliver to you through
ministry; for I know that although
during my life some have despised me,
yet after my death you will see plainly
what I was." About the hour of midnight
he received the Holy Sacrament, and so
strengthened himself for his death, which
he knew was close at hand. Then he looked
up, and stretching out his hands as though
in prayer, so died. The above related
scene took place on the rock of Farne in
the North Sea, near Bamborough, on the
night of the 20th of March, 687.

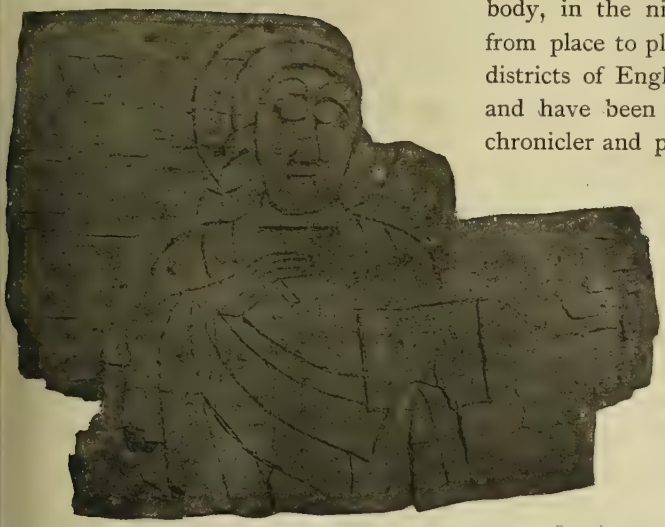
These little details are of deep interest;
for coming from an eye-witness, they tell
us something of the earnest, childlike
spirit of these great Celtic teachers, who
worked such a mighty change among the
barbarian conquerors of our island. They
were simple, God-fearing men, who be-
lieved intensely the doctrines they pressed
home with such passionate earnestness on
the pagan warriors among whom they
lived. Caring for nothing but the souls of
the people to whom they felt they were
sent, utterly regardless of their own ease
and comfort, they devoted themselves
with an entire self-devotion to their noble
and beautiful work. As was Cuthbert, so
were many others of these early teachers.
The picture of his life and work is only
the picture of many another life and work
of which no record has been preserved.
Cuthbert was but a conspicuous and well-
known example of a Celtic missionary
teacher of the seventh century.

None of our island saints has ever
touched the hearts of the people as did
Cuthbert, or has left behind him so vast,
so enduring a popularity. In the midst of
an age of devoted preachers of the Cross,
Cuthbert stands out pre-eminent. He
possessed without doubt a rare eloquence,

but it was the eloquence which went home rather to the heart than to the head. Among the renowned teachers

PORTIONS OF THE STOLE FOUND IN ST. CUTHBERT'S TOMB, AT DURHAM.

of the world, that sacred heart-key has ever been their chiefest power; without it no gifts of learning, or even eloquence, are of any real use in the winning of souls to the Master's side. In an age of angry church disputings, when pious, devo men like Theodore and Wilfrid sa spoiled their noble record with th wranglings, when sain women like Hilda w known as bitter partisa Cuthbert was able stand aloof. He mo in a higher, purer atm sphere, in which the v jangling of disputes the question of Rom and Celtic uses hushed. A Celtic m by training, by choice, all his surroundings, could yet see the bea of Roman discipline order, and was sens of the grandeur of man homes of pray Cuthbert united the w and passionate fervour the Irish monks of Io and the calm and schola devotion of the pri trained in the obedie of Rome. The war English king; his haug thanes; the powe abbess of a Whitby o Coldingham; the Ce missionary monk of M rose; the Roman bis of Hexham or of Yo the English shepherd the Yorkshire wolds or on the fells Cumberland; the Norseman sailor—t all listened, and as they listened to winning, pleading voice, one and acknowledged the magic of his utteran

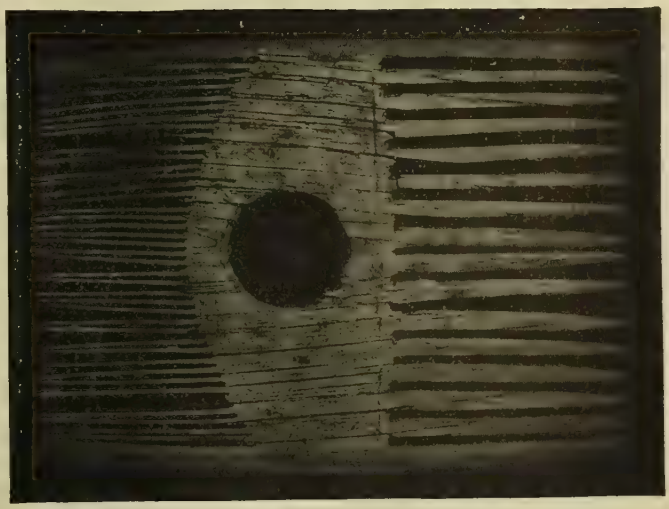


FRAGMENT OF ST. CUTHBERT'S COFFIN.
(*From photo by C. P. MacCarthy, Esq.*)

nd the beauty and power of the religion e not only preached but lived.

His sorrowing monk-friends laid him to leep as he had bade them, in his own ouse of prayer at Lin-isfarne. There the recious remains of the nan, holy and humble f heart, who in his day ad done so much to in men to Christ, ested for 188 years. Driven in the year 875 y the Danish sea-lunderers from their uiet home at Lindis-rne, the monks fled, earing with them the acred coffin of their aint. The wanderings f the chest which con-ained the hallowed body, in the ninth and tenth centuries, from place to place through the northern districts of England, read like a romance, and have been a favourite subject with chronicler and poet. Only after nigh two centuries did the remains of Cuthbert find a permanent resting-place on the hill of Durham, where the proudest of our English minsters rises calm and stately over the woods by the rushing Wear—a fitting monument to the pure and holy English saint.

The well-known lines of Scott, besides their faithful picture of the spot, strike another chord and enter upon another romantic history. They relate how—



IVORY COMB FOUND IN ST. CUTHBERT'S COFFIN.
(*From photo by C. P. MacCarthy, Esq.*)

" . . . After many wanderings past,
He chose his lordly seat at last,
Where his cathedral huge and vast
Looks down upon the Wear.
There, deep in Durham's gothic shade,
His relics are in secret laid,
But none may know the place,
Save of his holiest servants three,
Deep sworn to solemn secrecy,
Who share that wondrous grace." *

Of the many thousands who read the musical lines in Sir Walter Scott's beautiful poem, comparatively few know the eventful story of St. Cuthbert's body, alluded to in them—a story which has run uncontradicted through the ages, and of which the last chapter has still to be written!

The body of the beloved saint has on several occasions been taken from its resting-place and examined in order to ascertain its state; it was always, according to the statement of eye-witnesses, found incorrupt, even at the last examination, which took place in the middle of the sixteenth century—the eve of the Reformation. Three distinct exhumations of the body are formally recorded—the first in A.D. 698, eleven years after Cuthbert's death; the second in 1104, after 418 years. Then it seems to have been thrice examined by responsible eye-witnesses. The third time was in 1537—at the period of the dissolution of the great abbey of Durham by the Royal Commissioners of king Henry VIII.

The way that a body of an eminent person was prepared for the grave in those far-back days was as follows:—The body was first carefully washed, then rubbed with some aromatic preparation, after which it was swathed in a cere-cloth closely adhering to the skin; on this, in the case of a bishop, the different episcopal habits were successively placed. Another envelope of cere-cloth was folded over, and the body deposited (usually in a stone coffin), with a little altar, chalice and paten. In 698, after eleven years of interment, by permission of Eadbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, the body of Cuthbert was exhumed by the monks of Lindisfarne and placed in a wooden shrine over the spot where it had been originally laid. The anonymous monk of Lindisfarne relates what was seen, apparently with the details of an eye-witness, and the account in its main features is repeated again by Bede. The body was found entire—not rigid, but the limbs pliant. The vestments and shoes were undecayed, the napkin about the head still retaining its original whiteness. The precious remains were then enclosed in a wooden coffin, and placed in the shrine prepared by the monks.

In 1104, when Henry I. (Beauclerc) was king, when the new cathedral of Durham was partly completed, the body of Cuthbert was translated from its resting-place in the cloister-garth to the feretory newly prepared for it. Relating to this translation of 1104, and the examination of the body that accompanied it, the recent careful and scholarly biographer of St. Cuthbert (archbishop Eyre, of Glasgow) tells us there exists a mass of information, much of which is quoted by him in his exhaustive work. Three times the contents of the loculus containing the remains were examined before being finally deposited in the shrine—the first time on August 24, 1104; the second time on the day following

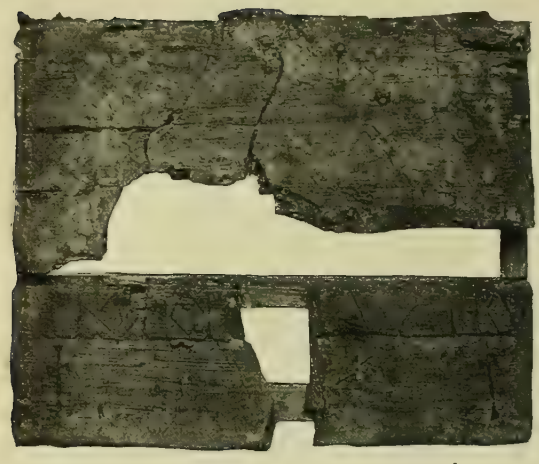
* Marmion.

August 25, to satisfy the bishop of Durham, the well-known Ralph Flambard, who considered it altogether incredible that a human body, however holy, should remain free from corruption for 418 years; the third time—four days later—to remove from the public mind any shadow of doubt. Nine monks, with the prior, were elected to conduct the first examination. They found a chest covered with leather; within the chest a coffin of wood inclosed in a coarse linen cloth. In this coffin rested the body. It was lying on its right side wholly entire, flexible in its joints, and resembling a person asleep rather than dead. By the body were many saints' relics—amongst them the head supposed to be that of Oswald, the Northumbrian king, slain by Penda at the battle of the Maserfield in the year 642. The reason for the body being laid on its side was evidently to allow room for the head and the other relics.

To satisfy bishop Ralph Flambard, the coffin was again opened on the following day, the body was taken out, and laid reverently in the choir upon cloths and carpets. Its first covering was a costly robe, below this a purple dalmatic, then a linen sheet, all of which were entire and clean, retaining their original freshness. The body was found to be incorrupt and the flesh firm. By the body was found an ivory comb and scissors, a little silver altar, a corporal and a paten, together with a small but costly chalice.

Another examination four days later, of a still more public kind, was made under the superintendence of Ralph, abbot of Séez in Normandy, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Many ecclesiastics of high degree and others (in all, more than forty) were present. A very careful and minute examination confirmed the previous report. The most interesting detail preserved of the last examination, relates how a very fine cloth covered the saint's cheeks and face; this cloth adhered closely, as though it had been glued to the hair, skin and temples. The bystanders, however, touched parts of the body not so covered, and saw the bare flesh; where they touched, they found the flesh soft. The vestments alluded to, in which the saint was wrapped, were very beautiful, of a reddish purple that was not known in those days (A.D. 1104); very fine figures of animals and flowers were interwoven in the stuff. The extremities of the dalmatic were embroidered with a faded golden tissue; his hands were resting on his chest as though in prayer. The body was reverently replaced in the coffin, and laid in the rich shrine prepared for it. The shrine was supported, we read, by nine stone pillars, and lamps were ever kept burning around it.

No further opening of the coffin is related until the year 1537, when the shrine was defaced and plundered by the Royal Commissioners of Henry VIII. The coffin was then rudely broken open, and in forcing the lid one of the legs of the body was broken. The commissioners reported that the body was still whole and uncorrupt. No further sacrilege seems to have been attempted. The body was carried into the vestry, where it was "close and safely" kept until the king's pleasure was known, when the prior and the monks buried the remains again under the spot where the shrine had stood. It



PART OF PORTABLE ALTAR FOUND IN ST. CUTHBERT'S COFFIN.
(*From photo by C. P. MacCarthy, Esq.*)

probably remained in the vestry nearly all the year.

In the year 1827 the blue slab which covered the traditional place of reinterment after the desecration of the shrine by the commissioners of the king in 1537, was taken up, and the grave carefully searched. Beneath the plain blue slab were found the crumbling remains of three very ancient coffins—one of which had been elaborately carved — a collection of human bones loosely huddled together, and *the skeleton of a man* swathed in fragments of at least five silk robes in the last stage of decay; one certainly of these must have been a very splendid piece of embroidered silk. A few articles of deep interest were found among the remains, close to the skeleton, including a small silver portable altar, a gold pectoral cross set with a large garnet, a rich embroidered stole, two bracelets of gold tissue, some fragments of fine gold wire, and an ivory comb of reddish tinge.*

Was this skeleton the remain of the body of St. Cuthbert? Arch bishop Eyre of Glasgow answe emphatically—No. For there ha long been a tradition that the bod of St. Cuthbert was removed fro that grave to some other part of th church. The secret of his preser resting-place is said to be confide to a select number of the Englis Benedictines. The archbishop cat gorically states, from what was tol him *by one of the Benedictines i possession of the secret*, that th grave is known by several members c their order, who possess a plan of th cathedral with the marked spot. "Ther is no doubt," sums up the learned prelat from whose exhaustive work we hav

ANOTHER PART OF THE PORTABLE ALTAR.
(*From photo by C. P. MacCarthy, Esq.*)

* The photographs of these relics are publish by special permission of the Dean and Chapter Durham Cathedral.

quoted,* "that the carved coffin discovered in 1827 was the identical coffin of St. Cuthbert, but the skeleton found was not that of the saint; that the body of St. Cuthbert was removed by the men who had, before the suppression of the abbey of Durham, been Benedictine monks of the Durham monastery, and who had subsequently received the appointment of secular canons of the cathedral; that this removal of the saint's body took place between 1553 and 1558, in the reign of queen Mary. In the search of 1827 an opening was found in the masonry at the end of the vault, filled up with loose stones. Through this opening the body of the saint was no doubt removed to its present resting-place in the great cathedral, the secret of which is only known to a few chosen members of the Benedictine order."

* "The History of St. Cuthbert," by Archbishop Eyre of Glasgow.

The story of Cuthbert has been told at some length, as illustrating quite a different phase of Christian life to that exhibited by the events in the stirring lives of Theodore and Wilfrid. History too often alone busies itself with public events, and says but little about the work which is done in silence and in secret in the scholar's study, or in the homes of the people; but the influence of Christianity received a great and notable impulse, as we have pointed out, during the last half of the seventh century, from the labours and examples of men like Cuthbert and his disciples. That beautiful and quiet life is a fitting prelude to the literary aspects of the work of the Anglo-Saxon Church in England.

GOLD PECTORAL CROSS FOUND IN ST. CUTHBERT'S COFFIN.
(*From photo by C. P. MacCarthy, Esq.*)

*Photo: Poulton & Son, London.*

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, JARROW.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## LITERATURE AND ART IN THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH.

Distinct Schools of Literature in the North and South of England—The Southern a Latin School—Aldhelm of Malmesbury—Influence of his School in favour of Roman Christianity—Life and Wor of Benedict Biscop—His influence upon Ecclesiastical Art and Building—Bede—Life of a Monk Scholar—Works of the "Father of English Learning"—His Letter on Ecclesiastical Abuses—Last Days and Death—The English Poems of Northumbria—Egbert, Archbishop of York—Hi famous School—His successor, Archbishop Albert—Alcuin—Influence of English Learning upo the Continent—Decay of the York School and final Ruin by the Danes.

WHILE in Northumbria (including Yorkshire), an important literature had grown up under the protection and encouragement of the great Christian teachers among the partly christianised Engle conquerors—notably in monastic centres like the house of Hilda at Whitby (Streoneshalch), where the first English poems were composed—a similar movement was taking place in the south-east of the island, also fostered by the Christian monks and priests who were at work in the southern and south-eastern kingdoms of England.

In the north the literature was mainly of pure native growth. The poets wer *Engles*, the language they wrote in wa *English*; the thoughts, the imagery were evidently belonging to and draw from Northumbria, and the seas whic washed its iron-bound coast. Its ver theology was, as we have seen when briefl noticing the poems of Cædmon and hi followers, strangely coloured with norther ideas. In this national Engle poetry, fo instance, Noah's Ark is "a mickle sea chest." The water of the Flood is "th swart water," "the waves of death. Abraham, the Oriental sheikh, is describe as a Hebrew earl (eorl) surrounded b

ar comrades. The description of Old estament Eastern cities would pass for a ketch of York in the eighth century. he angel who talks with Hagar is a ane of glory; Pharaoh of the Exodus, ho pursued after the Israelites as they eft Egypt, is modelled upon well-known ngle or Mercia kings. Even in the icture which these first English poets rew of Christ—whom in their way they dored with as true an adoration as did ny of the great Catholic teachers in the ast or west—we recognise the northern deal, and they cannot help, in their porrait of the Redeemer, painting in many of he features of typical northern heroes like Beowulf. Christ is spoken of as the Holy Hero — the Ætheling, surrounded by ngels and archangels, His thanes.

Far different was the literature which n this wonderful age of extraordinary progress and rapid development flourished in he south and south-eastern portions of England. The dates of this literary movement are well-nigh identical in the south and in the north. The last thirty years of the seventh century witnessed the rise and progress of both the schools. But while in the north it was largely of native growth, n the south of the island it has been well termed an exotic; and—as might naturally be expected, lacking as it did well-nigh all national elements—its duration in the south was much shorter. In the north it lasted, roughly speaking, for a hundred years; in the south, perhaps for only about half a century.

It began in the south when the two old men, Theodore and his friend Hadrian, arrived from the East in Canterbury, commissioned by Rome to take charge of and to organise the Church in England, in 669. The first important work undertaken by the two friends—the archbishop and the scholar—was to establish a school of learning in St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury. Benedict Biscop took charge of it at first, but soon gave place to Hadrian. Rapidly the school grew; many came from Ireland as well as from different parts of England. "Streams of knowledge," Bede tells us, "daily flowed from Theodore and Hadrian to water the hearts of their hearers." There were classes held in this famous school especially for church music and theology and canon law; but secular subjects were by no means neglected by the teachers appointed by the archbishop and his scholar companion. We hear of arithmetic and astronomy and medicine being taught there. Greek and even Hebrew instruction was given in this early Canterbury school. Latin was especially cultivated; and if we may judge from letters we still possess, written by Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne and abbot of Malmesbury, and Boniface, the foreign missionary who was trained at Canterbury, to some of their friends in the religious houses, Latin was a familiar tongue among many of both sexes who came under the influence of the Canterbury teachers. Thus the city of Augustine in Kent became in the last quarter of the seventh century not only a centre of scholarship, but a producer of books and writings; and from this time onward there was no need to seek for learned foreigners to fill the bishops' seats in English dioceses, or for foreign instructors. England now possessed her own scholars.

But while the literature of Northumbria

and the north was mainly English, in the southern kingdoms it was almost entirely Latin. We have no difficulty in assigning the causes which led to this devotion to Latin letters. The great school in Canterbury, which gave that strange impulse to learning, owed its inspiration entirely to

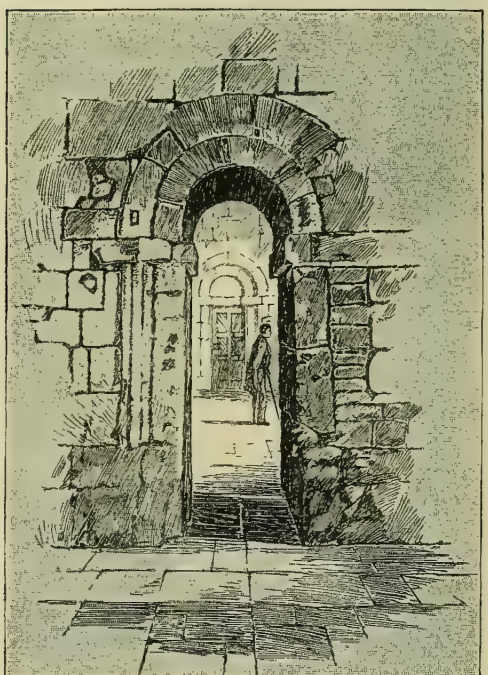


*Photo: R. Wilkinson, Trowbridge.*
DOORWAY AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

Rome and Italy; and it was natural that the influence of Rome should be directed to making Latin alone the language of learning and art. Its teachers were men trained wholly under the influence of Rome; and it was part of the policy of that great church to make its language the language of poetry, of history, and of science, as well as of theology. It rather discouraged the development of English and national thoughts. Such policy was part of the long struggle between Romish and Celtic Christianity.

In Northumbria it was different. There the influence of Aidan and Cuthbert and their disciples, even after the Roman victory at the Council or Synod of Whitby was won, remained very great, and the weight of powerful thought-leaders like Hilda, for years after the Whitby decisions was thrown into the Celtic party. Cædmon wrote his popular religious poetry in Hilda's house, and the songmen who followed him were more or less brought up in the loved traditions of the same school. Not a few of the princes and nobles of the north were brought up at Iona, or under the care of the disciples of Aidan and Cuthbert and the men of Lindisfarne, whose influence for years was paramount in Northumbria. They and the people who lived under their government and influence would care comparatively little for Rome and Latin learning. Cædmon and his English songs had stormed their hearts; Cædmon's pupils had translated the beautiful and touching stories of the Old and New Testament into language and imagery which, as we have seen, the Engle and the Norseman understood and appreciated. Before Bede, the scholar-teacher of the monastery of Jarrow, began to teach, and the pupils of Bede to influence thought in the north, the Engle dweller in these countries had come to love with a passionate love the songs of Cædmon in their own native tongue—songs intensely English. There was no room in their hearts for the comparatively cold and foreign poetry of Rome and Italy.

Then again, long before Wessex in the

ıth had become a great power, North-ıbria and the Engles were already a ghty and united people; already proud their national poetry, which in a way was otherwise. There, before Wessex became a really united power, Latin Christianity had become universally dominant, and was able to mould the literature of the

*Photo: R. Wilkinson, Trowbridge.*

ALDHELM'S CHURCH AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

ıs the outcome of their national glory and ɔwer. In Northumbria's age of greatness ɛltic Christianity had not been supplanted ı Italian Christianity; and Celtic Christıity, so powerful in the north, was ıturally opposed to everything that came ɔm Rome. In the south of England it new kingdom after its own liking. So in the south of the island Latin became naturally the language of poetry and of scholars; while in the north, where the influence of Rome was too late, happily, to affect the popular taste, a great school of English poetry—the poetry of Cædmon

and Cynewulf and of many other songmen whose names have perished—flourished for a long period, and held its own among the people for more than a hundred years.

The most eminent scholar of the school of Canterbury was Aldhelm. It is said that he gathered into himself all the learning of the time. A little picture of his life and work will give reality to our account of this really marvellous development of literature in the half-barbarian, half-pagan England, at the close of the seventh century.

Aldhelm was born somewhere in the middle of the century, and was a kinsman of the royal family of Wessex. A wandering monkish scholar from Ireland—not an uncommon figure in England or on the continent of Europe in that age—named Mailduf, built himself a hermitage in the forest land on the borders of Wessex and Mercia, in what is now known as Wiltshire, near an old royal home of a British chieftain. The solitary—no mean scholar—attracted pupils from the neighbourhood; the little school grew into a community. Among these disciples of the Irish wanderer was the young Aldhelm, who became one of his devoted pupils. Aldhelm certainly owed his early training and his love for study to this Irish scholar.

From the rude house and primitive community of Mailduf—named after its founder, Mailduf's-burgh, Malmesbury—Aldhelm betook himself to the Canterbury school, then growing rapidly into fame, and from Hadrian and Theodore derived that passion for intellectual studies which in later years made Aldhelm's name illustrious throughout England, and even far away on the continent of Europe. He never forg when he had become famous, the d obligation he was under to the two men who inspired the Canterbury scho Long years after, the world-renow scholar thus wrote to his old and venera master, Hadrian: "It is you, my belov who have been the venerated teacher my rude youth; it is you I embrace w all the ardour of a pure love, ever long intensely to return to you." The you scholar became a professed monk, and turned to his first master and teac Mailduf; whose school became anot centre of learning. Under this Mail he taught the Wiltshire community many years; and when the old Irish mas died he was chosen superior of the Ho of Malmesbury—Mailduf's-burg.

His learning and acquirements se to have been prodigious. Some of writings still remain to us. Latin his special subject: he wrote Latin ve with ease, and composed a long treat on Latin prosody. He was acquaint with all the great classical writers, a quoted with familiarity Horace, Luci Juvenal, Persius, Terence; but his gr learning was by no means limited to La scholarship. He could speak Greek, a he read with ease the Hebrew Scriptures. lover of church architecture, he filled Dors Wilts, and Somerset with monastic bui ings, some of them possessing churc of no mean merit. The little chu (ecclesiola) recently discovered and earthed by the patient, tireless work an antiquarian scholar at Bradford- Avon, is supposed with good reason to a bit of Aldhelm's work, and remains harmed after nearly 1,200 years. It is "

e perfect surviving old English church in e land. The ground-plan of Aldhelm's ile church is absolutely untouched, and ere are no mediæval insertions at all. S perfect a specimen of primitive Romanque is certainly unique in England—we ould not be surprised if it is unique of i own kind in Europe." *

The literary work of this renowned holar well exemplifies the character of e school of which he was the distinguished pupil. His verses, scholarly and rious, often degenerate into a fantastic dantry; pompous and full of rhetorical cks, they were by no means calculated seize the fancy, or in any way to attract e Saxon and Engle folk, who after the nquest had settled in the lands of the itons. They obtained no permanent fluence in the hearts of the English. is prose writings, too, like his verse, are stitute of any special charm or brilliancy. ldhelm was an admirable instance of the holar and thinker produced by the alian school of Canterbury. No wonder at this strange outburst of literary industry and power never obtained any real old upon the affections of the Northlk, but quickly died down again and was rgotten, soon after the famous masters st commissioned by Rome had passed vay.

But Aldhelm was more than an indetigable classic scholar. One of his later ographers terms him a great monk—one ho divided his life between study and ayer. "When I read," he once said, "it God who speaks to me; when I pray is to God that I speak." Probably wing to his early training under, and years-long association with, the Irish monk Mailduf, he was in the habit of imposing upon himself some of those extraordinary and terrible penances which were not uncommon among the more austere of the Celtic monks in Ireland, at Iona, or at Lindisfarne, such as we frequently hear of in the life-story of Columba, Aidan, and Cuthbert.. For instance, Aldhelm would, in winter as in summer, plunge during the night into a fountain hard by the monastery, immersed to the neck, till he had said the psalms of the day. The fountain long retained his name, and the memory of his wonderful austerities.

Another and a pleasanter memory of this great and singular man preserved by William of Malmesbury, is a story related by king Alfred. Alfred loved to tell how Aldhelm won men to love sacred things by taking his stand at a public place, such as on a bridge at fair times and such seasons, and singing English songs to the people. Nor did these popular songs of the great minstrel die. William of Malmesbury, writing in the twelfth century, tells us how one of these popular lays was still commonly sung in England. Aldhelm evidently felt that the classic imitations which he loved so well found no echo in the hearts of the English people; hence his efforts to originate a more popular style of song. But of these folk-songs, beyond their pleasant memory, we hear little or nothing in that cold and polished literature which emanated from the Italian teachers of Canterbury.

To the great communities of women which were springing up in his day in different parts of England, he paid much attention; and his powerful influence

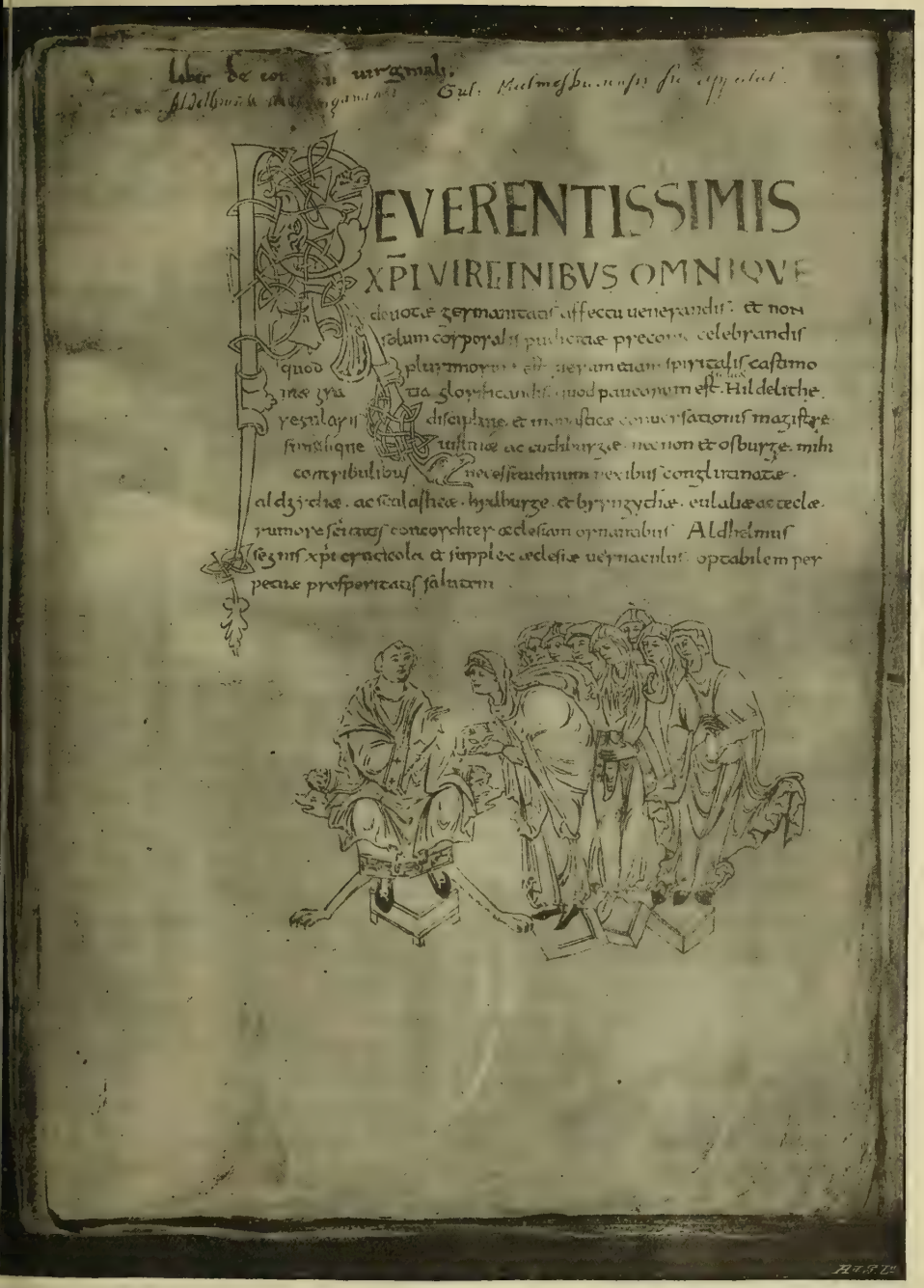
* Professor Freeman.

no doubt promoted a real zeal for study in these important centres of religious life. He evidently induced these holy women in innumerable cases to devote a considerable portion of their lives to study. Indeed, a knowledge of the Latin language was evidently a very common possession in these famous female communities. Some of his letters and poems are addressed to abbesses and great personages; others to nuns and sisters whose names are not given.

The famous female monastery of Barking was a house, for instance, in which Aldhelm took the deepest interest. The abbess of this convent was Hildelida, of whom Bede writes in terms of high praise. A close intimacy evidently existed between this saintly woman and the great Wessex scholar. It was to her and her beloved community that Aldhelm dedicated his well-known work in "Praise of Virginity," written in the first instance in prose, and afterwards rewritten in stately Latin verse. The last lines of the dedication of this treatise, addressed to the nuns of that well-known holy house, are of rare beauty, and breathe of devoted piety. "Help me, then," he thus wrote, addressing Hildelida and her nuns, "dear scholars of Christ: let your prayers be the reward of my work; and as you have so often promised me, may your community be my advocates before the Almighty. Farewell, you who are the flowers of the Church, the pearls of Christ, the jewels of Paradise, the heirs of the celestial country, but who also are my sisters according to monastic rule, and my pupils by the lessons which I have given you." With these nuns, named and nameless, he kept up a constant correspondence, in which the Latin tongue evidently generally used. This shows t a very considerable culture existed these female communities of the seve and eighth centuries in England, period too often considered illiter and semi-barbarous. A good exam of his graceful, loving, though so what turgid and exaggerated epistol style is the close of his letter to Osgitha, "his most beloved siste ten times beloved, aye, a hundred thousand times beloved," "Vale de dilectissima, imo centies et millies." letter to which this affectionate playful conclusion was written was on subject of the Holy Scriptures, in wh he urges upon Osgitha a deeper study

For thirty years the eminent pupil Theodore and Hadrian was abbot Malmesbury; and to Aldhelm and work there may fairly be ascribed all future greatness of this renowned hou It continued to be one of the princi monasteries of England—and indeed Europe—for several hundred years. stately abbey of Malmesbury, still stat even in its ruin and decay, occupies site of Aldhelm's great church, which see to have rivalled Wilfrid's pile at Hexh in magnificence, and is a fitting and enduring memorial of the work of t great disciple of the Roman scho though in its famous title of Malmesbu —Mailduf's-burg—it has strangely bo through the many storied centuries of existence the almost forgotten name Aldhelm's first master, the poor wand ing Irish monk, Mailduf.

During the long period of the rule Aldhelm—some thirty years—an imme




DHELM PRESENTING "DE VIRGINITATE" TO HILDELIDA, ABBESS OF BARKING, AND HER NUNS.

*From the dedication page preceding and contemporary with the MS. of the work (8th or 9th Century).*
*(Lambeth Palace Library. By special permission.)*

crowd of monks and students are said to have been attracted to its schools, which well and ably carried on and propagated through Wessex the teaching and traditions of Rome as expounded by Hadrian at Canterbury. As a literary school, its influence lasted but a short time after the death of its great abbot and master, for the reasons above dwelt upon; but its influence as a school for the propagation of the Roman tradition, and Roman rites and customs, endured. For the real work of Aldhelm and his house of Malmesbury was the stamping out well-nigh every vestige of Celtic Christianity in the west and south of England, and the substitution in its place of what is generally known as Roman Christianity. In the story of the Church of England, Aldhelm will ever take rank with Wilfrid, Theodore, and Hadrian, as one of the four devoted and able disciples of Rome who put down what was called with scant fairness "the Celtic schism."

It is as abbot of Malmesbury and master of its famous school, that Aldhelm will ever be best remembered, although in the late evening of his busy, industrious life he received the dignity of the episcopate and the charge of the vast diocese of Sherborne, which virtually was co-extensive with Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Berks. King Ina separated this vast province from the original diocese of Winchester, which was, in fact, in the first instance co-extensive with the entire Wessex supremacy; but Christianity in many districts in the south and west had as yet made comparatively but little way, and much of Aldhelm's work was rather of a missionary than of an organising character. A long line of twenty-five bishops of Sherborne followed Aldhelm. Soon after Conquest Sherborne ceased to be the of a bishopric, Herman, the last pre removing the see to Old Sarum. 1139 bishop Roger, of Sarum, founde Benedictine abbey there, and the cathe became the church of the monastery. one period as many as 300 Benedic monks dwelled there; but its fortunes very fluctuating. The present sta minster on the site of the ancient cathe is one of those beautiful piles, rich only in associations which extend nigh 1,200 eventful years, but famous its varied architectural styles—Norm Decorated, and Perpendicular—so dissim in their design and ornamentation, which, when grouped together as in great Sherborne Minster, produce an e at once harmonious and exquisitely bea ful. Sherborne and Malmesbury will be inseparably connected with the mem of the great Saxon scholar and teac Aldhelm. When Aldhelm accepted vast episcopal charge, he wished the mo of Malmesbury and the daughter ho over which he ruled to elect a successor; among the monks of Malmesbury so g was the devotion to his person, that community insisted on his remaining t abbot and superior, although he had come the bishop of far-reaching Wes

One of the notable acts of Aldhelm, one that bore fruit centuries after he passed away, was the peculiar privileg obtained from Rome for his great abbe Malmesbury. It was, with all its pendencies, for ever to be indepen of all royal and episcopal control, su alone to the see of Rome, under w special protection it was placed. A s

ıt similar charter of exemption from inary jurisdiction is said to have n obtained by that disciple of Rome, ıop Wilfrid, for the great Mercian abbey Peterborough or Medehamstede, in the tre of England, about the year 680, n Pope Agathon. These notable inıces of charters of exemption from all inary royal and episcopal jurisdiction he cases of the two great monasteries Mercia and Wessex were in later days, ve shall see, largely repeated; with the ct of planting throughout England verful fortresses of ecclesiastics wholly oted to Rome, and more or less alienated n the national life of the land. This ame in time one of the abuses of the nastic orders, and contributed in no ıll degree to their eventual downfall in gland; and may be reckoned as among causes which eventually led to the at Reformation of the Church in England he sixteenth century.

Aldhelm survived his promotion to the scopate only about four years. His new ies seem to have put an end to his dent life, for he spent his time in conual journeys through his vast diocese, aching to his people, we are told, conually, day and night. The year 709 was atal year to the three famous apostles he Roman obedience. Theodore, worn with years and never-ending toils, had sed to his rest long before. The three vivors, Wilfrid, Hadrian, and Aldhelm, died in the same year (A.D. 709). lhelm died as he would have desired—in ness, working to the last. Death came on him suddenly in the course of one of journeyings. In the little wooden ırch of Dulting in Somerset, where he was preparing to preach, the end came. His attendants, as he desired, laid the devoted bishop in the church where he hoped to minister; and the stone on which he laid his dying head was shown to reverent pilgrims long after the saint had passed to his well-won rest.

This was an age of distinguished men; of great and powerful warrior kings like Oswiu and Egfrid; of eminent and devoted churchmen like Theodore and Wilfrid; of pious and enthusiastic bishops and monks, preachers and saints, like Eata and Cuthbert, Chad and his brother, John of Beverley, and Acca; of saintly and influential women like Hilda and Ebba, Etheldreda and Hildelida; of scholars like Hadrian and Aldhelm, Benedict Biscop and Adamnan, and, chiefest of all, Bede; of great poets like Cædmon, and the nameless writers of his school of vernacular song. No other age can be cited, no other country instanced, like the age which followed the coming and settlement of the North-folk, and the England after this great conquest, in which so many really great men appeared. This was the period of the making of the Church of England; it roughly included 100 years—A.D. 650 to A.D. 750.

While in the south of England Theodore and Hadrian, and their famous disciple Aldhelm, were quietly but effectually replacing the old forms and ritual of Celtic Christianity by Roman uses and rites, and endeavouring to introduce the Latin language and a taste for Italian or classic literature among the monasteries and the people under their influence, in Northumbria and the northern portion

of England a yet more remarkable development of church life and of literary vigour must be chronicled. We have already spoken at some length of that

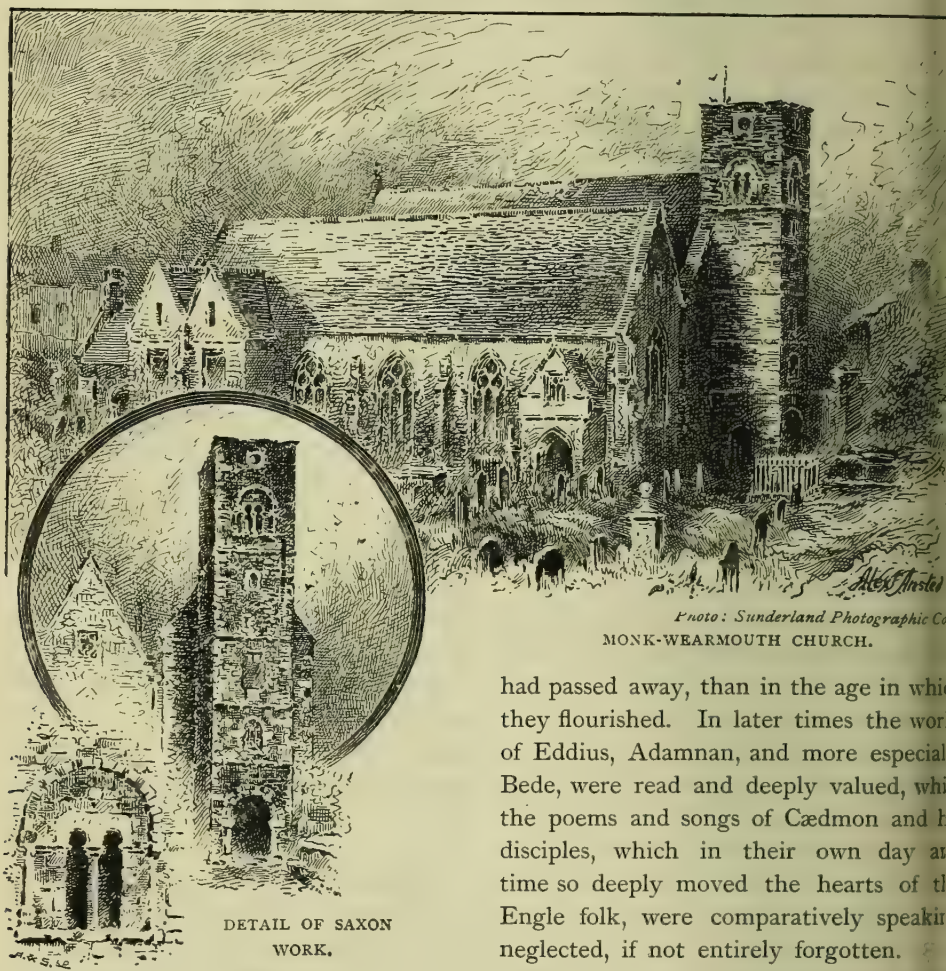


Photo: Sunderland Photographic Co

MONK-WEARMOUTH CHURCH.

DETAIL OF SAXON WORK.

strange rise and rapid progress of a native school of poetry, which began with the Engle poet Cædmon; we have shown how powerfully his religious poems and songs influenced the Engle settlers of Yorkshire and the northern districts. But alongside of this native school of so grew up also an Italian or Latin literatu of great beauty and power, perhaps m appreciated long after the great writ had passed away, than in the age in whi they flourished. In later times the wor of Eddius, Adamnan, and more especial Bede, were read and deeply valued, whi the poems and songs of Cædmon and h disciples, which in their own day a time so deeply moved the hearts of t Engle folk, were comparatively speakin neglected, if not entirely forgotten.

Among the little band of illustrio Northumbrian scholars who so powerful influenced the growth of Church life durin the second half of the seventh century, t name of Benedict Biscop stands pr eminent. In after-ages the story of th indefatigable church worker has been

ood deal lost sight of. Cædmon, the ngle poet, and, in the south of England, ldhelm, whose eventful story we have st told; Eddius, the biographer of Wilfrid; damnan, the chronicler of Columba's intly life; Bede, the historian, who lived few years later, the father of English story, left behind them written works many of them still with us—which have pt alive their memory all along the any centuries. But Benedict Biscop, ough a great scholar, was not a writer, d leaving nothing behind him, has died t of the memory of most men; and yet his own time, with the exception of dhelm, he exercised probably a greater luence in the building up of the Church England than any of these better own names.

He was, perhaps, the greatest traveller of generation; the man who may be said a great measure to have familiarised the rth-folk with the architecture, the painting, the church music, the knowledge of arts of gold work and embroidery, the ied learning, of Italy and Gaul. It was ng to him largely, that eminent church lders like Wilfrid and Aldhelm were bled to raise and to adorn their noble sumptuous churches of Hexham, Ripon, York, and the stately pile of Malmesbury in the south. In a very few years fr their having been placed in the taries of his houses of Wearmouth and arrow, Bede, the scholar-monk, drew ely from this precious store of books ected by Benedict Biscop in his travels, erials for his immortal history. The ary activity which distinguished thumbria for more than a century ld, indeed, have been impossible without the libraries founded by, and largely furnished through the unwearied pains and care of this true lover of books, Benedict Biscop. As a teacher, although manifestly inferior to Hadrian of Canterbury, Aldhelm of Malmesbury, and Bede of Jarrow, he occupies no mean place among the masters of the fast-growing English church. As a founder of great monasteries famed for their discipline, piety, and learning, he ranks also very high. As an unwearied advocate and a successful teacher of the Romish traditions and uses, as opposed to the ancient Irish and Celtic customs, he is second to none in that age of sharp conflict between the two churches which contended so long and bitterly for supremacy in our island; and the eventual victory of Rome is largely owing to Benedict Biscop's ceaseless scholar-work, and to the far-reaching influence he had obtained over the popular mind as a man of letters and profound research.

This very distinguished monk was born about the year 628, a few years before his great contemporary, and companion in his earlier years, bishop Wilfrid. He belonged to an illustrious family in the Engle nation, and began life occupying a post in the household of the powerful Northumbrian sovereign, Oswiu. Like so many noble Engles of his time, he was when quite young convinced of the truth of that Christianity which at that juncture possessed in England so many eloquent and impassioned teachers and preachers, and resolved to give up secular life and to dedicate himself to the service of God and His Christ. A visit he paid to Rome determined his views respecting the special form of Christianity to which he would consecrate his powers.

The sights of Rome—its splendid and soul-stirring ritual, its glorious homes of prayer, its countless traditions, its libraries, the use which the church of Italy and Rome made of architecture, music, painting, and sculpture as the handmaids of religion—had a powerful effect upon the impressionable and ardent young Northumbrian thane. He would teach his fellow-countrymen a better way of worshipping their Christ; he would build them nobler temples than the rude straw-thatched oratories and poor wooden churches and wattled chapels of Iona and Melrose and Lindisfarne. Twice more at least, when still young, he visited Rome, which possessed a peculiar and ever-growing attraction for the young and ardent scholar. In the vast and renowned monastery of Lerins he dwelt some time, observing closely and learning the life of a great Roman monkish community; nor could he have chosen a fitter temporary home and school than Lerins, which occupied then a foremost place among the monasteries of the west, being distinguished equally for its learning as for its rigid rule and its fervid piety. There he assumed finally the monastic habit.

By this time the Engle disciple of Christianity had become well known as a scholar-monk of rare ability, devoted to Rome and her traditions; and when Theodore was chosen as the archbishop of Canterbury, and was entrusted with the great charge of organising the Church in England, Benedict Biscop was selected by Pope Vitalian to accompany Theodore to England as his trusted adviser and companion. This was in the year 669. Archbishop Theodore entrusted him at first with the superintendence of the monastic scho at Canterbury, where for two years presided with the rank of abbot over th house and school of St. Peter, bett known as St. Augustine's Abbey. Whe Hadrian, one of the greatest scholars the time, the intimate friend of archbish Theodore, arrived in England to take the important work of education, Benedi Biscop left Canterbury and St. Augustine and for a fourth time visited Rome a Italy; whence he returned to his nati Northumbria with a rich store of boo and relics and other treasures dear churchmen. He won the heart of ki Egfrid, who presented him with a gre estate in Northumbria, upon which th travelled scholar founded his first famo religious community at the mouth of th river Wear. This house, dedicated St. Peter, was known as Wearmouth-Monk-Wearmouth.

Benedict Biscop was now in a positi to carry out the dream of his life, a determined to erect for his new comm nity a church which should reproduce wild Northumbria on the banks of th Wear, a lordly house of God, such as had seen and worshipped in on the shor of the historic Tiber. To him a long a dangerous journey was nothing; so started for Gaul, and, probably from th southern provinces bordering on th Mediterranean, where noble Roman buil ings were still in the course of erectio he brought skilled stone-masons (cæme tarii), cunning artists in marble and ston men skilled in glass-making, and oth workers capable of building and adorni such a church as he determined to ere upon the lands given him by his frie

ng Egfrid. These crafts were all erly unknown in the England of the rthmen conquerors. The fact that chitecture and its kindred arts had no ace in the early period of the Anglo-xon rule in England, shows how com-ely Roman training and learning had rished in Britain; and yet before the xon conquest the land had been covered th great cities, adorned with many ble buildings, rich with every possible ornment of painting and of sculpture. he poor, sad relics of the time before the nquest of the North-folk, uncovered w year after year in all parts of our and—buried cities like Silchester, lordly las, huge fortified places, mighty tem-s—are continually reminding us of at Roman Britain once was before the ning of the Northmen; but when nedict Biscop was building his splendid earmouth church, the very tradition building and adorning buildings had rished, and he had to seek workmen d artists from the distant provinces in thern Gaul and Italy.

Other arts, thanks to the unwearied verance of this great restorer of for-ten industries, were quickly introduced o the new England of the Northmen. e sacred vessels—some of them made or encrusted with, gold and silver—ich he brought with him from Rome d Italy and southern Gaul, introduced o England a new taste, and, as we e before had occasion to remark, laid foundation of a new art, after-rds pursued among the Anglo-Saxon ple with rare skill. The elaborately broidered priestly vestments and ex-sitely wrought coverings for altars and shrines, which were among the treasures highly prized by the artist-monk, brought from southern lands, were imitated by the Northmen, and eventually England became positively famous for its rich and curious embroidery.

Nor were the walls of his churches allowed to remain unadorned. Skilled painters are said to have enriched these new and beautiful homes of prayer with colour and with gold, with pictures of apostle and saint, with stories from the gospel history. "The constant aim," writes Bede in the early years of the eighth century (Bede died A.D. 735), "of these pious artists was not only to decorate the churches, but also to teach the illiterate, by placing before their eyes subjects borrowed from sacred history, from the Apocalypse or from the lives of saints." Bede's words would imply that this painting the walls of monastic churches in his day was no unusual work, and was by no means confined to the Jarrow and Wearmouth religious houses. It was a strange awakening of these children of the north, who hitherto had no conception of these beautiful creations of art. It was a curious change, too, for the devoted and saintly men of Iona and Melrose, of Lindisfarne and Whitby, accustomed to the rude oratories of the Celtic saints, to assist at the worship they loved with so absorbing a passion, in these new beautiful churches, so richly adorned with sacred symbols, and to hear the same hymns and psalms they had sung and said so often with the rough and monotonous chant, accompanied by a music they had never heard before. No doubt all this contributed in no small degree to the victory of Roman Christianity.

But above all things this Engle monk desired that the "religious" in his houses should read and study, and for this end he brought a vast collection of books of every kind from the Continent. He thought it an imperative necessity for every monastery to have an extensive library. His wish, too, was that peculiar attention should be paid to church music. On his return from his fifth voyage to Rome, he brought with him an eminent musician monk named John, who had acted as precentor at St.

SAXON WINDOW IN JARROW CHURCH.
(*Said to be contemporary with Bede.*)

Peter's at Rome. He placed him over his loved Wearmouth monastery to teach the Roman ceremonies. Classes were opened, too, at which the liturgy and the ecclesiastic chants were taught, and the best singers from the Northumbrian religious houses resorted thither for instruction. The rule of St. Benedict was adopted in these newly-formed communities.

King Egfrid was in entire sympathy with the great traveller, and proceeded to assign him another large estate. Benedict Biscop, with this new endowment, founded another house on the pattern of Wearmouth, a little to the north, at the mouth of the river Tyne, and dedicated it to St. Paul. He wished the church of this new house—afterwards famous under the nar of Jarrow, as the life-long residence of t greatest scholar and writer of the ea English Church, Bede—to be in some s a reproduction of the Roman church "St. Paul's outside the walls." O Jarrow he appointed his dearest frie Ceolfrid, another great name in those f back days, as abbot, and associated wi himself as joint abbot of Wearmou his nephew Easterwine; but Easterwi soon died.

Worn out by his ceaseless journeys a unremitting work, this famous churchm at once artist and scholar, while still app ently in the vigour of life, sickened of mortal disease, which gradually paralys his limbs. He suffered for three yea during which long period he set the nobl example of a bravely patient toiler in sp of suffering. He was unable to leave bed; but continual services day and nig were celebrated in the sick man's chamb His often sleepless nights were passed listening to favourite passages from t Old and New Testament. This readi was kept up by a succession of reade who relieved each other at interva During this long and weary illness would often collect a number of mon and even of novices, round his bed, a would address to them pressing and solem counsels, warning them to keep faithfu the strict and austere rules of their ord He especially urged them to preserve t precious library he had collected with much care and trouble, and never to all it to be spoiled or dispersed. The immer importance of study for the perfect monas life, indeed, seems to have been ever befo this really eminent monk. He evident

while prizing very highly the monastic system, to perfect which he had consecrated so many years, feared the danger and eventual ruin which idleness and

SINGERS RECEIVING INSTRUCTION (*p.* 260).

want of definite occupation would surely bring upon the order he loved so well.

He died in 689, and was succeeded by Ceolfrid, his intimate friend, the abbot of Jarrow, who became on Benedict Biscop's death superior of the two houses of Wearmouth and Jarrow. The whole community of Wearmouth and Jarrow, so closely joined together, was a large one, and numbered 600 monks. The wise rule of Ceolfrid lasted altogether twenty-seven years—until the year 711. Ceolfrid played a distinguished part in the development of monastic life in Northumbria. A pupil of Wilfrid, and carefully trained in all the policy of that famous prelate, he was not only the wise abbot and worthy successor of Benedict Biscop in all his plans for

fostering the literary tastes of the vast body of monks beneath his rule, but we find him even consulted by the Pope, and by men of the rank of Naiton, king of the Picts. But his best work was, perhaps, in his own famous school, in the midst of which, during a life of unexampled literary labour, lived the greatest scholar and writer the English Church produced for several centuries—known in subsequent history as the Venerable Bede.

About the year 680 a little boy seven years of age was entrusted by his family, undistinguished folk, who lived on the lands granted by king Egfrid to Benedict Biscop, to be educated by the monks of the new religious house of Wearmouth. When, some time after the daughter monastery of Jarrow at the mouth of the Tyne was founded, Ceolfrid, the newly-appointed abbot of Jarrow, removed thither with some of the Wearmouth monks, he took the little boy Bede with him. From this time for more than half a century, Bede never left Jarrow. Very soon after Ceolfrid and his little company had taken possession of their new home, an epidemic desolated the community. All the monks who were able to sing in the choir died, except the abbot Ceolfrid and the boy Bede, who in after days relates this curiously sad experience of his child-days: how the two survivors, the abbot and the boy, as best they could, sang the services until new brethren joined them.

Bede grew up under the care of the learned Ceolfrid. At the age of nineteen he received deacon's orders, and at thirty the priesthood from the hands of St. John of Beverley. Jarrow and its quiet, pea ful life was ever sufficient for the studio young monk, who was brought up fr boyhood in its walls. "I spent my wh life in the same monastery," he says, "ar while attentive to the rules of my order a the service of the church, my consta pleasure lay in learning or teaching writing." "I ever found it sweet, t still, yet busy life," he tells us, when later life he wrote down his early memori It was a career perfectly uneventful as gards the great world without; he ev refused, later, to accept the dignity of ab of the community he loved so well, beca he thought it would interfere with th studies which filled so completely ev hour of his life.

Although, however, Bede occupied position of special honour or rank in t church he served so nobly; although those stirring times he was little he of either in church or state; even th the report that a monk of extraordin learning, and that a teacher of r power and marvellously winning gifts, dwelling in one of the Northumbri monasteries, got abroad. The school Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow and We mouth, became famous throughout E land, and a crowd of pupils flocked receive instruction at his hands. But t quiet grandeur of the great scholar's was not really known and appreciat until long after Bede had passed awa not until his works, charming and vari had been read and re-read by successi generations of scholars; then his name length became indeed famous through western Europe. It was a strange desti that many of his books should have

dured, such as the "Ecclesiastical History," and the "Life of St. Cuthbert." They formed part, and no small part, of the literature of Alfred the Great; they are still the prized text-books of the early English teaching in our own great universities, at the close of the nineteenth century. Edited and re-edited in all the learned centres of Western Europe, each fresh edition even now, after 1,200 years, is eagerly welcomed and studied anew by scholars young and old, directly it appears. What, will be asked, is the peculiar charm which has won for these ancient works of the quiet monk of Jarrow this seemingly undying power?

We know something of the life led by not a few of the inmates of these great homes of study and of prayer in the seventh and eighth centuries, of which Jarrow was a fair example, and we can picture with some exactness our great scholar at his daily work. "The quiet cell, with desk at the window, a single chair at the desk, with cupboard and bed, and a chest full of manuscripts taken from the ample store laid up in the monastic library: there the monk lived and worked year after year, looking up now and then to hear the bird sing on the sill, to see the flowers in the paved cloister, or the fruit-trees blossom in the garden—a simple, happy, silent life." *

This quiet, reserved monk little by little made himself master of the whole range of the science of his time; Scriptural studies were, of course, his chief pursuit. From Trumbert, a monk who had been trained by the saintly Chad, he received his first guidance here; but Bede by no means confined his patient, loving industry to the interpretation or translation of the divine writings, though they were his first, as they were his last study. He was imbued by his learned master in these grave and holy studies with all that was pure and true in the great Celtic traditions of the interpreters of Iona and the old Irish schools; and to these he added a deep and profound knowledge of the patristic traditions preserved by the long line of the scholars of Rome, belonging to the Roman and Italian schools. With Greek learning, introduced into England by Hadrian, who taught for so many years with archbishop Theodore at Canterbury, he was intimately acquainted; while Latin was as his own tongue, and in it he wrote the great majority of his many works, with an easy grace and power which only long familiarity could give. He weaves his charming stories into the dryer narrative of his great English history with a strange attractiveness peculiarly his own.

The writings of this indefatigable scholar are very numerous, and varied in their character. They embrace astronomy, physics, and music, philosophy and geography, arithmetic and grammar. It must, however, be remembered that Bede was something more than a student and scholar; he was the master of a great and renowned school, whither resorted, besides a crowd of monks and "religious," a number of all sorts and conditions of men eager to receive instruction in the famous Jarrow school of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid. Thus many of his treatises partake of the nature of catechisms, or short manuals, adapted for the education of the crowds of pupils who thronged to this Northumbrian teaching centre. It will be sufficient

* Stopford Brooke, "Early English Literature."

to give the names of two or three of these diversified treatises, some of which we may suppose were written by his disciples, and only received the corrections and final touches of the great master: the "Ars Metrica," the "De Rerum

BEDE'S CHAIR (TRADITIONAL) AT JARROW CHURCH.

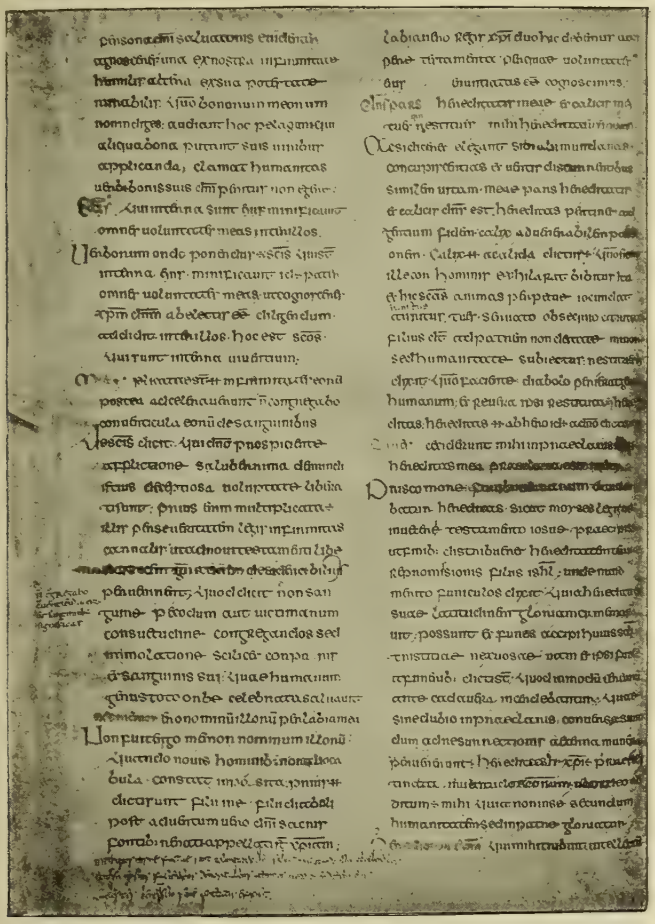
Naturâ," and the "De Temporibus." His commentaries extend over almost all the books of the Bible. They are in a complete form dedicated to Acca, whom we have seen riding with Wilfrid on the occasion of his last ride to Oundle, and receiving the last intimate confidences of the renowned statesman and prelate who fills so large a place in the story of the second half of the seventh century—Acca, the bishop of Hexham, who in some respects was Wilfrid's successor, as he ha been his dearest friend and confidan But the composition of these numerou and various commentaries extended doubt less over many years.

Bede may be looked upon not only a the father of history in England, but als as the parent of English theology. Befor his day there was little written by men c the stamp of Augustine or Paulinus, Aida or Cuthbert, Wilfrid or Chad. Thes men were rather great missionaries tha writers, men whose lives were of necessit active rather than contemplative, whos thoughts and efforts were almost wholl occupied with the practical duties of thei station. Bede's homilies—for he wrot many—and his voluminous commentaries are largely made up of practical teaching connected with the Christian life. They have been well characterised as calm sensible, and unaffected, a mirror of tha steady piety which has made the practica religion of the English people. But th commentaries especially are coloured wit a disposition towards allegorical interpre tation, occasionally extravagant in it character. To Bede the whole Bibl appeared as a great allegory—"Even th New Testament, the Gospels, and th Acts have their hidden and mysterious as well as their historical signification—n word in them but enshrines a religiou and typical sense."* His comments are largely made up of selections from th more popular fathers — especially those containing subtle and ingenious explanations.

But after all, it is on his "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation" that the

* Dean Milman, "Latin Christianity."

nmortal fame of Bede rests. In this
reat masterpiece, and in the two less
nown short "Lives" of St. Cuthbert
of Augustine in A.D. 597 to the year
731, when the work-weary scholar closed
his eventful chronicle. No pains were



PAGE FROM THE "COMMENTARY OF CASSIODORUS."
*(Said to be in Bede's own handwriting. Durham Cathedral.)*

nd of the abbots of Wearmouth and
arrow, the peculiar charm of Bede's
terary work specially comes out. In the
ccclesiastical history, after a short intro-
uction, the real work stretches over nearly
century and a half, from the landing
spared by the writer in the collection of
materials for his history. Of course, the
story of the north of England, Northum-
bria, is told with more ample details than
those we find in the rest of his national
annals. He was a Northumbrian Engle

himself, proud of his people and their land. He ever lived in the midst of the scenery he so graphically describes, and with not a few of his heroes he had been personally acquainted; besides which, the work of the church whose early fortunes he painted was largely done by Northumbrians. The conversion of Kent by Augustine is dwelt on certainly at great length. But this is natural when we take into account Bede's interest in everything that came from Rome, and when we remember the familiar intercourse which naturally existed between the schools of Canterbury and of Jarrow. But the preaching and influence of Aidan, the wanderings and marvellous life of Cuthbert and Chad, the doings of Hilda and her mighty house, and her poet Cædmon and his works, which Bede loved well, these were the main events which fill his storied pages.

Perhaps the special charm which is felt in the history, is in the exquisite stories plentifully scattered up and down the narrative. Bede had a marvellous power in delineating character, and in picking out what was good and gracious in the man or woman of whom he was writing. To the student of that far-back age—thanks to Bede—men like bishop Aidan and the saintly Cuthbert, and Cædmon, Hilda's poet, live again. We seem to see them, we fancy we hear them speaking, they are so real and life-like; we cannot believe that twelve hundred years have elapsed since these great and lovable men passed away. He relates with intense sincerity many strange tales of his beloved heroes, and not a few miracles in which they bore a prominent part; he evidently believes in the truth of these. He gives none o these stories of the supernatural from hi own personal authority as an eye-witnes but always names the persons from whor they came to him, stating whether he ha received them at first- or second-hanc leaving the reader to form his own opinio as to their genuineness.

Cuthbert is evidently his favourite herc among the many noble and saintly ones h portrays so admirably as the makers of th church he loved so passionately and serve so faithfully. There is no doubt whateve that he looked upon this strange loving ma as one who exercised in his time—only few years before Bede wrote his story i his Jarrow cell—not merely human powers who now and again saw sights whicl no mere mortal eye could see. Fo instance, when he relates how Cuthber one day quenched a fire, he adds: "But and those like me, who are conscious o our own weakness, can do nothing in tha way against material fire;" and again h suggests the possession of supernatura influences in such a passage as, "Once th saint [Cuthbert] was vexed with a swellin in his knee, and was prescribed for in hi pain by a man of noble mien, clothed i white; Cuthbert followed the stranger' advice, and got well. At once," says Bede "he perceived that it was an angel." Nothing is more exquisite than his de scription of wild creatures, birds an beasts, now obeying, now ministerin to Cuthbert. "We for the most part," he says, "have lost our dominion ove these wild creatures, for we neglect t obey the Lord."

His stories have obtained a singula power over men's hearts, and live fo

ever in our memory. Every child who knows aught of the history of his country knows well the story of Gregory in the Roman market-place, looking with loving pity on the beautiful Angle children, and the string of playful puns which came from Gregory on that occasion are as household words still among us; while the beautiful recital of the wild storm-driven bird flying through the thane's fire-lit hall on a winter's night, out of darkness and the unknown, and again into darkness and the unknown, has been told and retold a thousand times; at once a little piece of the history of the day, and an allegory which goes home to all hearts.

One singularly interesting relic of Bede's writings requires special mention, because it throws a strong light upon the abuses which, alas! only too quickly crept into that powerful and influential church which had been established among the Engle and Saxon conquerors. These abuses were handled and commented on with a very gentle, but still with an unsparing hand by Bede, in his celebrated letter (the date of the letter is about A.D. 734) to Egbert of York, the chief prelate of the Northumbrian church, in the latter years of Bede's life. Egbert was a brother of Eadbert, king of Northumbria in 737-758, and had been a pupil of Bede at Jarrow, and was not unfrequently a guest in his old master's monastery, from whom he often sought advice and counsel. A year before the great scholar's death a letter was sent from Bede to Egbert, containing counsels and general remarks on questions generally affecting the church.

From it we gather some curious and interesting information. Bede urges the bishop to establish in every hamlet and village, however remote, priests who will preach the word of God, celebrate the divine mysteries, and baptize; Bede thus recognising the need that men should be appointed as Christian priests, even in remote villages, capable of preaching and teaching. With the great Jarrow teacher, deeply as he valued the regular and frequent administration of the two sacraments —baptism and the Lord's Supper—the power to *preach* the word was a necessary gift which every priest should possess. He evidently, however, contemplated that a low standard of scholarship must be accepted for some at least of the priests, for in speaking of prayer and creed being said in English, he added, "I say this not only for the laity, but also for the clerks and monks who do not understand Latin."

Again, the advice contained in this letter to Egbert evidently presupposes a wide adoption of what we should call the parochial system. It is evident that in the wide-spreading diocese of York the outlying villages and hamlets were by no means left to the ministration of the monks of the many religious houses, but that priests appointed by the bishop were stationed among the village communities of the Engles. Although the church had been established, comparatively speaking, very few years, the same shrinking from partaking of the Holy Communion was painfully noticeable among these Engles of the first years of the eighth century, as, alas! too often is still among our English people. "Among us," writes Bede, "thanks to the carelessness of the pastors, the most religious laymen dare not communicate except at Christmas, the Epiphany,

and Easter, although there are numberless Christians, young and old, of pure life, who might without scruple approach these holy mysteries on the Sundays and feasts of the Apostles and martyrs."

He is very vehement, too, in his warnings to bishops against the love of earthly lucre. "There are many villages in the hills and woods of our native land where a bishop has never been seen; and yet these neglected flocks are taxed to pay the bishops' dues." Very suggestive is such an admonition as this, and shows us only too plainly that the Engle church, bishops and people, had in a very few years sadly fallen away from the lofty ideal of an Aidan or a Cuthbert. Against married dwellers in monasteries the scholar was very stern in his denunciation. Indeed, the whole tone of the letter to Egbert was the tone of one who feared for the future of the church; who dreaded a general falling away from the great examples who had gone before them. It was an earnest protest, as it has been termed, of "a true monk against the false monks who had already begun to infect the life of the cloister, and against the greedy and feeble bishops who sanctioned and tolerated these unworthy abuses." It contained also strenuous warnings against allowing any interference, save in the case of crimes of treason, on the part of the king or the thanes in monastic affairs, the great nobles being apparently often eager to seize upon and to appropriate the revenues of monasteries, which in many cases already, through the cultivation of lands probably originally waste, and through the lavish gifts so often bestowed upon religious houses had become exceedingly wealthy.

This "letter" to archbishop Egbert of York was written in the last year of Bede's useful and beautiful life. No story in the English tongue is more winning and attractive than the recital given to us by a certain Cuthbert, an unknown monk of Jarrow, in a letter written to an absent brother in reply to a request to tell "how Bede, our father and master, the beloved of God, departed from the world." Its strange attractiveness consists in its perfect simplicity. Plain and unadorned with anything miraculous or supernatural, its absolute truth impresses itself upon the reader. He is transported to Jarrow, and thinks he is gazing upon the little pallet in Bede's cell, where the child-like scholar and saint is dying, just worn out after a life of ceaseless work, serene and joyful now the end has come.

It was just two weeks before Eastertide, in the year 735, when the old man—old before his time—felt the end was at hand. Very weak and ailing, he would still creep into his accustomed place in the choir of the church when the hours of the many services came round. When asked to rest in his cell, and not to join in these oft-recurring meetings for prayer and song, he replied: "I know"—it is Alcuin, the minister of Charlemagne, who records the beautiful saying—"that the angels visit the canonical house and the gatherings of the brethren. What if they do not find me among the others in God's house? Will they not say, 'Where is Bede? Why does he not come with his brothers to the prescribed prayers?'"

At last, the writer of the letter tells us, as the days grew on to the time of the

Lord's Ascension, the weakness of the scholar-monk crept on, and the sickness from which he suffered became more severe; the difficulty of breathing in-

DEATH OF BEDE.

creased, but there was no actual pain. "You desire and expect me to tell you how Bede, our father and master, departed from this world? He continued thus," wrote on Cuthbert, "until the Tuesday before Ascension—always joyous and happy—giving thanks to God every hour of the night and day. He slept but little, but continually chanted psalms, and in the intervals still gave us lessons at times. He would stretch his arms out in the form of a cross, and so pray—O happy man!—repeating now verses from St. Paul, or other Scriptures, now bits of poetry in the Engle tongue. [Memories, no doubt, of Cædmon; for he was well versed in the beautiful English poetry of Northumbria.] Sometimes we wept and sometimes we read; but we never read

without weeping. He thanked God with his own sweet touching grace for his sickness, and repeated St. Ambrose's words, 'I do not fear to die, for I have a good master.'

"On the Tuesday before Ascension the breathing became more difficult, still he would dictate to his pupils. 'Make haste,' said the dying saint, 'to learn, for I know not how long I may remain with you, or if my Creator may call me shortly.' On the Wednesday before the feast his scribe said to him, 'There is yet one chapter of your translation of the Gospel of St. John still wanting; does it trouble you to be asked more questions?' 'It is no trouble,' said Bede, 'but take your pen and write fast.' At the ninth hour he stopped dictating, and said to his scribe, 'I have some little things of value in my chest—such as pepper, napkins, incense—run quickly and bring the priests of our monastery, that I may distribute among them the gifts which God has given me.' So the day wore on; in the evening the scribe went to him again. 'Dear master,' he said, 'there is yet one sentence of the translation unwritten.' He answered, 'Write quickly.' Soon after the monk-writer laid down his pen. 'Now the sentence is finished.' 'You say truly, it is finished,' murmured the saint. 'Take my head in your arms, and turn me, for I have great consolation in turning towards the holy place' [the little oratory] 'where I have prayed so much.' Then he sang for the last time, 'Glory be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' and breathed his last as he pronounced the last of these divine names, and so departed to the kingdom of heaven."

Thus passed away quietly, as he ha lived, one of the purest saints men ha ever known; the greatest scholar of his ow and of many succeeding generations, who all agree in calling the Father of Englis learning. It is a pure and touching stor this often-quoted memory of his en given by an eye-witness—a story whic as a modern writer beautifully says, "lil a solemn evening landscape seen from th hill-top of a long life of faithful wor breathes so quietly the gentle and cle air of death."

It will be well now to describe mo in order the wonderful early outburst Christian literature produced under th shadow of the church in Northumbria, which Cædmon in the last quarter of th seventh century, and Bede in the first pa of the eighth century, are the earliest an most conspicuous leaders.

The sudden rise of, and reception give to vernacular poetry, has been spoken o It was born, as we have seen, in one those great Northumbrian double mona teries in Streoneshalch or Whitby, in th days when the abbess Hilda ruled ther Cædmon, the first recorded poet of h school, was followed by others whos names have perished, all but one, Cyn wulf. The poems and songs were writte by Engles in their own English tongue, an were evidently warmly received by th people, and, of course, largely influenc their life in the latter part of the sevent and during the whole of the eighth ce turies. The themes of these popular poe were mainly religious. The exceptions the sacred poems, as far as we can jud from the remains of this great and influe

'l literature which are preserved to us, cnsist in a number of so-called "Riddles," il of dramatic interest, and coloured th descriptions of Nature, and in a few egorical poems such as the "Phœnix, e Panther, and the Whale." But the rthen of the large mass of this very early Figle poetry was religion. The remains at we have with us now consist of lengthy raphrases of the books of the Bible, and ld legends of the saints, enlarged and ven into stories of considerable length, l e the "St. Andrew." We have, for in-nce, a singular and striking poem or ssionate religious biography founded a dream of "the Holy Rood." To give aother instance, among these remains we ve a long trilogy bearing the name of Cnewulf, which treats of the mission and rk of Jesus, and passes through the Icarnation and Ascension and the Last Jdgment. The deep interest generally ft in Christianity throughout these North Figle lands during the last half of the sventh and much of the eighth centuries i evident from the selection by their tional poets of such sacred and profound sjects as their favourite themes. This srring literature began to be written and rd in the last quarter of the seventh ctury, from about the year 670. "The fdowers of Cædmon were many," writes Fde; and the phrase tells us there were a number of these Engle religious poems cnposed and current among the people bfore the date of Bede's death in 735.

During the first seventy or eighty years the eighth century—roughly, until about 79—all the Engle poetry written by the followers of Cædmon—by men such as Cnewulf—was composed. In the later years of that period the glory of Northumbria had departed, and a half-sad, half-despairing spirit seems to brood over Engle poems like the "Christ" and the "Elene." Probably the "Dream of the Rood" is one of the latest written; but not a word appears in these writings which gives a hint of the impending dreadful blow which fell upon the land at the hands of the first Viking raiders, who stormed Lindisfarne and Jarrow in 793. No Engle poem —sad though the spirit is which lives among the beautiful and moving verses of the later writers—alludes to events which horrified not only Northumbria, but which brought terror and dismay even to the heart of the great Northumbrian scholar, Alcuin, dwelling far away under the protecting shadow of Charlemagne's brilliant court on the Continent. We may therefore assume that a "silence" fell on the national school of Northumbrian poetry in the last years of the eighth century. In the ninth century, certainly, there was no literature composed in Northumbria.

While the Engle songmen were busy influencing all national life, and popularising, so to speak, Christianity among the people of all ranks and orders (for it must be borne in mind that by far the largest proportion of the vernacular poems written between 670 and 780 which are preserved to us are *religious* poems), the teaching and influence of Bede and the school of Jarrow, founded by Benedict Biscop, during some of the same period was working among the same people, and in the same direction; only the writings of Bede for the most part were in Latin, while the poems of Cædmon and Cynewulf were written in

the Engle tongue—the national dialect of the race. Bede, however, although he must be classed as a Latin writer and as a teacher of the Roman school, had the

CROSS AT WHALLEY.

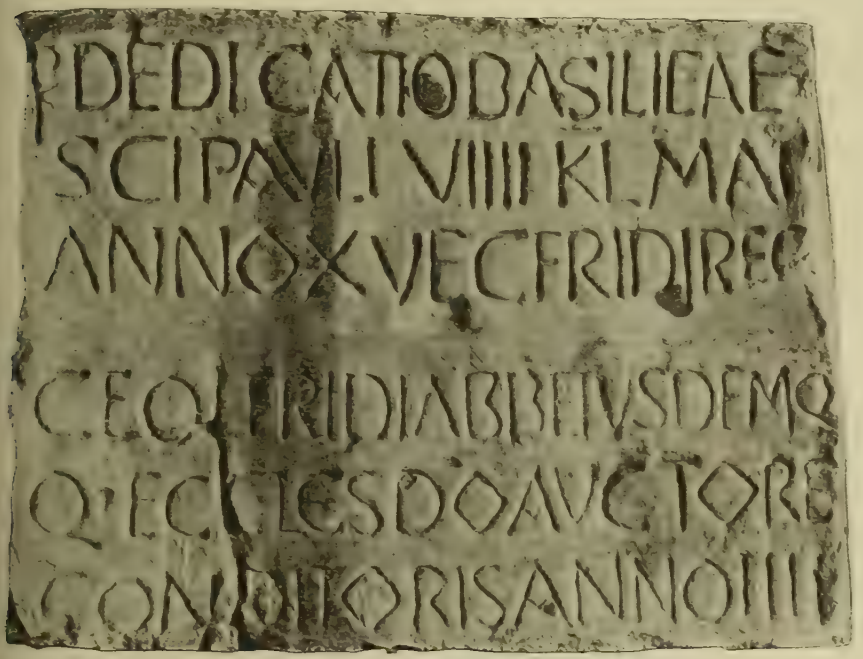
(*Said to commemorate a visit of Paulinus.*)

warmest sympathy with and love for the national poetry, of which he was evidently an ardent student, and in which we know he was an accomplished scholar.

When Bede died, in 735, the school of Jarrow, celebrated far and wide throughout the island, virtually came to an end, and the seat of Northumbrian learning w transferred from Jarrow to York. Alread in Bede's lifetime, a flourishing school learning had been established in the gre Northumbrian capital, and under bish Egbert, Bede's pupil and friend, had alread become famous. Very shortly after Bede death bishop Egbert received the pall fro Pope Gregory III., and thus became th second archbishop of York. The on one of his predecessors to whom this tit properly belongs is Paulinus, who, it wi be remembered, after the death of Edwi more than a century before, fled into Ke carrying his pall with him. None of th bishops of York, not even the famou Wilfrid, received this dignity again unt Egbert in A.D. 735, who, probably throug the influence of his family connection received the pall from Rome, and wa acknowledged as archbishop of the norther province. The commanding position Egbert was further strengthened in 73 when his brother Eadbert became kin of Northumbria.

York was a better home for the scho which Bede founded, than Jarrow in th far north. Bede's loved home was re mote, and, save for the presence of th famous scholar, comparatively unknow It was a large monastery, nothing more a group of scattered huts round th church and monastic buildings, where th scholars who resorted to the lectures Bede lived, formed the town. Difficu of access, far away from any populou centre, when the scholar who had create the school passed away, the school natu ally ceased to exist. York, under arch bishop Egbert, was very different. Lon before Bede's day it had been the chi

ity of the northern Engles, and the Northumbrian kings made it their royal eat. It had, too, a great history, and ithout exaggeration might be called ven an imperial city. There the emperor everus died. There, too, Constantine was roclaimed emperor. It had been the ost famous city of the Romans during




STONE OVER THE CHANCEL ARCH IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, JARROW, RECORDING THE COMPLETION OF THE BUILDING IN A.D. 685.*

*(Probably a copy of the Original Stone)*

tir period of rule in Britain; it was a known name even on the continent of Europe. In the beginning of the eighth century, it had arisen from its ruins and was again a flourishing city, with a large and thriving population.

Egbert the archbishop, Bede's pupil and friend, to whom was addressed the celebrated letter from the dying scholar already spoken of, was admirably fitted to establish and to promote a school of learning. Although not an original thinker or a great writer like his master Bede, he was a profound scholar, with an ardent love of books and learning; and believed that the Christian religion could be best advanced among the Engle people by fostering among them a love for learning. It seems a strange, almost an incredible thing that in a remote age, among a

* In English the inscription runs: "The dedication of the basilica of St. Paul on the 9th of the Kalends of May, in the 15th year of King Egfrith, and in the 4th year of Ceolfrid, Abbot and under God founder of the said Church."

people scarcely civilised, as we should term them, many of them still pagans like their rude forefathers, such a school as Egbert's at York could have existed in the first half of the eighth century; and it is no doubt largely owing to this school, and the vast influence it exercised among the North-folk, that Christianity obtained so rapid a success, and gained so strong and permanent a hold on the affections of the conquering race. Archbishop Egbert's long unbroken rule at York, a time lasting some thirty-three years, of course contributed to the marvellous prosperity of his educational system. He had time to mature his plans, and to watch his work grow and develop.

Egbert of York was, however, something more than a powerful teacher and organiser of education. He was also a great archbishop and chief pastor, in the highest sense of the word. To him the introduction of the parochial system in the north is no doubt largely due. As we have seen in the letter Bede wrote to him in the last year of his life, under his care the building up of church life among the scattered people in the villages and hamlets of broad Northumbria, was not left to the occasional and somewhat fitful visits of monk-priests from the monasteries, but was entrusted to men who made their permanent homes among the people, dwelling among them often in remote and rarely visited districts.

Egbert was also a stern disciplinarian. The words spoken and written by that loving scholar at Jarrow, who so well grasped the dangers to which the disciples of the new religion were exposed, evidently sank deep into his heart. Some of th archbishop's rules are severe, it has bee said to excess; and the penances whic he prescribed for erring Christians ar characterised as even frightful. The idea he set before himself and his clergy an their flocks was doubtless an impossibl one; but it was a noble conception, an his teaching and example did much t advance the cause of true religion i England.

We know a good deal of the life of thi servant of Christ, who will ever occupy distinguished place in the roll of th founders of our Church of Englan Among the crowd of scholars wh thronged his school at York durin his protracted rule, was one who wa afterwards celebrated throughout Europ as the first scholar of his time, and wh strangely enough, became in after-day the counsellor and adviser in education matters of the monarch to whom th great destinies of the western world wer entrusted — the emperor Charlemagn Alcuin, Charlemagne's friend, received h early training from Egbert, and becam when still comparatively young, one of h principal assistants at York; and it through Alcuin that we learn much the inner life of Egbert and his scho In the life of Alcuin we find a picture the daily work of Egbert in his great Yo monastery. "The cares of his vast dioce would occupy, of course, the first plac As soon as he was at leisure in t morning he would send for some of t young clerks, and sitting on his cou taught them successively till noon, which time he retired to his private cha and celebrated mass. After dinner,

hich he ate sparingly, he amused himelf with hearing his pupils discuss literary uestions in his presence. In the evening e recited with them the service of comine, and then calling them in order, he ive his blessing to each as they knelt succession at his feet."*

The school of Egbert at York was mous throughout western Europe; ouths of noble birth from all parts were nt to York for instruction. Egbert mself acted as its head and principal acher, and Albert or Ethelbert as his ce-master. The archbishop lectured on vinity, and the scarcely less famous bert on grammar and on arts. It was th these teachers that Alcuin, the orld-famous friend of Charlemagne, laid te foundation of his vast knowledge.

But great though Egbert was as a nister, ceaselessly energetic and watchful a a prelate, he found time to indulge his tte for splendour and magnificence in te services of his Minster. He paid the gatest attention to the growing love for curch music, and adorned his stately chedral with the choicest work of the jeeller and the goldsmith; the figured ctains of silk of foreign manufacture, wich he procured for its adornment, are scially mentioned among his gifts. In t so-called "rude" age, the arts of embidery and of illumination of cherished manuscripts—a peculiar talent of the Celtic rch—and the crafts of working in gems and gold and silver, had steadily grown in Nthumbria. Monks loved to work at gegeous bindings for their sacred books; and some of them showed rare skill in wking in gold and silver. In wealthy minsters like York and Ripon and Hexham, the golden rood often gleamed with jewelled lines of ornament; while in these great homes of prayer and study the bindings of the gospels and the books used in the sacred offices were often most richly decorated with gold and silver, and even encrusted with precious gems.

Towards the end of his busy, useful life, Egbert was joined by his royal brother, Eadbert, the Northumbrian king, who laid aside his crown and sceptre, and, taking the tonsure, entered Egbert's monastery at York as a monk. The king lived nine quiet years with his brother the archbishop, who died, after ruling the great see for thirty-three years, in A.D. 766; the monk-king two years later. The brothers were laid side by side in one of the porches or little chapels of the cathedral.

Egbert was succeeded in the archbishopric and headship of the famous "York" school by his friend and coadjutor, Albert, who nobly carried on his master's work. For some time he was assisted by Alcuin, his old pupil, under the title of "magister scholarum." Albert, or Ethelbert, was even a greater teacher than Egbert, and under his wise rule the school of York rose still higher in general European estimation. He was an indefatigable collector of books. The library of York and its famous school under his rule and teaching reached its highest point, and positively gave an impulse to learning throughout all western Christendom.

Albert was also a great church builder. The York minster had in 741 been severely injured by fire. He erected what was virtually a new cathedral. His first care seems to have been the little chapel

* Raine, "Fasti Eboracenses."

in which Paulinus, the Roman missionary, had baptized king Edwin more than a hundred years before. This sacred spot, where that Christianity which had grown into such a lordly tree had been first planted, seems to have been regarded with great reverence in the Northumbrian church. The altar in this chapel he renovated with great care. All the sacred vessels and crucifixes were of silver or gold, and were inlaid with precious stones. A huge candelabrum of three branches hung over it, with a rood embossed with gold and silver. Round this sacred shrine Albert (Ethelbert) built his minster. In after-days Alcuin describes this church as a lofty temple set on pillars over the crypt, bright with ceilings and windows, apsidal chapels around, and containing thirty altars. Alcuin superintended the work with Eanbald, who was afterwards archbishop. This church seems to have remained uninjured, as some think, until the Norman Conquest.

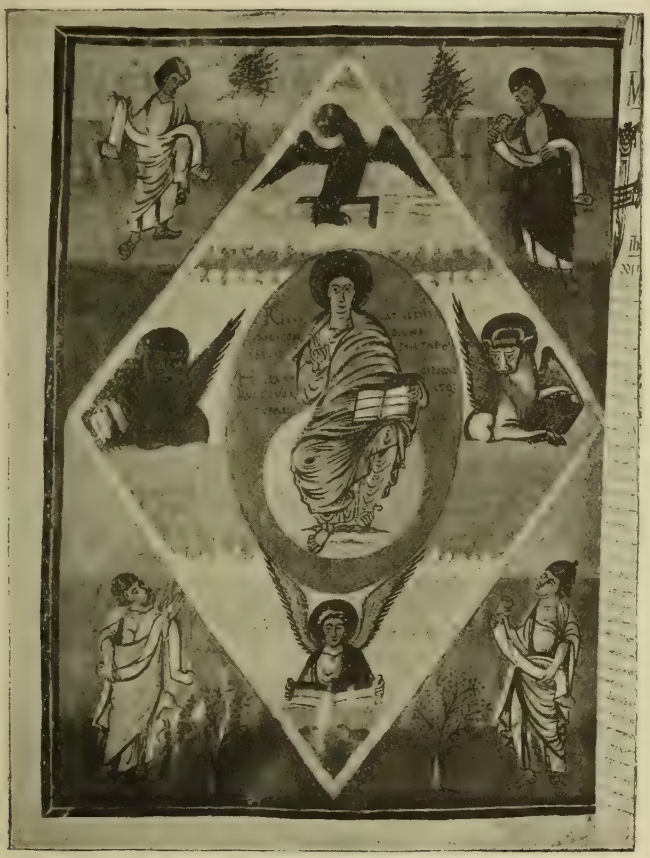
The name of one of the illustrious scholars of York has been mentioned several times. Although in his more famous subsequent career in the train of the great Frankish emperor Charlemagne, Alcuin belongs rather to the continent of Europe than to England, still, as to his nationality he was an Engle born at York, and in his early bringing up and in his career generally during early and middle life, he belongs to England. It may be well briefly to sketch his distinguished career.

Alcuin was born about the year of Bede's death, say 734–5, within the walls of the ancient Northumbrian capital. Entrusted, like many other noble Engle boys, to archbishop Egbert, he received his training in the York school unc Albert, its famous master—subsequen archbishop. Distinguished for his schol ship and evident teaching powers, Alc in the year 767 became the master the school. The period of his teachi 767–780, some twelve or thirteen yea was perhaps the age of York's great fame and influence at home and abro Returning from Rome, whither he h gone on a mission to get the pall Albert's successor in the arch-see, he m at Pavia Charlemagne, and singula attracted the great monarch. At th period the still young master of t famous Northumbrian seat of learni ranked as the most illustrious of Europe scholars. In the following year, 781–2, joined the suite of Charlemagne final and at once became busied as the adviser the all-powerful emperor in all matters co cerning education and literature, in whi Charlemagne was specially interested.

His story henceforth is no longer English one, but belongs to the larger h tory of European progress. His work a influence under the great emperor v enormous, as a founder of schools, as restorer of the knowledge of the sac languages, of the text of the Bible Service Book, and the moral vigour ecclesiastical discipline."

In the year 790 Alcuin again visi England and his old school, where so many years he had been first a pu then its master. In two years, howe he left York for ever, and devoted hin henceforth to his great foreign work. took with him a number of scholars had been educated in the Northumb school, and constantly sent to York

ooks and fresh helpers. Indeed, it is uid he drained York of its best scholars. None of this work of Alcuin on the ontinent of Europe is part of the story the huge Frankish dominion became the home of literature; the patron of learning was no longer a small provincial king like Eadbert (of Northumbria), with



PAGE FROM ALCUIN'S BIBLE (*British Museum*).

the Church of England; but it belongs the glory of our church, "to say that was an English scholar of York who, eactly at the right time, bore off to the ontinent the whole of English learning, ad out of English learning built up a w world. . . Instead of a little and cing kingdom in the north of England, his power trembling to its fall, but the man who in a few years became the head of the holy Roman Empire; and the glory of that great title and all that it meant threw its glamour and its dignity over letters. They marched with the Empire's march, and took of its youth and energy. Alcuin of York led them, nourished them,

established them. The seat of learning was thus no longer in England, but the new city was built with stones from England."* This is one of the works of the Church of England, and the church of York with its school—the school really of Bede—may well boast of being its founder and origin.

Eanbald, Albert's friend and coadjutor, succeeded him in 781–782. But from that time the famous school of York began rapidly to decline. Nor are the reasons for the rapid decay of this brilliant centre of Christian learning and scholarship hard to find. During the fourteen years of the rule of Eanbald things were going from bad to worse. The school lived on it is true, but its glory had faded; no assistance, as heretofore, was given by the kings and thanes to the teachers and their great church. The life of king and thane was spent in internal dissensions between rival claimants to the throne. King after king of Northumbria we read of as exiled or murdered. Four of these shadowy monarchs perished in Eanbald's sad fifteen years of rule at York. Naturally these fierce political troubles, these bloody intrigues, these murders of the highest in the realm, created a state of things in which no quiet home of learning could hope to flourish. After the fifteen years of Eanbald's rule things even grew worse. Pupils shunned distracted Northumbria. We hear during this period of anarchy and misrule, less and less of the once famous school, or of the world-famed library of the glorious minster-church. The close of the melancholy story in 827 is told with scornful abruptness the pages of the Saxon Chronicle. "A Egbert (the West Saxon king) led army to Dore against the North-Hu brians, and they offered him their ob dience and allegiance, and with that th separated."

Nor within the church of the nort during this period of rapid decay, we things more promising. The clergy b came more and more luxurious in the way of life, the parish priests lost learning. The archbishop himself seem to have lived more like a temporal tha a spiritual prince. Soldiers and courtie attended him as he went about his dioces Alcuin writes plaintively from the cou of Charlemagne to his old loved scho "hoping that sacred studies would not b neglected at York, and that all the pai he took in collecting books would not b labour lost." The mournful words in o of the decrees of the synod of Pincahal held in A.D. 787, are well styled by modern writer as "the epitaph" Northumbria—of her poetry, her liter ture, and her famous school: all is n weakness, indifference, and darkness. T sad words of the decree in question r as follows: "There were days when had righteous kings and dukes a bishops, of whose wisdom Northumb still smells sweetly."

So much for the rapid decay in st and church, which so quickly sapped t prosperity of the world-famed school York, for a time the most popular school Christian learning in Europe. So mu for the state of matters within the Nor umbrian realm: without, a dark cloud slowly gathering, which was shortly

* Stopford Brooke, "Early English Literature."

reak over all England. The northern ea-pirates were already collecting in vast umbers, and preparing for that awful series f plunder-raids which were to harry the nhappy country of the Engle and Saxon or more than a hundred years. It was a emesis on these stern and cruel conuering races. The lands they had won t the cost of so much misery and woe rom the Briton, they were never to enjoy n peace, in spite of their adoption of Christianity, in spite of their noble and nexampled progress in true learning and n the arts of an advanced civilisation. A dreadful blow was now to fall—indeed, bolt from the blue, so unlooked-or, so unexpected it was. In 793 ome long war-ships manned by Vikings —sea-pirates from those northern seas, which break on the Norway and Danish oasts—suddenly landed on the Northmbrian sea-board. Their bloody and detructive raid extended far and wide. They ravaged the coasts and burned the miling prosperous Engle villages; they plundered the monastery of Lindisfarne, rich in the glorious memories of Aidan and Cuthbert; they burned the holy houses ot Wearmouth and Jarrow, with all the priceless treasures collected by the loving care of Benedict Biscop and Bede.

When the news of the slaying of the monks and the awful ruin of these great homes of piety and learning, with their splendid traditions, their noble libraries and curious treasures, reached Northumbrian Alcuin in his home with the emperor Charlemagne in Gaul, he wrote: "He who can hear of this calamity and not cry to God on behalf of his country, has a heart not of flesh but of stone. The most venerable place in Britain, where Christianity first took root among us after Paulinus went away from York, is a prey to heathen men." "This is the beginning of a greater trouble to come," said the famous scholar in a sermon preached by him at this time. Were the words of Alcuin prophecy?

SAXON DOORWAY, MONK-WEARMOUTH.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### ENGLISH CHRISTIANITY IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.

The English Church a bond of Union—Summary of the History of the Saxon and Engle Kingdoms—Growing Importance and Power of Wessex—Egbert—His Training under Charlemagne—Fir King of England—Christian Life among the People—Attractions of the Monastic Life, shown b the Number of Royal Recluses—Influence of the Monasteries on Daily Life—On Art—On Stud —Love of Dress in Nunneries—Promotion of Learning—Great Influence of the Church toward National Unity—Change in the Customs and Daily Life of the People—Influence upon Agricultu —Prevalence of Pilgrimage—Endowments of the Church during this Period.

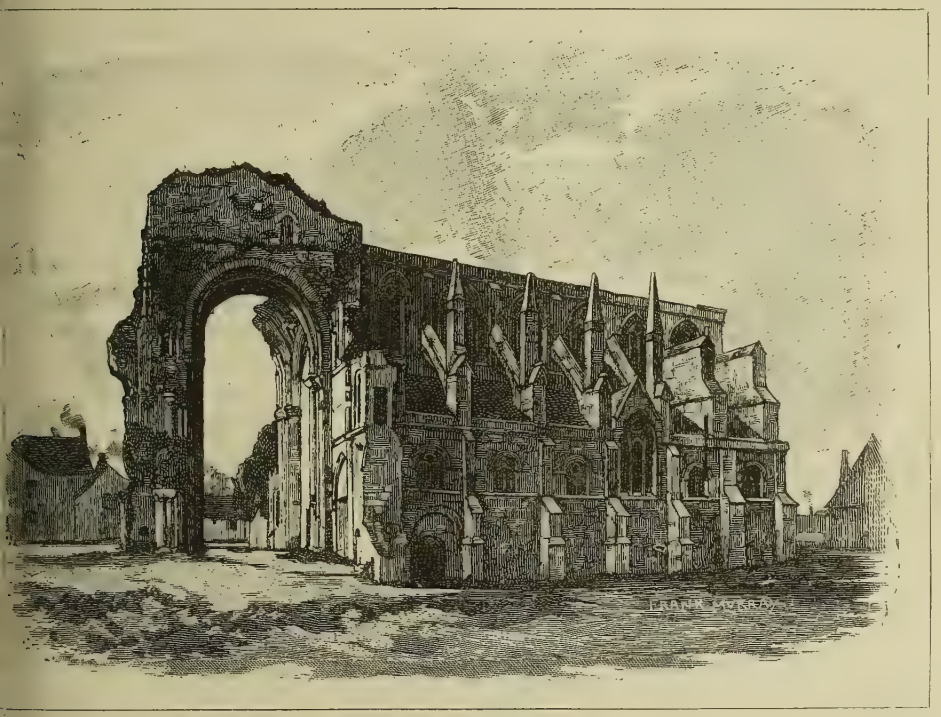
THE history of Wessex and the south of England during the period upon which we have been dwelling, for the Church historian presents but few features of interest outside the influence exercised by the school of Canterbury founded by Theodore and Hadrian, and by their great disciple Aldhelm of Malmesbury. The story of Mercia during the same period contains even less of moment for the student of church history. The episodes of Wilfrid and Chad at Lichfield, their work and influence in the Midlands, have been already dwelt upon ; but both these distinguished men were Northumbrians, and their career was closely bound up with the fortunes of the North Engle kingdom.

For more than a century, ever since the death of the famous organising archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, in 690, until, roughly, the accession of king Egbert in 802, the church for which Theodore and his assistants—men like Hadrian—had devised a wise organisation, and which they had fairly succeeded in welding into unity, exercised a widespread influence over the whole land. The country, it is true, was split up into several states, more or less wrapped up in their own interests, scarcely even recognising that they forme part of one great nation. But amidst th divergence of interests there was on church, which in some respects boun them all together: one primate; on organisation; one set of rules and laws a common faith; a common ritual. Th church's work and influence in the eventu welding together of England into on nation was without doubt very great, an has rarely been appreciated at its re value. This will be seen if we brief summarise the history of the chief king doms into which the conquered islan was divided during the age of the settl ment of the conquerors of Britain— period of about a century and thr quarters.

The story of *Northumbria*—the lan north of the Humber—the country the North Engle, including Scotland far as the Forth, the northern counti and Yorkshire, has been told with son detail, as it was the principal centre interest in Britain during the momento time of the settlement of the conquerors a period, roughly comprehended, betwe 605–782—that is to say, from the ye of the death of Augustine to the ye when archbishop Albert (or Ethelbe

icated the newly built minster church York just before his death.

'he whole of the centre of the island known as *Mercia*—the country of Middle Engles—including generally the land counties south of Yorkshire, the



MALMESBURY ABBEY. *Photo: William Hank, Malmesbury.*

tern counties of Cheshire and Shrop-e, and the districts watered by the ern; as well as the eastern counties, land of the East Engles, which for the ter portion of the time under consider-n was included in the supremacy of cia. We have seen how, in the middle he seventh century, under the heathen da, Mercia rose for a season to be the f power in Britain; but its power was eventually broken at the decisive battle of the Winwaed, in 655, when Penda was slain by the Northumbrian king, Oswiu. Again, under Penda's son, Wulfhere, in the year 665, Mercia became for a time the dominant power in the island; but Wulfhere was eventually defeated by the Northumbrians, in 675, and again Mercia lost her temporary supremacy. Once more, after many years, in the year 718, a man of rare power, Ethelbald, a son of Alweo, a brother of the great heathen Penda, was raised to the throne of the Midlands, and under him Mercia became again for a time the leading state in England. For more than twenty years

its king was recognised as the overlord at least in the middle and southern parts of the island; but in 754 the West Saxons defeated him at a great battle at Burford; and from that day we hear no more of any enduring supremacy of Mercia. For a time, it is true, under Offa—a kinsman of Ethelbald, and who succeeded

OFFA'S DOMINIONS.

him on the throne of Mercia—the Midland Engles were powerful. Offa was a great statesman, and recognising the growing weight and vast influence of the church, in 787, with the consent of the Roman see, he raised the see of Lichfield into an archbishopric; but this was no lasting arrangement, and we soon find Lichfield a simple bishopric again. In 828 Mercia passed finally under the supremacy of Wessex.

During all this period no very distinguished Mercian appears in the ranks of the great makers of the Church England. Wilfrid, in his exile, twice least resided for a lengthened time in Midlands, and for some years occupied position of bishop of Lichfield, the c Mercian see. Chad also lived and wor under the protection of the Merc sovereign of the day, as bishop of Lichf and chief pastor of Mercia. But Wil and Chad were Northumbrians, and th presence in Mercia may be almost ter accidental. During even the Merc portion of their lives, they were e closely connected with Northumb Under these eminent missionary bish and others of less general notoriety, Me gradually became Christian. But Me occupied no place like Northumbria an influential home of missionary en prise. Again, as a *literary* centre we h nothing of the Midland kingdom — school whence issued distinguished scho and writers, like Aldhelm and Bede Cædmon, who, with their pupils, so pow fully influenced the conquerors in th movement in the direction of Christian Among the early scholars and writers the Church of England we find no dis guished Mercian names. The schools Canterbury and Malmesbury, of Whit of Jarrow, and of York, whence iss the great Christian teachers of the Engl of the North-folk, lay outside the Merc realm.

The third of the leading kingdoms these Northmen conquerors—Wesse possesses a very different record. Wes —the land of the West Saxons—inclu what may be termed the fairest richest portions of England. Gener speaking, it was supreme after the year

Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, kshire, Sussex, Wilts, Hampshire, ucestershire; and gradually it spread stward over Dorset and Somerset and n further west, over lands inhabited by remnant of the old British inhabitants he island. But for a considerable period strength of Wessex was broken, and influence in Britain was hopelessly imed, by the long and bloody struggle the throne between the royal lines of two brothers—Ceawlin and Cutha, o lived in the last quarter of the sixth tury—the descendants of the original st Saxon conqueror, Cerdic. It was until after 625 that Wessex really erged from the throes of this fatal test of the rival royal houses.

eadwalla, a prince of Ceawlin's royal , after crushing the rival princes of West Saxons, ascended the throne, hering all the West Saxon peoples beth his sceptre, and thus in 685 established a powerful supremacy of West ons throughout the whole of the th of England. But it was really ler Ceadwalla's successor, Ina, that ssex may be said for the first time have become an important power the island. The seventh century was wing to its close, when the West ons assumed the position among the quering peoples of England to which ir great numbers and the unrivalled ition of their territory would seem fairly have entitled them. Ina's reign (A.D. to 726) over Wessex, although ceaselly filled up with wars—both domestic foreign, at home and also with the rcians, his ambitious neighbours—condated the West Saxon power. He was the acknowledged over-lord of that large and important division of England which lay between the sea-coast of Essex, and the west country which looks to Exeter as its capital. Winchester, London, Bath, and Exeter were among his cities. It was in his days and under his strong protection that Aldhelm, whose life and influence we have already sketched, lived and worked.

Ina seems to have been something more than a valiant and skilful commander, for he welded his widely-extended dominions into one solid realm; and the code of laws which bears his name, and which still remains to us, shows us that he was a wise and far-seeing king in the true sense of the word. Strangely enough, like his predecessor king Ceadwalla, he too grew weary of the ceaseless anxieties and restless cares of such a royalty, and laying down crown and sceptre, sought peace as a quiet pilgrim to Rome, where he died in 726.

After his abdication, once more Wessex was distracted with its own internal dissensions; and for a time its powerful neighbours, Mercia and Mid-Britain, were the dominant power in England south of Yorkshire. But after the pitched battle of Burford between Mercia and Wessex in the year 754, in which Mercia was utterly routed, the West Saxons recovered their supremacy, and Mercia at once sank into a subordinate place. During the years which followed the West Saxon victory over Mercia at Burford, Wessex gradually pushed forward its frontier over the beautiful and fertile lands westward of Exeter, still dwelt in by the old dispossessed British people; and in 786 we find the West Saxon ruling in the west as far

as the banks of the Tamar, though the power and influence of this West Saxon people was sadly maimed after Ina's abdication, by the renewal of those internal dissensions which had been their bane for nearly two hundred years. The coveted succession to the crown of Wessex was disputed by two lineal descendants of Ceawlin, the old West Saxon conqueror—the princes Beorhtric and Egbert. The former got the upper hand, and Egbert became a fugitive, and took refuge, first with king Offa in Mercia, and later, when king Offa sided with his rival Beorhtric, at the splendid court of the mighty emperor Charlemagne on the Continent. This was in A.D. 787.

Egbert spent some fifteen years abroad, and a silence broods over this long period of the exile of the West Saxon prince; but it was, no doubt, in the company of the great emperor and his ministers that Egbert laid the foundations of his future greatness. Such a court as that of Charlemagne—the master of all the Teutonic peoples, lord of an empire stretching from the North Sea shores to the Mediterranean in the far south—had never been seen since the days of the greatest of the Roman emperors. From the lips of the great emperor himself, from men like Alcuin, Charlemagne's friend and adviser, Egbert the exile learned the deep wisdom and the profound statecraft which in after-days enabled him to become the over-lord and, in a measure, the first king of a united England; for in his day Mercia and Northumbria both acknowledged the supremacy of Wessex.

His long period of exile came to an end in 802, for on the death of his rival, king Beorhtric, Egbert was called to t throne of Wessex. Our work dealing w the Church of England rather than w the state, it would be beyond our plan enter into any detail of Egbert's gr reign. During his long rule, which tended over thirty-seven years, Wes obtained supremacy over the last fragm of British dominion in the west, a Cornwall acknowledged the over-lords of the West Saxon. This was in the y 815. But the arms of Egbert and West Saxons were not only victori over the poor remnant of the conque British people in the extreme west; 828 the whole of Mid-England, the rea of Engle Mercia, for the first time knowledged a foreign over-lord in the pers of the West Saxon Egbert; and even t great submission of the Midlands failed satisfy the far-reaching ambition of Wessex sovereign. The same year wh witnessed the acquiescence of Mercia in supremacy of Wessex, saw the invasion Northumbria by the armies of the succe ful conqueror.

We have already briefly traced decline of the Northumbrian kingdo Years of ceaseless internal troubles, anarc and misrule; a dim terror of what future might hold in store for them if dreaded sea pirates of the north, alrea harrying their coasts and burning th most cherished sanctuaries, should foll up their first successful raids—all t seems to have quenched the old En spirit of the days of Edwin and Oswi and at the first summons of the conqueri West Saxon monarch, without a battle o struggle, the Northumbrian thanes n Egbert on their frontier in Derbyshire, a

CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE AT ROME.

*(From the Picture by Prof. F. Kaulbach in the National Gallery, Berlin.)*

quietly accepted him as their over-lord. What we should call the national struggle for "Home Rule" in the northern and midland counties by the children of the North and Mid-Engles was by no means ended; but the struggle, though often renewed, never broke up the chain of union between the Engle and Saxon peoples which Egbert had forged, first in Mercia, and then at Dore on the Northumbrian border. The later legend, which styles Egbert the West Saxon, king of England, perhaps anticipates; but, as our historian reminds us, from that eventful year of grace, 827, "one great England was made in fact, if not as yet in name."

In this necessarily brief sketch of the history of the three great kingdoms into which the England of the Anglo-Saxon conquerors was divided in the seventh and eighth centuries—Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex—no mention has been made of the little East Saxon kingdom, and of the yet more important divisions of Kent and East Anglia. At a comparatively speaking early date the East Saxons ceased to have a separate existence; their territory was quickly merged in the dominion of their powerful neighbours and kinsmen in Wessex.

*Kent* has a more distinct history. Its importance naturally was chiefly derived from the position of Canterbury within its borders, Canterbury being the seat of the primate, and the home of a famous school of learning; the seat of the archbishop of a church yearly growing in importance and in far-reaching influence. But Kent for a very long period could hardly claim even the shadow of independence; Wessex ever overshadowed it, and the sovereign of Wessex was, with perhaps brief interva its acknowledged over-lord.

*East Anglia*, the home and realm the once mighty Redwald, the solita East Anglian king who exercised any re supremacy beyond his own borders, r mains alone to be spoken of. This ir portant division of the island, extendi roughly from the shores of the Wash the frontiers of the East Saxon territo in the south, Essex, and from the lo sea-board on the North Sea to the u determined boundaries of midland Merc loved again and again to assert its i dependence of the powerful kinsfolk w dwelt westward and northward, the Midd and Northern Engles. But though claimed, it seems rarely to have enjoy the independent position it longed fo and to one or other of the Northumbrian Mercian monarchs it had, with brief interva of a semi-independence, ever to submit over-lord. And when Mercia eventual bowed beneath the supremacy of Egbe and the West Saxons, East Anglia, course, passed with Mercia without a strugg under the same domination, and became province of the united Anglo-Saxon realn By a strange fate, however, the gre *Engle* race—northern, middle, and easter —while consenting to pass under the *Saxo* supremacy of Wessex, gave their name t the great nation thus made up—*Engl* land or *England*.

We have been dwelling on the life an influence of a few great ones, round whor all general church history in the sevent and eighth centuries clusters. Of thes prominent figures we are able to dra fairly accurate pictures: we know muc

of their views, their hopes and outlooks, their misgivings and fears, their successes and their failures. We possess memoirs and chronicles, some of them written by men who had seen and conversed familiarly as friend with friend with the subject of their memoir or biography. From these writings we gather many details concerning the private life of these leaders of men—of these founders and builders of our Church in England. These are pictures of the life—public and private—of earnest and impassioned missionaries like Cuthbert and Chad; of great statesmen-bishops and church organisers like Wilfrid and Theodore; of great and world-famous scholars like Hadrian, Aldhelm of Malmesbury, and the saintly Bede of Jarrow; of women whose vast influence was second to none of these famous men, such as Hilda of Whitby, and Etheldreda—somewhile queen—the greatly loved abbess and foundress of Ely in the Fen country.

But what of the Christian life among the people in these two centuries? We have few details here. We know in these early times but little of this life outside the monasteries, or of any teaching other than that given by monk-priests, who from their monastic houses as centres went out to different rural stations to baptize, to preach, and celebrate all the ceremonies of worship, and to which, when their work was temporarily done, they returned as their permanent homes. English Christianity at first, certainly for these two centuries of which we are speaking, was specially monastic. Rural and town parishes were formed but slowly under the influence of archbishop Theodore of Canterbury in the south, and archbishop Egbert of York in the north. The decrees of the Council of Cloveshoe, in 747, are the earliest authentic documents which speak of the distribution of lay-lands under the government of bishops, in distinction from churches situated in lands belonging to monasteries, and under the control of their abbots. At the close of the next century (the ninth), in spite of the havoc and confusion which resulted from the cruel Danish harryings, we find at length unmistakable traces of the growth of a parochial organisation in the English church. For instance, we find on the confines of Mercia, in the diocese of Worcester, an estate at Woodchester, not far from Gloucester, with "a citizen's priest" resident upon it, occupying a position well defined and secure. But during the seventh and eighth centuries, the monasteries supplied in England the place of parish churches; and it is to the great monastic communities that we must look when we seek for the real centres of Christianity.

These religious houses in those early days must have not only possessed a vast influence, and exercised a far-reaching power, but they must have been centres of real and very earnest religious life, to have attracted within their walls so many royal and noble persons willing to give up their earthly rank and power and possessions, and to throw in their lot for ever with the nameless brethren of a monastic community.

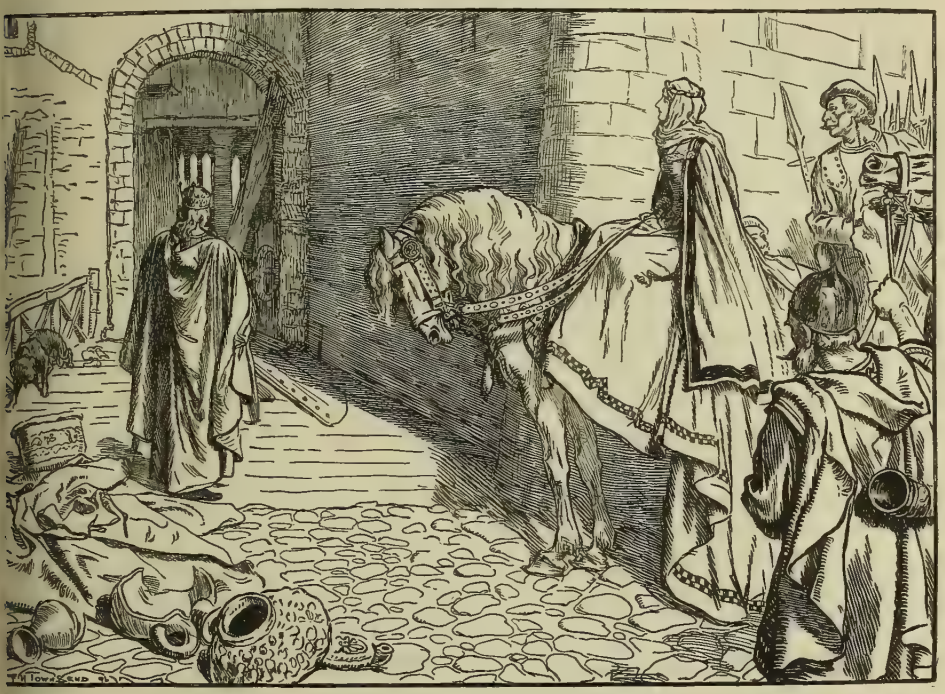
Kings and princes from all, or well-nigh all, the ruling houses of the Engle, Saxon, and Jutish conquerors of Britain, in their turn assumed the cowl of a monk. Comparatively early in the story of English Christianity we have mentioned Sigebert,

king of East Anglia, who retired to a cloister, but was afterwards persuaded by the urgent entreaties of his subjects to leave his peaceful retreat and to lead them against that determined foe of Christianity, Penda of Mercia, falling in the battle and rout of his subjects. Sebbi, king of the little kingdom of the East Saxons—Essex and Middlesex—died a monk in 695, and the vast stone coffin of this cowled sovereign was looked upon for a thousand years by the citizens of London as it lay in St. Paul's, until it was destroyed by the Great Fire in the days of Charles II. Another king of Essex, Offa, accompanied by Coenred, sovereign of Mercia, laid aside the insignia of his high office early in the eighth century, and the monk-kings, proceeding as pilgrims to Rome, died there as simple monks. In Mercia the predecessor of this Coenred, Ethelred, Penda's son, a few years before had exchanged his crown for a cowl, and for ten years ruled the monastery of Bardeney. This Ethelred we have already spoken of as bishop Wilfrid's devoted friend, who received the great exile and showed him such warm friendship after Wilfrid returned from Rome. In Wessex the first Christian king, Centwin, in the year 685, after a war-filled reign, retired into one of the monasteries he had been instrumental in founding. Ceadwalla, his successor, also abdicated, and died in Rome, whither he had gone as a pilgrim, in 689.*

Of his successor Ina, the friend of Aldhelm of Malmesbury — whose long reign of thirty-seven years is remembered principally from his famous code of laws, "The Dooms of Ina"—a curious tale is told of the immediate cause of becoming a cowled monk. His queen long been desirous to lay down her r state, and wished to induce king Ina, husband, to consent to this, and to g up the world with her. A great banq had been given in one of the royal coun palaces. On the morning after the festi the king and queen rode forth on th journey to another of their residences. was the custom for the courts of th early Saxon kings constantly to tra from one estate to another, and thus consume on the spot the varied prod of the royal demesnes. After riding an hour or two, the queen asked Ina return; on reaching the royal house th had recently quitted, he was dismayed find it deserted and desecrated—the ve bed on which he had slept the night bef was occupied by a sow with her litt The queen Ethelburga—who had arrang this strange sight—with great fervour th dilated on the awful change which h passed over the scene of the feast yesterday. "Where," she asked, "we all the courtiers, the splendid silver dish the delicate meats, the purple hangin of the rooms? See," said the eloque queen, "all has vanished like smoke; a those who love these perishing things sh in like manner pass away. Shall not w who fare more delicately than other me shall we not," pointing to the repulsi sight of the sow and her litter, "fall in still more miserable corruption than oth men?" It is a strange legend, but shows how deeply the thought of jud ment to come had entered into t hearts of the Woden-descended kings a princes of the Saxon and Engle race

* *Cf.* Montalembert's "Monks of the West."

Ina, we know, abdicated, as did so many of these crowned chieftains, and went, with his queen, Ethelburga, on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died in the obscurity he sought. Ethelburga became subsequently a nun in England.



SCENE UPON INA'S RETURN (*p.* 288).

Nor was this strange passion for making their homes in the great monasteries confined to kings and princes and thanes; a similar attraction drew a still greater number of the queens and princesses and noble ladies among the Engle and Saxon peoples to these new homes of prayer and study. A great number of names of cloistered women drawn from such ranks in those times are preserved to us. The stories of Hilda, Ebba, Elfleda—royal abbesses in Northumbria—have already come before us. In Kent, early in the seventh century, Ethelburga, widow of king Edwin of Northumbria, the daughter of Ethelbert, the Jutish king, founded the nunnery of Lyminge, near Folkestone. Her tomb is still shown in that most ancient church. Her niece Eanswitha founded the first house of God at Folkestone, and her name is still revered in the well-known Folkestone church dedicated to the Jutish princess. This Eanswitha's nunnery became not only a home of learning, but a school of agriculture. She died in 640. Minster, in the Isle of Thanet, owes its foundation to another once famous cloistered lady of the same royal

house, Domneva, whose daughter again succeeded her as abbess of the same house of Minster, and won among the people an enduring popularity and admiration under the once well-known and venerated name of Mildred. This royal house gave several others of its daughters as nuns to the church.

In Mercia and the Midlands, strangely enough, the family of the last notorious heathen king, Penda, the hero of so many desperate fights against his Christian countrymen, furnishes, perhaps, more instances than any of the other royal houses of the conquerors, of ardent and devoted women who gave up all for the sake of that cloister life which so quickly and firmly had taken hold of the minds and hearts of the North-folk settlers in Britain. From the year 635 to 654 king Anna reigned over that important division of the Engle race settled in East Anglia, the Eastern counties; king Anna was one of the many victims of the wars of Penda. He fell in a battle with the heathen Mercian sovereign, in 654. Three daughters and a son were born to him. This son also had three daughters, who all became nuns; two were in succession abbesses of Hackness in Yorkshire, a house founded by Hilda of Whitby, and the third was abbess of Repton. The three daughters of king Anna, who also took the veil, occupied a distinguished position in the monastic church of the seventh century. All the three were reckoned among the early saints of the Church. The youngest, Withburga, founded a small religious house at Dereham, in Norfolk, and attained among the people of the county a great influence and possessed an extraordinary reputation for sanctity. Etheldreda, t eldest of the three sisters, became, it w be remembered, the queen of Egfrid Northumbria, whom she—following, as is to be feared, the advice of bishop Wilf —left to become a nun. This Etheldre after many strange adventures, found the celebrated monastery of Ely, a subsequently ranked as one of the m popular and revered saints of the Ang Saxon church. Her sister Sexbur queen and subsequently regent of Ke succeeded her as abbess of the gr East Anglian monastery, which she ru for twenty years, dying in 699. H daughter Ermenilda married a king Mercia, one of Penda's sons. This E menilda in turn became abbess of El her daughter, after a long life as a n ended her days as abbess after her mot of the same famous house.

This somewhat dry list of leading p sonages of both sexes who adopted monastic life in the seventh and eig centuries, will give some idea of the ext ordinary fascination which "the religi life" possessed, in the early years of adoption of Christianity, for the conque of Britain. The instances in each have been chosen out of the reign families of Kent, Northumbria, Wes Mercia, East Anglia, and Essex, and clude in their number not a few sovere princes and queens.

What, now, was the influence of th monasteries and nunneries, scattered such numbers all over the conque island, upon the every-day life of people generally? For it must be membered that these monasteries were centres whence came all, or well-nigh

LION OF ST. MARK, AN ILLUMINATION FROM THE BOOK OF DURROW.

*(Original at Trinity College, Dublin.*

:he authoritative religious teaching at work n the seventh and eighth centuries: in :his period there was scarcely any parochial ›rganisation apart from the monasteries.

First and chiefest must be ranked the ]uiet moral influence which these great com- nunities exercised, by the example of their ›wn lives of self-denial, prayer, and study; ›y their schools for the young; by their :onstant preaching and exhortation. The nonasteries of that early age were no mere :ommunities of ascetics occupied in work- ng out their own salvation, separated from he people round them; they were from he first, diligent missionaries, perpetually 'oing in and out of the homes of the people, :olding services in the remotest spots— 'raying, teaching, preaching everywhere. 'he monasteries were their homes, their ead-quarters, whither they returned eriodically from their preaching and eaching circuits; their homes for refresh- ıent, study, and prayer, whence, after a eason of rest and, apparently, of study, ıey would sally forth and recommence 'resh their public ministrations. This 'as the life evidently led by these great thers of the faith. Aidan so used Lindis- 'rne as his centre of work; Cuthbert made .d Melrose his centre before he went to indisfarne, which subsequently became is monastic home.

We have a letter written to St. Boniface, ıen at work on the Continent, written in ıe middle of the eighth century by an ıglish abbot, a friend of Aldhelm, and 'ained in the school of Malmesbury, which :ts before us clearly the aims of these early 'onastic teachers. "To overcome the ›stinacy of the heathen, to fertilise the :ony and barren soil of their hearts, pains must be taken not to insult or irritate them, but all care must be adopted to set before them our doctrines with unfailing moderation and gentleness, so as to make them blush at their foolish superstitions without exasperating them."

Nor was the power exercised by the monasteries only a moral influence. Thanks to the high favour in which these Christian communities were held by the early Engle and Saxon princes, not a few of whom were devoted adherents of the new faith, the bishops and abbots of the more important religious houses, and even abbesses, had a seat in the great national councils; and through their persuasions severe penalties were decreed against apostates, drunkards, transgressors against morality, violators of the Sunday rest, and the like; while a new feeling of care for the poor, the slave, and the oppressed, unknown previously, became general. The duty of soothing suffering and remedying wrong and injustice was recognised in a way undreamed of hitherto, as through the work of the monasteries Christian influences permeated the nation.

Let us glance for a brief space into the *interior* of one or two of these ancient prayer-homes, which exercised so powerful an influence upon the English peoples. We shall at once mark the strange contrast between the life lived in these communities, and the aims and ends pursued in them, and the life lived by the immediate ancestors of these monks and nuns—the rude, heathen conquerors of Britain; whose highest ideal was bravery in their robber warfare; whose ideas of art were founded almost entirely in the adornment of their

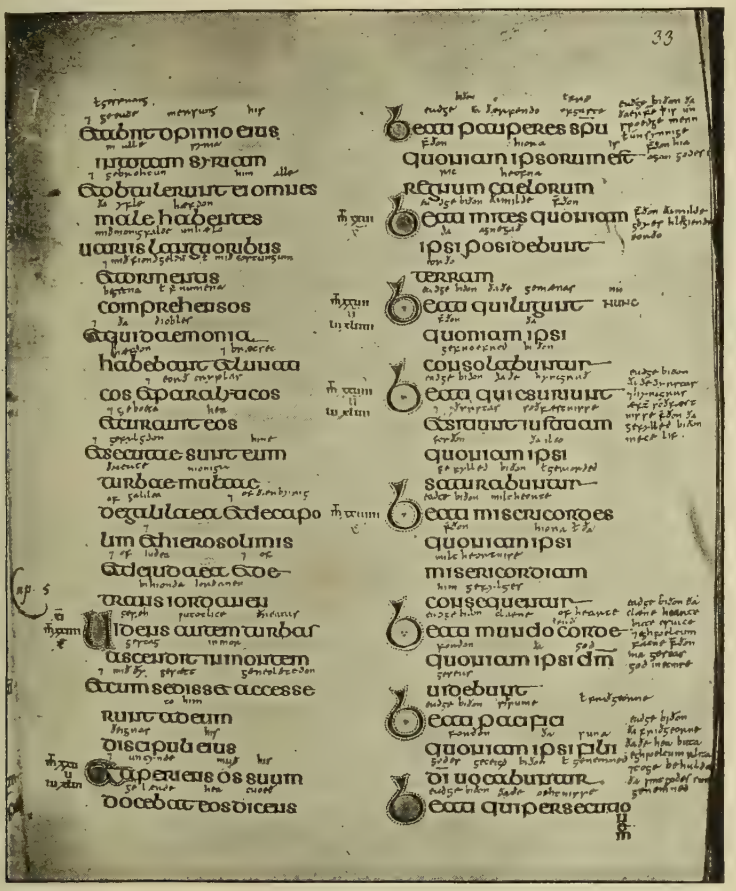
weapons of attack and defence, and perhaps of their warships; whose hopes of a future life, as far as they suffered the unseen to influence them here, were strictly limited to a reproduction of the scenes of fighting and carousing in the midst of which they lived, and in which they delighted. It seems almost incredible that the immediate descendants of such a wild, rude, warlike race could in so brief a time adapt themselves to so changed a life, to so different an ideal, to such new hopes. The mainspring, however, of that changed life must never be lost sight of. It was the love for that Redeemer, of whose work among men these hitherto untutored North-folk had never heard, which alone effected the swift and mighty change.

The large majority of the Engle and Saxon monasteries were governed by the rule of St. Benedict, which, as we have seen, very soon superseded the stricter and more austere rule of the Irish Columban and the teachers of the Celtic school of monasticism, in England as on the continent of Europe. This rule of St. Benedict, though less austere than the Celtic monastic practice, was very precise in insisting upon study. It required of every monk four hours daily for reading—that is, for study of some kind. In many of the more important houses, schools existed for the training of children entrusted to the charge of the monks of the community. These at a comparatively very early period became veritable centres of intellectual life. Really great libraries were in many instances collected for the use of the inmates; and what we have seen in our picture of Bede's life at Jarrow was repeated on a similar, though perhaps on a smaller scale, in mar another English monastery. The scho of Bede and the library of Benedict Bisco in the two well-known houses of Wea mouth and Jarrow, were only striking i stances of what was being done in numero other communities which flourished in tl seventh and eighth centuries. St. Jerome precept was precious among the mona teries: "Have a book always in your har or under your eyes." And Bede's wor were true of many an unknown schola monk when he said, "It had always bee delightful to him either to learn, to teac or to write."

Though Latin seems to have been tl language which both monks and nuns the days of Aldhelm and Bede aim at possessing, and using in their servic in their correspondence, and in the writings, yet Latin in the Saxon ar Engle houses was evidently an exot Special provision was made—we have see it already in Bede's letter to archbisho Egbert: it was the subject also of speci directions issued in church councils of th age—that the *vernacular* English shou be used in their public ministrations, or least that explanations should be given any Latin ritual; the epistle and gospel the day, for instance, were always to l expounded to the people in Englis Translations into English of the Old ar the New Testaments were circulat freely. Aldhelm and Bede early in tl eighth century are said to have complete translated—the one the Psalter, the oth the Old and New Testament.

It may seem on first thoughts a curio remark to allude to "art" in speaking these early English monasteries; but

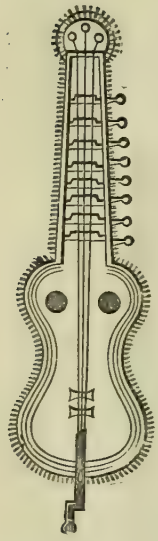
truth "art," using the word in its full signification, was by no means unknown in these almost forgotten homes of prayer and study, which had so much to do with



THE BEATITUDES, FROM THE LINDISFARNE GOSPEL-BOOK (*British Museum*).

building up our Church of England. Benedict Biscop was, as we have already seen, the great encourager of art in the latter part of the seventh century; and he and bishop Wilfrid introduced a really noble ecclesiastical *architecture* among the monasteries in the north of Britain. Wilfrid's stately architectural works at Hexham and Ripon, completed before the end of the seventh century, have been already alluded to; as also the work of Biscop in adorning the walls of his buildings with paintings of Scriptural subjects.

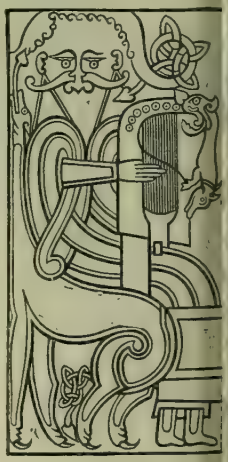
Another kind of "art" was practised in these Engle and Saxon prayer-homes, in which the monks attained a very high proficiency—viz., the copying and adorning



ORGANISTRUM OF THE 9TH CENTURY.

of manuscripts, and the binding of the more precious of these volumes with rich and costly bindings. The magnificent Book of the Gospels which bishop Wilfrid before the last quarter of the seventh century laid upon the altar of his Ripon monastic church, on the morning of its solemn consecration, was written in letters of gold upon purple vellum, and its binding was covered with plates of gold encrusted with precious gems. The Lindisfarne or Durham Gospel-book, now in the British Museum, was written in the holy house of Lindisfarne "for God and St. Cuthbert" by Eadfrith, bishop of that see, in 698–721, and was adorned with paintings by Ethelwald, a monk of the house under the same Eadfrith. These paintings, still before us, consist of elaborate designs in spiral and interlaced work, and figures of the Evangelists. They are specially interesting as showing the beginnings of a native English monastic School of Art, and are marked with a freedom and a boldness of treatment which give that school a distinct character of its own. A beautiful effect is given to the interlaced patterns by an exquisite use of colours.

Besides the practice of architecture and painting, and the beautiful work in gold and colour in the manuscript books of these early monasteries, another kind of art was sedulously cultivated in the Engl and Saxon monasteries of the same period The many services which the rules of St Benedict demanded from the monks o the order, suggested, no doubt, that stric attention should be paid to the careful an stately rendering of these repeated acts o divine worship, not only with a view o offering a perfect service to the Heavenl King, but also with the purpose of lessen ing the monotony of these oft-repeate services—a monotony which would neces sarily mar their earnestness and reality No less than seven of these services daily were enjoined upon the Benedictine monks Among the many useful educational work of Hadrian and archbishop Theodore i Canterbury (Theodore died in 690) wa the foundation of a great school of musi and song. This musical training wa rapidly taken up in most of the monasterie of England. Bishop Wilfrid, with the aid o his devoted friend and biographer, Eddius who was an eminent musician, introduced this musical instruction through all the churches of the north of England. Thanks to Wilfrid's untiring energy, the vast diocese of Northumbria became rapidly a great centre of music, rivalling even the school of Hadrian at Canterbury; perhaps none of the many noble



KING DAVID PLAYING UPON THE HARP.
*(From an Irish Miniature o the 8th Century.)*

ebrts of this celebrated prelate were crowned with more conspicuous success than his work and pains in the field of church music and singing. Wearmouth, the sister house of Bede's Jarrow, became at a very early date the central school of sacred song in the north.

In the story of church music, the English appear, says the French writer Montalembert, to have been, among the monks of the order of St. Benedict, "those who love music most passionately." We possess a curious illustration of this passion in a letter written by an abbot of Jarrow, a disciple and successor of Bede, to Lullius, archbishop of Mainz, on the Rhine, which was as follows: "I am most anxious to have a harpist who can play upon the harp we call a 'Rotta.' I have the instrument, but have not the artist. Send me one, and I pray you, do not laugh at my request." So great was this love for music among the Engle and Saxon monks, that it seems very early to have even led to abuses, for the Council of Cloveshoe, in 747, ordered the expulsion from monasteries of harpists, musicians, etc.

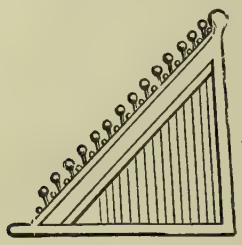
ROTTA.

In the nunneries, in the last half of the seventh and in the eighth centuries, a similar attention was paid to the copying and adorning of manuscripts, as in the monasteries for monks only. The art of embroidery was also especially cultivated in these communities, and their beautiful work in gold and silver stuffs, sometimes enriched with jewels, quickly became famous even on the Continent. The English schools of cunning needlework of various descriptions endured for centuries, and the term "English work" was long given to these exquisite specimens of patient and enduring industry. The many female communities to which we have been alluding, which grew up with such astonishing rapidity in every part of the conquered island, were veritable hives of labour—really homes where art and literature were cultivated.

Streoneshalch, on the hill of Whitby, under its royal abbess, Hilda, we have already spoken of as the cradle of English poetry. It was there Cædmon lived and was trained, there where his undying songs were written as early as 670–680; and to the watchful care of Hilda and her sisters of Whitby that early school of vernacular poetry owes at once its genesis and subsequent noble development.

Early in the eighth century Latin was a familiar study, certainly in the greater nunneries. All the nuns, or almost all, were well acquainted with the classical tongue; some of them were even Greek scholars. Convent corresponded with convent in that language. In the same tongue, too, are written the letters preserved to us from Aldhelm in England to the nuns of Barking, Sherborne, and other houses; the correspondence of St. Boniface in the same century (the eighth) from the Continent with the abbess Brigga and other sisters, whose strange old-world names

only live in these interesting and curious communications between a great and revered master and his pupils—names such



TRIANGULAR SAXON HARP OF THE 9TH CENTURY.

as Leobgitha, Cynegilda, Eadburga, Eangytha, Lioba, Egburga, Wethburga, Anstrude, Ansilda, and others; musical and attractive names, no doubt, in their day, but rude and harsh sounding to us.

On this notable effort of these sisters of the early Anglo-Saxon religious houses to make themselves familiar with Latin —for it must have been in those days a really great effort, and represented in many cases years of patient study on the part of these daughters of rude Engle and Saxon fathers—Montalembert makes the following interesting and suggestive comment, which well deserves to be quoted and remembered by students interested in these Benedictine sisters, who played so conspicuous a part in building up the church of Christ in our island. "It is to be regretted," he says, "that these candid and impassioned souls had recourse to *Latin* to express their emotions and confidences; if they had employed their native (English) idiom instead of a language which, though not dead (since it is the language of spiritual life), must have cost them many efforts ere they became familiar with it, we should, no doubt, have seen their thoughts flow fort more freely, . . . . bearing the characte istic mark of a powerful and impassione originality like the verses of Cædmon the poems of Beowulf. Even under th artificial constraint imposed upon the by the use of Latin, the reader feels th swelling life and force of an origina sincere, and vehement nature."

The female religious houses, followin the example of the monasteries, containe schools in which were trained not only th future novices—girls who intended de voting their lives to "religion"—but als numbers of young girls besides, who wer trained for the life of the world.

In the eighth century a curious weak ness seems to have invaded these femal monasteries, and in the eyes of the rel gious teachers of that day to have somewha marred their beautiful and most useful life The undoubted skill of these English nun in needlework and cunning embroider —often of a very costly description—

SQUARE PSALTERY OF THE 9TH CENTURY.

has been noticed; very early this skil in the production of exquisite and show work became, in the eyes of great master

nd austere teachers such as Aldhelm nd Bede, and the great Boniface—who vorked on the continent of Europe—a eal danger to the spiritual life of many f these sisters in the English nunneries. he nuns desired themselves to dress in writes with anger and sorrow respecting the luxury displayed by the clergy of both sexes in their vestments; but dwells especially on the dress affected by abbesses and nuns, who wore scarlet and violet tunics, hoods and cuffs trimmed with furs

PORTION OF PSALM CXLIX., AND AN ILLUSTRATION OF PSALM CL. 3, 4.
(*From the "Utrecht Psalter," 5th or 6th Century.*)

he beautiful fabrics, the creations of their ands, and busy, inventive brains. Bede ound nothing more serious than this strange assion to note in the transgressions of the onastery of Coldingham. Boniface, when rchbishop of Mainz, in the Rhineland, entioned this love of dress among the religious" as one of the greatest dangers f monastic life. Aldhelm of Malmesbury and silk; who curled their hair with a hot iron round their foreheads, and who changed their veil into an ornament, arranging it in such a way as to make it fall to their feet. The Council of Cloveshoe, in 747, alludes, though in less glowing language, to this same love of dress, which evidently had taken strong hold in very early days of many dwellers in the Engle and Saxon

nunneries, and, in the opinion of the principal ascetic teachers of the day, seriously threatened the inner life of these houses by diverting the spiritual aspirations of the professed sisters dwelling in them. To us with our fuller knowledge, there is something infinitely pathetic in this breaking out of such a strong female instinct among these poor women, now held by irrevocable vows, some of them perhaps against their will; and, in any case, telling a tale of terrible reaction against the monotonous life enforced by such vows, when the original enthusiasm had begun to wear away.

In relating the story of the seventh and eighth centuries, and reviewing the work which the Church of Christ accomplished in England during those two hundred years, it would seem that the historian was writing romance rather than sober history, so marvellous was the change worked through its agency among the half-savage pagan North-folk who had taken forcible possession of the island. For the settlement of the conquerors was carried out, strange to say, under the influence of the religion of the conquered and dispossessed people. It was Christianity which had the chief part in moulding the new England of the Northmen.

The rapidity with which Christianity struck firm root among the northern conquerors of Britain; the singular vitality of the Church of England in these two centuries, the seventh and eighth; its devoted piety; the splendid generosity it evoked on the part of the kings and chieftains; its noble and matchless spirit of foreign missionary enterprise; its deep and profound learning; its poetry; its love fo art—have been dwelt upon with surpris and admiration by most of the writers o this period. "Scarcely was Christianit presented to the Anglo-Saxons when the embraced it with singular fidelity an singleness of heart. . . . In a sing century England became known to Christe dom as a fountain of light."* The Frenc man, Montalembert, the Romist writer, as enthusiastic here as our own Anglica scholars.

The fascination which Christianity fro the first exercised over the hearts the invaders, we have considered to b largely owing to the manner in whic the great Christian truths were first pr sented to these rude and untutore pagan warriors and their wives an daughters. We have seen how compar tively little impression was made upo the East Engles by the companions Augustine; how royal favour and patronag failed to establish the Roman teachers i the homes of the pagan settlers in Londo and Essex; how Paulinus, with all h learning and zeal, was utterly unable t find the key to the Northumbrian heart And yet these true men told the self-sam story which soon afterwards was receive with enthusiasm when told by a differe school of missionaries, among the ver peoples who expelled Mellitus, and pers cuted Lawrence, and rudely drove ou Paulinus from the scenes of his sel denying labours. The great work for whic the seventh century will for ever be conspicuous century in English—even i European—history, was the changing a uncivilised pagan race of conquerors int

* Bishop Stubbs.

Christian people, among whom learning and art with extraordinary rapidity found a home; among whom a love of literature became so firmly rooted, that its schools early in the following century were resorted to even by pupils drawn from all parts of the continent of Europe. The great Celtic missionaries of the seventh century completely changed the character of the Northern conquerors, and prepared the ground for the monastic life and the literary work of the next age. Nor was the missionary work of this extraordinary school of devoted preachers by any means confined to England; a long and illustrious line of Celtic evangelists issuing from England powerfully influenced enormous tracts of country on the continent of Europe. In the history of Christianity, among the records of men who have kept the torch of a dying religion in countries where faith seemed waning, or who have for the first time successfully preached the story of the Cross to pagan peoples, no names are more famous than those of the great English missionary teachers trained in the Celtic school—names such as Willibrord, Adalbert, Ulger, and Boniface, not to speak of a somewhat earlier generation, when men of the same school worked and taught under the yet greater names of Columban and Gall.

The decisions of the Synod of Whitby in 664, however, paved the way for the gradual extinction of the Celtic school of religious thought before the century closed. In the person of Wilfrid the instrument which brought about the new order of things was found. We have already traced his history. He has been not untruly termed the first of English Churchmen. No man, perhaps, has ever been the object of greater love and devotion; no one, on the other hand, perhaps, has ever been more intensely hated. But he did his work well; and the fruit of his laborious life was the Church which with many changes, though with an unbroken continuity, still endures, still guides the thoughts and aspirations of the world-wide Anglo-Saxon race. Side by side with him we catch sight of a group of other figures of distinguished men, a group generally and on the whole unfriendly to Wilfrid personally. But their very opposition and enmity really assisted the cause which he had so deeply at heart; for they were enabled to correct some of the faults and errors—not a few in number—which marred the work of the famous champion of the ritual and practices and discipline adopted on the continent of Europe, and generally known as Roman.

We pass to the next century—the eighth. Theodore died in 690; Wilfrid and Aldhelm passed away in the year 709; and a new race of distinguished men were raised up to occupy the stage in this eighth century. The new England of the North-folk was now Christian—in many districts devotedly Christian—thanks to the successful labours of the great Celtic missionary preachers and teachers; but the Christianity was now Continental and Roman rather than Celtic in spirit and character. The leaders of Christian thought now, the new group which guided the Church of England of the eighth century, were in no whit inferior in power and devotion to their ancestors of the seventh century. First and foremost was the monk-scholar

Bede—well styled by all the Christian churches "the Venerable"—the true child of the church of Aidan and Cuthbert, of the church of Wilfrid and Theodore. Trained by Roman teachers of the highest order, the favourite pupil of Ceolfrid, the dearest friend of Benedict Biscop—whose busy life and vast powers were devoted to the introduction of Roman art and letters among his Engle fellow-countrymen in Northumbria — Bede of Jarrow could yet discern where and when and why Rome had failed in the first instance; could and did acknowledge the almost superhuman success of the Celtic work of conversion. Indeed, it is to him that we owe the inimitable pictures we possess of these Celtic teachers. Vivid and touching as was his portraiture of men like Augustine and Paulinus, Theodore and Aldhelm, yet by far the most attractive and charming of the chapters in his undying history are those which dwell on the life-stories of the Celtic saints. When he penned his memories of Aidan of Lindisfarne, of the great love and the burning eloquence, of the boundless influence among the wild Engle flock of that true saint of God; when he wrote down the story of Cuthbert with the angel face, and how the wild creatures of the moorland and the northern seas loved that minister of the living God, Bede was at his best; for when he wrote of these, he felt he was writing of the noblest and the most lovable of the makers of the Church of England.

There were others, like Bede, devoted to letters, in the many monasteries which with a strange rapidity had sprung up in different districts of the new England. At Canterbury, for instance, there w the school, renowned throughout Europ for learning, presided over by Hadria Malmesbury in the west boasted t presence of Aldhelm, one of the foremo scholars in Christendom. We may quo also such communities as Barking Wessex, under the charge of Aldhelm pupil, Hildelida, whose correspondence, a the Latin letters penned by the sisters her renowned house, are still read scholars with curious admiration. Be of Jarrow was the most distinguished far of all the learned "religious" of bo sexes who were so numerous in the fi half of the eighth century in the Engla of the North-folk conquerors. Yet Be was a type — a most distinguished typ but still a type—of many another mon scholar of this great age.

Immediately after the death of the gre scholar the seat of letters was transferr from his home at Jarrow to York, where have seen that a number of trained teache under the rule of the archbishop of Yor Egbert, the friend and pupil of Bede made Northumbria and York positively t distributor of learning for civilised Europ Thither flocked scholars from all part and this marvellous school of learning all kinds flourished for some fifty yea Among innumerable scholars in all branch of learning trained at York, Alcuin, t famous adviser and minister in all matt connected with education and culture the emperor Charlemagne, of course stan pre-eminent. Alcuin—for long years pupil, then the chief teacher of the famo school, and the greatest scholar of the ce tury—bears ample and repeated testimo to the pre-eminent grandeur of York

te intellectua. centre of Europe. And be iremembered, *not a hundred years before*, Cuthbert and Chad were preaching to the yt pagan and uncivilised Engles, in the

LABOURING MONKS (*p.* 304).

me districts in which arose this mar-ellous centre of learning and culture! had passed away in 672, and Cuthbert ed in 687; and York was at its greatest efore the year 870.

We have already briefly noticed how the royal exile Egbert at the court of the Frankish monarch, on the death of his kinsman Beohrtric, returned to his native country and was acknowledged king of Wessex; and how as years went on this same Egbert greatly extended the boundaries of Saxon Wessex towards the west; and how with scarcely a struggle, first Mercia, and then in 827, finally Northumbria, submitted to him as over-lord.

Northumbria, indeed, was weakened by years of internal strife, and offered no resistance to Egbert. Mercia was seemingly strong, but was made up of various Engle peoples, "who were only held together by the power of the sword." She owed her position in large measure to the conspicuous abilities of three princes, who, with little intervals, for many years sat on the Mercian throne—Ethelbald, Offa, and Cenwulf. Kent and East Anglia only obeyed her when Mercia was strong enough to keep them in a state of subjection. "The looseness of the political structure of Mercia is shown by the fact that this great Anglo-Saxon state had no real centre of government, while York was the acknowledged capital of Northumbria, and Winchester occupied a similar position in Wessex."* In Middle England the Mercian kings possessed no considerable city. The burial-place of the Mercian kings was usually Repton.

But although Egbert was acknowledged before his death as the first over-lord of the whole of England *east* of the now narrow zone occupied by the descendants of the ancient British people, it was by no means an England welded into one great and united race. Mercia and Northumbria, it is true, submitted to the over-lordship of the powerful Wessex king, paid him tribute, and agreed to follow the standard of Wessex in war; but for a long period, as we shall see, their inner life remained separate and independent as before; and, save in rare exceptional instances, the terrible ravages of the Dane were perpetrated in Northumbria and Mercia without any attempts on the part of Wess to preserve the so-called subject countr from the repeated and destructive har ings of the Northern sea-pirates.

The one bond which really unit Mercia, Northumbria, and Wessex at t beginning of the ninth century, was t Church of England. Each of the gre divisions was attached with greater less earnestness to Christianity. T whole land was covered with monasteri and nunneries; in these numerous a ever-increasing garrisons of Christian the same life was led, the same God w worshipped, the same prayers were use the same psalms and hymns sung; t same hopes and fears belonged to the all. Throughout this network of religio houses, which literally covered the wh area of the three kingdoms, Wesse Mercia, and Northumbria, there was co stant and friendly inter-communicatio The monks of Melrose and Jarrow, t students of York, were brothers in de as well as in name to the monks of Pet borough and Lichfield, and the studer of Canterbury and Malmesbury. T nuns of Coldingham and Whitby we sisters to the nuns of Ely and Barkir For these numberless communities monks and nuns the divisions of Northu bria and Mercia, East Anglia and Wesse had no existence; for the dwellers in the many homes of study and of prayer, the names were merged in the grander a more comprehensive title of England.

The numerous monasteries and nu neries which had arisen in every part the island; in important cities like Cante bury, York, and Winchester, and ev amid the wolds and moors of Yorkshi

* Compare generally Green, "Conquest of England," chap. i.

the heart of the desolate fen lands of ast Anglia, on the banks of rivers, on lfty cliffs overlooking the ocean, in the eart of yet uncleared forest lands, were ore than houses of prayer and praise: hey were educational citadels of Christnity, hives of useful industry, and centres study. In the seventh century, in the ears especially of Christian pioneer work, any of these communities, large and nall, were also mission stations, centres om which monk-teachers went forth to ell the story of the Cross to the pagan ngle or Saxon who had settled in the onquered districts around the monastery. hen in the next stage of Christian proress, from the same religious house would onk-priests be sent out, to conduct the orship in the various little churches or hapels which were gradually rising up mong the people as they became conerted to Christianity.

These missionary monks after a time ecame the parish priests, and thus deeper nd deeper the Church penetrated into the eart of the English people, and was able influence its life. In the beginning f the ninth century, when Egbert was cknowledged the undisputed king of farxtending Wessex, and was recognised as he first over-lord of Middle and Northern ngland, this parochial organisation had ade considerable progress in many disricts of the island. Even as early as the rst quarter of the eighth century we learn om the well-known letter of Bede of arrow to archbishop Egbert of York, that his parochial organisation was already reognised to some extent in Northumbria; nd in the seventy years which followed Bede's death it was rapidly adopted. In the days of king Egbert, the over-lord of England in the first quarter of the ninth century, it had evidently extended far and wide. The Church had become the centre of village life, and the Christian priest was recognised as a person of great influence and authority.

In the everyday life of the North-folk conquerors and settlers the Christian religion which they had adopted worked a comple alteration. Gluttony and drunkenness, so common a feature of the old feasts in the public halls of kings and chieftains, were proclaimed as sins from which a Christian must rigidly abstain. Fasts, which in the Norse customs were unheard of, were enjoined. One day in every seven was set apart as holy, and was to be marked by a complete cessation from all labour. Blood feuds and revenge were denounced as utterly at variance with the first principles of Christianity, which regarded all war as evil.

We must not omit to notice the Church's attitude in regard to one of the great evils which ever afflicted all pagan nations—the curse of slavery. A considerable portion of the population of England was in a state of bondage; this sad class was constantly recruited by the family and children of the malefactor, who shared his punishment and became hereditary bondsmen. They were recruited still more largely by prisoners taken in those wars which were perpetually waged between the conquering people themselves, and between the conquerors and the remnant of the old British people. Bristol and Chester, for instance, were famous slave-markets for a lengthened period. Now the Church of England, from the days of Augustine downwards, never ceased to denounce the wicked custom;

and although the shameful evil was not eradicated, in a hundred ways the lot of these unhappy ones was ameliorated and made more tolerable.

"From the cradle to the grave new rites and ceremonies, each possessing a new and awful significance, affected every age of life. The very babe felt the change; baptism replaced an old Norse rite of dragging through the earth." As in old days, marriage continued as a public act done in the presence of the dwellers in the township; but new regulations as regarded the affinity of the "married" were introduced, and above all the solemn blessing of a priest of the Christian religion was added to the ceremony, thus investing marriage with a new and hitherto unknown sanctity. And not only in the solemn rites which accompanied birth and marriage was the difference startling. The dead were buried with a very different ritual from that used among the worshippers of the Scandinavian gods. There was no longer any burial fire, and over a mighty North-folk chief no lofty mound was piled, but "the warrior slept with his neighbours and his kinsfolk beneath the blessed protecting shade of the lowly village church." A complete and marvellous change, under the influence of the new teaching, had passed over all classes and ranks of the children of the war-loving North-folk.

Enough has been already said of the scholarship and the love of study, and the really important *results* of this devotion to letters on the part of many of the early Anglo-Saxon monks. But in agriculture also the industrial work of the Church was noteworthy. It has been most justly remarked that "if over a third of the shire belonged later days to the clergy, it was in the ma because monks and priests had been fo most in the work of reclaiming the lan In the time of Egbert the number of t conquerors that settled in England w but sparse—ridiculously small, accordi to our modern views of population—a as yet not half the soil had been broug under tillage. Forest land, moor and fe covered much of the island, which had be the scene of such long and bloody figh ing. In the labour of reclaiming the was land the monks, during the hundred yea which preceded the accession of Egbert, h been at work. The monks of the eigh century possessed other gifts besides t power of preaching and teaching. Th were not all at work in the Scriptoriu or writing-chamber, copying and illum nating manuscripts, or annotating t Scriptures and the Fathers, or busied the study of the classics, or even Hebre Many of them, even some of the schola and students, would, at the bidding the abbot, quit their cell, and, wit pick or axe or spade in hand, help t cut down woods, to drain the marsh lan to fertilise the sandy and barren soil.*

There is no doubt but that during th period of Egbert's over-lordship in Eng land (Egbert died in 837) the south an midlands of the island, from an agricultur point of view, were fairly prosperous; onl in the northern districts the perpetual feud in the last part of the eighth century be tween rival claimants of the Northumbria throne, of course seriously hindered agri cultural progress. William of Poitiers a

* See generally Montalembert, "Monks of th West," and Green, "Conquest of England."

SCRIPTORIUM OF A MONASTERY.

a later period even speaks of England as "the storehouse of Ceres." Rye, barley, wheat, and oats were grown; there were large apple orchards in the cider districts; even grapes were grown, and a coarse wine was made; bee-culture in various parts of the country was common, and much honey was produced. Dean Hook calls attention to a wild pony natural to the island; there were probably a vast number of these. In the Saxon Chronicle we read how the Danes, in the course of their frequent raids, "horsed themselves." It is probable that allusion is here made to this abundance of partly wild ponies.

A comparison has been made, with some justice, between an ancient monastery—as conceived by St. Benedict, to whose order most of the greater English monasteries of the eighth century belonged—and a rich Roman villa. Gardens, mills, ovens, stables, workshops were grouped round a central building; only, instead of the maledictions of the ergastulum with the slaves dwelling in it, the music of prayer would be heard in the religious household. No doubt the lands under the shadow of the great early English monasteries were well and carefully cultivated. These lands had in many cases been reclaimed from forests and fen lands. Schools for agriculture as well as schools for varied kinds of learning were established under these English monks. As early as the last years of the seventh century Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, and afterwards bishop of Sherborne (Aldhelm died in 709) established centres of agriculture as well as of religion and learning at Sherborne and Wareham, and probably in other places.

The description given us by William of Malmesbury* of one of these vast Fe monasteries, after allowing for som rhetorical exaggeration, gives us som idea of what these monks effected i districts of our island once covered wit stagnant waters and clotted with weed and brushwood. He is writing of Thorne Abbey, founded by St. Ethelwald (*Thorne propter condensitatem dumorum vocata* "It is a counterfeit of Paradise, where th gentleness and the purity of heaven appea to be reflected. In the midst of the fer rise groves of trees, which seem to touc the stars with their tall and slender tops the charmed eye wanders over a sea verdant herbage; the foot which treac the wide meadows meets with no obstacl in its path. Not an inch of land lies ur cultivated. Here the soil is hidden b fruit-trees; there by vines spread on th ground or trained on trellises. Nature an art rival each other, the one supplying a that the other forgot to produce. Wha can we say of the beauty of the buildings Who would not be astonished to see vas edifices rise upon firm foundations in th midst of the marsh? O deep and pleasan solitude! you have been given by God t the monks, so that their mortal life ma daily bring them nearer to heaven!"

No review, however brief, of the spir and influence of the English Church at th commencement of the ninth century, ca omit some definite notice of the curiou love of "pilgrimage," which so powerfull affected all sorts and conditions of men i the eighth and ninth centuries. The lov of roaming abroad, of visiting foreign an distant lands, seems always to have been

* Quoted by Montalembert, "Monks of the West

·aracteristic feature among the North-ilk. It was, no doubt, one of the causes ·f work which induced the early invasions · Britain on the part of Engle, Jute, and ·axon. This love of foreign adventure ·o doubt helped later to influence the ·anish viking raids, so fatal to the Eng-lnd of the ninth and tenth centuries. It ·sisted in no small degree to popularise ·e Crusades in the Middle Ages—ever l·gely recruited with English crusaders.

In the early days of the settlement and ·velopment of Christianity in England, te passion for adventure and roaming ·road manifested itself in the many and ·nstant pilgrimages to Rome undertaken · kings and queens, by noble and soldier; ·x or age, riches or poverty, being alike ·regarded by the crowds of English who · the eighth and following centuries were ·ntinually wandering to Italy, Rome and · time-honoured shrines being the constant ·al which they aimed at reaching. Among · many shrines the crowd of pilgrims ·ssed, praying, admiring, learning. Some ·v stayed altogether in the charmed ·me of the mother-church of Christen-·m; some returned to their native land, ·engthened and enriched by what they ·d seen and heard and learned—a few, ·e Benedict Biscop, not empty-handed, ·t laden with treasures which Italy and ·me could alone supply. Books, manu-·ipts containing precious literature, sacred ·d profane, curious relics of bygone saints ·ose souls had long passed to their rest, art ·asures, pictures, costly bindings of books, ·ning work of craftsmen in gold and less ·cious metals—these were brought to ·gland, were placed in the work-chambers ·the great monasteries, where the art treasures served as models for the English monk-artists to copy or to dream over.

As early as the year 689 Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, one of the Woden-descended Saxon chieftains, gave up his crown for the sake of being baptized at the tomb of St. Peter. The bishop of Rome—Pope Sergius—performed himself the sacred rite; but the king, we read, died not many days after the solemn baptismal service. Only a few years before, this West Saxon monarch had won a widely extended fame as a fierce warrior. Ina, who followed Ceadwalla on the Wessex throne, and who owes his fame specially to the code of laws which bears his name, with his queen Ethelburga, in the year 728, laying aside the royal dignity, went as humble pilgrims to Rome. The story relates how king Ina when at Rome chose to remain unknown and unhonoured; and, lost among the crowds of poor pilgrims, gained his livelihood by the work of his hands. This same royal pilgrim in the days of his power had founded hard by the Vatican a school under the name of Schola Saxonum, for the training and education of his countrymen who desired to study under the shadow of the basilica of St. Peter. Attached to the school was a church and a burying-ground.

Six other kings in the same age are reckoned among the crowd of "Roman" pilgrims. The attraction which drew the Anglo-Saxons in this early age to the Eternal City seems to have been irresistible; princes and bishops, monks and nuns, men and women of all ranks, crowded the pilgrims' way. The royal examples gave especial energy to the movement; and the dangers and hardships of the long

journey never seem to have occurred to these restless seekers after God. The route was the one now so well known to the travel-loving Englishman. Crossing to a port close by the modern Boulogne, the pilgrims passed through France by way of Burgundy and Savoy to the Mont Cenis pass. The number of these English wanderers was so great that they gave their name to a quarter of the Eternal City—the Vicus Saxonum, situated in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Peter.*

Bede gives this quaint reason for his countrymen's curious passion for this Roman pilgrimage. "They came to make acquaintance in their life-time with the saints, by whom they hoped to be well received in Heaven." But the curious saying of the scholar-monk seems to be rather his kindly apology for a curious and popular fancy on the part of his countrymen; for Bede never appears to have thought it necessary in his own case to make this earthly acquaintance with the saints in Italy and in Rome. Bede himself scarcely ever left his student's cell of Jarrow, and the extent of his pilgrimage was the "school of York," where the work he loved so well was being carried on and developed by his pupils.

One effect of these popular pilgrimages was the bringing the English peoples of the several northern tribes into contact with the rest of the western world; and this intercourse with a richer and more cultured civilisation was one of the fruitful results of the change, wrought mainly by Wilfrid, which had taken place in the character of the Church of England. The mission work of the Englishmen, Boniface

* Green, "Conquest of England."

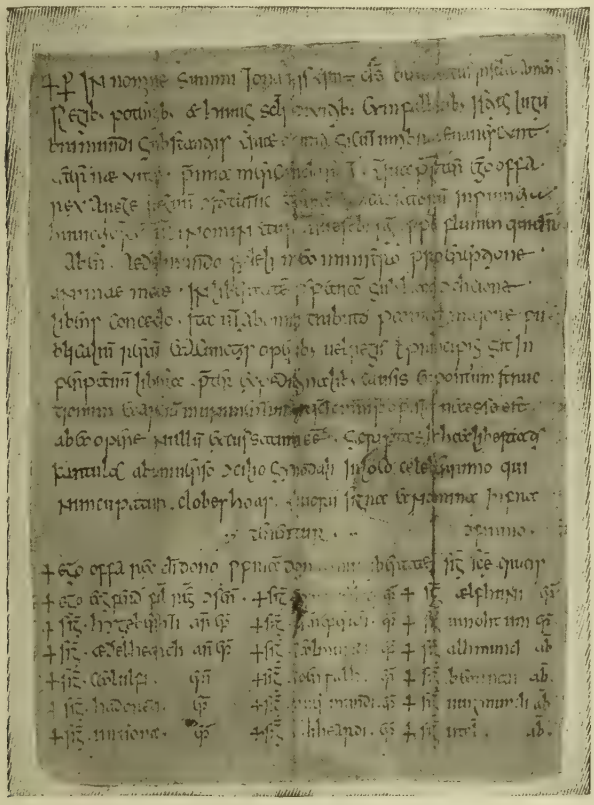
and Willibrord and their companion great and far reaching though it wa would never have accomplished this effectually as did the constant passag of these crowds of pilgrim travelle through the various countries of weste Europe. The barrier between Britain ar the Continent, which had existed from tl days when the Roman legions left Brita in the fifth century, was thus broken dow to the great advantage of English cor merce and general progress in the island.

When Egbert was over-lord, there we as many as seventeen bishops of Engli sees. This increase in the episcopate w due to the efforts of Theodore, A.D. 668 690. These seventeen prelates, about equal number of ealdermen, a few abbo and some fifty thanes, composed the Wita or public assembly of the three kingdon after they were nominally united und Egbert. But the actual number prese at the ordinary meetings of the gre council was far below these numbers.

The sees in question were as follows: Ca terbury, Rochester, Sidnacester, Dunwic Elmham, Winchester, Sherborne, Lichfie Hereford, Worcester, Lindsey, Leicest Selsey, York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, Wh herne.* Of these Dunwich and Elmha in the eastern counties (East Anglia) ha disappeared. The see of Norwich h been substituted for them as the E Anglian bishopric. Sherborne has giv place to Salisbury; the see was remov to Old Sarum in the reign of William t Conqueror. Lindsey in early days w some time reckoned as part of t kingdom of Northumbria, some time

* See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History England."

elonging to Mercia, when the power of ie great Middle Engle realm was in ie ascendant ; it, too, has disappeared, nd constitutes a portion of the see of incoln. The district of Lindsey lay



CHARTER OF OFFA, KING OF MERCIA, GRANTING LAND TO AETHELMUND, GIVEN AT CLOVESHOE A.D. 793–796.*

immediately to the south of the Humber. Leicester has become part of the see of Peterborough ; it has in quite recent days given a title to a suffragan bishop. The bishoprics of Lindisfarne and Hexham have entirely vanished. The see of Durham until quite lately, when the see of Newcastle was carved out of it, included all the north-east of England, from Yorkshire to the Scottish border. Whitherne, the traditional site of St. Ninian's see, is no longer the seat of a bishopric, and is now part of Scotland.

Without attempting here anything of the nature of a detailed account of the possessions of the Church, which at so early a period in the story of the settlement of the Northmen in Britain, made so

* Witnesses, Æthelheard (Ethelhard), archbishop of Canterbury ; Hygebert (Higbert), archbishop of Lichfield, and other bishops.

firm a lodgment in the hearts of the hitherto undisciplined worshippers of Woden and Thor, it will be well to give a very brief outline of the *Endowments*, which, through the generosity and goodwill of the conquering tribes, the Church of England, from the first days of its existence under the Engle and Saxon rule, became possessed of. These Endowments mainly consisted of:—

1st. Permanent gifts of land. Of an instance of such a gift we have historical evidence as early as A.D. 658; a yet earlier well-known example is afforded in the Jutish kingdom of Kent, where lands and royal buildings were given to Augustine by king Ethelbert.

2nd. Voluntary offerings on the part of the people, of a temporary and probably of a varying nature.

3rd. The revival of a much earlier recognised obligation among Christian peoples in the form of the Tithe.

The first endowments of the Church consisted in gifts of land which at a very early stage of this period of the conversion of the Engles and Saxons to Christianity were bestowed on monastic houses, on bishops, and on minster churches—such, for instance, as was the grant of land made by king Oswiu of Northumberland, "sufficient for the maintenance of ten families," to the abbess Hilda, for the endowment of her new religious house at Streoneshalch (Whitby) in the year 658.

This system of *endowment by land* became very popular among the North-folk conquerors. During the Anglo-Saxon times we see, from the entries in Domesday Book compiled by the order of William the Conqueror, that very large landed estates had come into the possession of t Church. The greater part of these ter torial acquisitions had passed into the han of churchmen by free gift. The don were kings of Kent, Mercia, Wess Northumbria, and East Anglia; quee princes, princesses, nobles, and othe As early as the days of Bede, complai was made that the monasteries engross too large a share of the public land. his letter to Egbert of York, the monk Jarrow thus writes: "Positively there no place left for estates for sons of nob or of distinguished soldiers."

Time went on. Before Bede's death, 735, the need for clergy to minister villages and hamlets more or less rem from cities or the monasteries was felt, a as these parochial clergy increased number, the necessity of providing suitable maintenance for them was f Voluntary gifts from the people, eked sometimes by the bestowal of a li estate, probably by the thane of the pla supplied their need; but voluntary g are at best uncertain and precarious.

Among these voluntary but occasio gifts and offerings, during the period of settlement of the North-folk in Brit was the *tithe*, an existing and gener recognised obligation among Christ peoples. It can be clearly traced b more than two hundred years be the foundation of the Anglo-Sa Church—probably to a yet earlier d As the ministers of religion rap increased on the continent under rule of Charlemagne, and in Engl under the government of the Chris Engle and Saxon kings in the eighth tury, as a partial provision for this rap

ultiplying body of clergy, the tithe, itherto a voluntary offering—the payment f which, however, had been preached s a duty—was now gradually enforced y legal sanctions from the state. 'he emperor Charlemagne, on the con- nent of Europe, in the year 779, ordained at everyone should pay tithe, and that e proceeds should be disposed of by the ishop. Very shortly after—in the year 87—it was enforced in England by a hurch council held at Chalchyth (some entify it with Chelsea). At this council gates from the bishop of Rome were resent. This was, with one other in- ance, the only occasion where legates om Rome sat in an Anglo-Saxon council. ing Offa of Mercia and his aldermen tended this famous meeting, and gave the authority of a Witanagemot.

From this time (A.D. 787) many of the nglish laws issued after the death of lfred contain some mention of tithe; r instance, king Athelstan (A.D. 925) rected his own reeves (or bailiffs) to pay thes. By a law of king Edmund (A.D. 4), passed at a national synod of both e archbishops and many bishops in ondon, the penalty of excommunication as denounced against those who would t pay their tithes. The legislation of ng Edgar (A.D. 970) is somewhat minute the subject. His laws were the first appoint definite times and seasons for e payment of tithes, and to provide the means of enforcing it by temporal penalties. This law was repeated by king Canute, and is also found in the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws sometimes erroneously ascribed to king Henry I. Among the laws of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by William the Conqueror, the first place is given to the laws of "the Holy Mother the Church," among which is one relating to tithes. This law of the Conqueror provides for the recovery of tithes in the Bishop's Court, with aid, if required, from the King's Court.

As regards the determination of the church to which the tithe was to be paid, amongst other directions, king Edgar in his laws directs it to be paid to the "eald (old) minster," or mother church, to which the district belonged. It seems that the Cathedral was the nominal recipient, and the bishop the distributor. But in Anglo-Saxon times the actual determination was really left very much to the owner of the land from which the tithe arose. Monasteries were no doubt often favoured by those land owners who desired in return the benefit of their intercessions. Nor was it until the Westminster Council, held in 1200, that the principle was laid down that the parochial clergy had the first claim on tithe.*

* See generally—the references in Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History of England," chap. viii.; and Lord Selborne, "Defence of the Church of England," chap. vii.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE FRANKISH EMPIRE AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

Origin of the Franks—Family of Pépin—Influence of English Missionaries in the Frankish Empire Wilfrid, Willibrord, and Boniface—Their Allegiance to Rome—Influence of Englishmen up Roman Sovereignty—Frankish Alliance between Church and State—Charlemagne—Alcuin t English Scholar, Charlemagne's Minister of Education—Charlemagne and Image-worship Alcuin on the Duty of a Bishop—Death of Charlemagne and Misfortunes of his Dynasty Charlemagne and Offa of Mercia—Plot of Jaenbert, Archbishop of Canterbury—Offa establish an Arch-see at Lichfield by Arrangement with the Pope—Synod of Cealchythe—Speedy Res ration of the Arch-primacy of Canterbury.

WHILE the settlement of the Northern conquerors in Britain was gradually shaping itself, and Christianity, through the various influences already dwelt upon, was becoming every year an increasing power in the island, great changes, which more or less reacted upon Britain, were taking place in the history of the continent of Europe.

Among the Teutonic peoples, who in the wreck of the Roman domination came to the front, that great confederation of tribes known as the Franks was the most prominent. But the numerous tribes known under that subsequently world-famed name were generally but only loosely bound together; and it was not until a victory won at Testri by a chieftain of the Eastern Franks named Pépin, of Herstall, had put an end to the internal feuds and dissensions among their leaders and kings, that they took the important place in the northern European countries to which their vast numbers and natural abilities would seem to have entitled them.

The battle of Testri was fought in the year 687, the year of Cuthbert's death, only seven years after the passing away of the abbess Hilda of Whitby; just wh the "settlement" in England was assu ing a definite shape, when the discipl of Cædmon were writing their Engli poems, when Theodore and Wilfri Hadrian and Aldhelm, were mouldi the Church of England after their w in the Roman obedience, when t student Bede was learning in his Jarr cell the secrets of the craft he afte wards used so well and faithfully. Fro the great day of Testri the Franki nation has ever held a foremost pla among the nations of the world. In arm in literature, in religion, the historian h to reckon with the part played by th great people, who were born, so to spea into the family of European nations wh the eastern Frankish chieftain, Pépin Herstall, after his Testri victory, grad ally welded into one powerful nation t various disunited Frankish tribes.

The descendants and heirs of Pép were singularly able and distinguishe men. Charles Martel, his son and su cessor, will ever be remembered grateful as the western soldier who succeede in rolling back definitively the tid of eastern invasion, which, under th

semingly irresistible Mahommedan spirit of religious conquest, at one time gravely threatened even central and northern Gaul. be said, roughly, to have extended from Friesland, washed by the northern seas, to the Pyrenees in the south of Gaul;

THE FRANKISH EMPIRE.

Another Pépin, known as "le Bref," became, in the year 741, the acknowledged sovereign of the now broad domains of his father and grandfather, and was crowned heir of the great Frankish monarchy, which, in a somewhat irregular line, may from the shores of the Atlantic on the west, to the Elbe and the Danube on the east. King Pépin le Bref's son, under the famous name of Charlemagne, ruled over the same magnificent inheritance, but enormously increased by conquest. His

mighty empire included, generally, modern France, most of the German dominions ruled over by the imperial houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, Italy largely, and certainly the northern provinces of Spain. In other words, Charlemagne's dominions stretched from Brittany to the mountains of Bohemia, and from Saragossa to the mouth of the Elbe. Charlemagne reigned from 768 to 814—the period included in the literary supremacy of York. It was as minister and friend of this magnificent monarch that Alcuin, the pupil first, and afterwards the teacher in the schools of York, won his great religious reputation.

The connection between England and the Franks, in the early days of their power, was more intimate than is popularly supposed. Frisia, a great tract of country on the borders of the Zuyder Zee and along the banks of the Scheldt, covering much of what is now known as Holland, had been visited, it will be remembered, by bishop Wilfrid, who preached to the savage pagan inhabitants with some success in the year 678, on the occasion of one of his journeys to Rome. A few years later, in 690–691, the Frisian mission, which seems, perhaps from the extreme difficulty of the work there, to have possessed a peculiar attraction for the fervid zeal of the English and Saxon preachers, was again taken up by an earnest student trained in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon, and who afterwards attained to great fame as the successful apostle of the Frisians, under the name of Willibrord. This Willibrord was entrusted as a child by his mother to the Ripon monks, and subsequently spent some time in the great Irish monasteries, be desirous of profiting by the Irish learni and wishing to share in the Celtic austeri practised in those famous prayer-homes

Willibrord and twelve companions w welcomed by Pépin of Herstall, who lately annexed Frisia to the Frank dominions. Some think Willibro mission was even undertaken at Pép request; certainly he was ever warmly s ported in his missionary work by the g Frankish chief, who believed that wild Frisian tribes would, if convertee Christianity, become his faithful subje The firm friendship between the E missionary and Pépin seems to have b lifelong. Willibrord, no doubt owing his early training under Wilfrid's influe was a devoted believer in Rome, her tr tions and her vast claims, and from R sought higher sanction for his Fri work. Pope Sergius consecrated archbishop of the Frisians, and fixed seat of his archbishopric in the old Ro station of Trajectum, afterwards kn as Utrecht. It was a noble career, of Willibrord, and it lasted for m years, being only closed by his death extreme old age in 739. For s forty-six years he had laboured v varying success among the pagans these distant Frankish provinces.

Willibrord was joined in the year 71 another English monk, who subsequen under Frankish protection, obtained e greater fame than his master as a succ ful missionary pioneer. This was Winfr young West Saxon, born in the last qua of the seventh century at Crediton, in Wessex country, and who was the fr in early life of Ina, the well-known We

g, who admired the young Winfrid's learn- and zeal. Winfrid joined the Frisian sion of Willibrord; like his master, he was a devoted adherent and believer the Roman obedience. The Frankish leftain, Charles Martel, recognised his at powers, and through his long and ring career warmly assisted him. He s consecrated bishop without any definite under the name of Boniface. In Pope Gregory III. made him arch- op and Roman legate. His work ed for many years. In the rapid rise the Frankish power, archbishop Boni- e was perhaps the most distinguished rument in the consolidation of the ver of the Franks, especially in their Rine provinces. His labours were inde- agable, and were, on the whole, crowned h singular success. In 743 we find n archbishop of Mainz, on the Rhine, h a Frankish diocese stretching through l Rhine countries from Cologne to Sasbourg. He founded several important s in Germany—at Erfurt, Würzburg, Fhstadt, etc., and established the re- vned religious house of Fulda, which ame a famous centre of missionary erprise. In his later years this Boni- e rose unquestionably into the greatest rch figure of his day on the continent Europe.

he friendship of Boniface with Charles rtel and his sons remained ever un- rken. To this family of Frankish chiefs e acknowledged his deep obligations, r referred his singular success in his nsionary labours to their steady and arying support. "Without your aid," we find him writing to Charles Martel, could neither control the people, nor defend the priests, nor prevent pagan and idolatrous rites in Germany." He showed his gratitude to Pépin le Bref, who had so loyally supported him and furthered his plans, by procuring his formal coronation as king of the vast Frankish realms in 751–2.

This extraordinary man, one of the greatest sons of the Church of England, was wholly devoted to his noble work as an evangelist; and although he had reached the summit of human ambition, he seems to have cared little or nothing for power and grandeur, save as instruments in carrying out his designs for the salvation of souls. At length old and infirm, decrepit in body and worn out by excessive labours, he resigned to his companion Lull his important office as archbishop of Mainz, and went out once more as a simple missionary among the Frisians, where he had laboured years before, and who in many wild districts were still pagans. He ended his glorious career as a martyr, being slain by the very people he loved so well. This was in the year A.D. 755.

It is, of course, impossible in a history devoted to the Church of England to go beyond the limits of a brief sketch of the life and work of such men as Willibrord and Boniface in Holland and Germany. It is one of the many proofs of the wonderful vitality and power of the early Anglo-Saxon church, that in the first century of her existence as a church, she could send out into the continent of Europe preachers and organisers of such extraordinary power and wisdom as Willibrord and the yet more famous Boniface. The reader of our story, however, must not be

led through the meagreness of this little life-sketch to underrate the vast work of some of these famous Englishmen, nobly supported by a numerous and often-recruited band of their fellow-countrymen. What they accomplished, measured by ordinary standards, seems incredible; such mighty results, it is not too much to say, could only have been carried out by men who were the immediate successors and sharers of the spirit of those matchless Celtic teachers, whose grand work in England we have been relating.

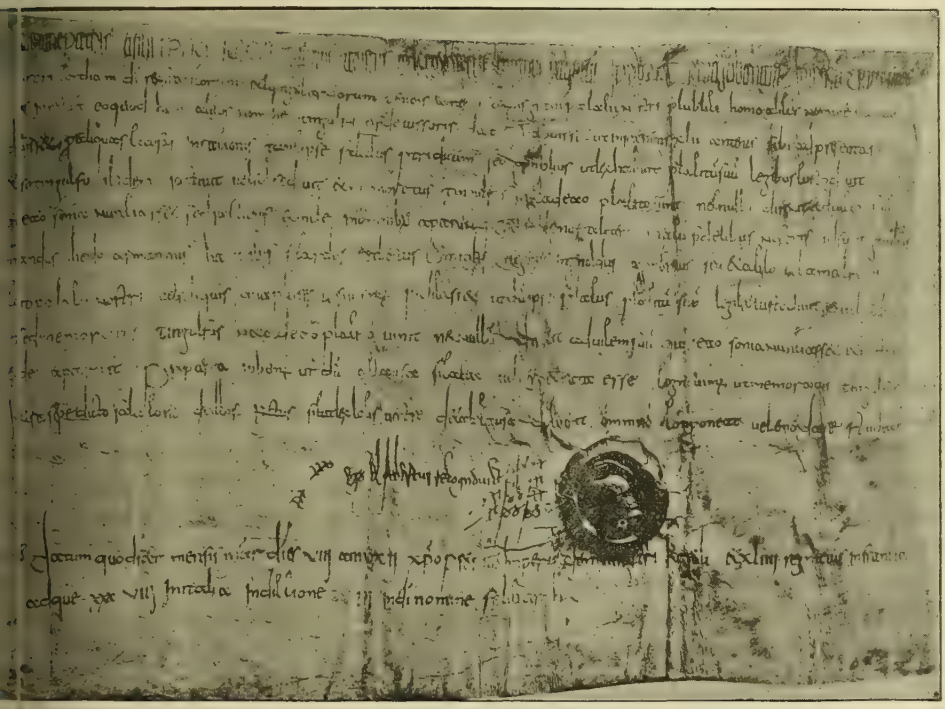
It must be remembered that the work of Willibrord and Boniface stretched from the desolate dunes of Frisia and the shores of the wild North Sea, through the lands watered by the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Elbe—far to the south where the still blue waters of the Lake of Constance bathe the slopes of the white Alps. These famous missionaries for the most part had to do with pagan tribes; they not only gathered round them vast masses of very imperfectly civilised peoples, drawn from many German races, listening to, and many convinced by, their burning words—this was comparatively speaking an easy task—but what was more wonderful they built up a great Christian church, organised with no little care and skill, in those wide-stretching countries which lay between the salt waters of the Zuyder Zee and the Alp-fed Lake of Constance. Two important archbishoprics—the one in Utrecht, the other at Mainz, ruling over many subordinate bishoprics, centres of Christian work and Christian progress which have endured without a break from the days of the famous Englishmen, Willibrord and Boniface, down to our own times—eleven hundred eventful years—bear their wei testimony to the enduring nature o work.

It was owing to the religious, far-se Frankish chieftains, the two Pépins Charles Martel, to the steady, never ing, consistent support of this all-pow Frankish family, in great measure, tha two famous Englishmen and their disc were enabled to accomplish their mi work; and Boniface, as we have seen, not slow to acknowledge the great But no Frankish king or chieftain, how wise and far-seeing, would ever have such undreamed-of results without the of such divinely taught instrument Willibrord and Boniface; and be these Englishmen was the spirit w nerved Aidan and Chad and Cuthbe even the very Spirit of God and His Ch whose work these men were raised u carry out. Truly a portion of the spir the Celtic teachers had fallen upon t apostles of Frisia and Germany; an was the possession of this divine gift w inspired these Englishmen, and gave t strength and power to do the difficult to which their Master had called them

But to the irresistible power, the str and passionate tenderness, and to t intense conviction of the truth of marvellous and gracious story they telling, which they inherited from great Celtic masters who converted p England from the worship and servic Woden and Thor to the worship and vice of Christ, these English mission to Frisia and Germany in the eig century added another force unkn to Aidan or Cuthbert—a reverence times even passing into a superstition

w and order, tradition and obedience, epresented by the great and vener- l see of Rome. This reverence for ole as the centre of Christian unity, ic their connection with the vast and erful Roman organisation, gave to the Germany were men carefully trained in the Roman-taught schools of Wilfrid and Theodore.

The intense devotion of these men to Rome throughout their wonderful careers, has been a matter for the deepest regret to



A JUDGMENT OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 812. *Paris, Arch. Nat. K.* 716-18.

.tors of Willibrord and Boniface from n first a permanent and enduring charac- er. Their successful work in Holland n Germany resulted in no isolated and tary Christian forts and strongholds, but n *permanent* garrisons of the spiritual narchy of Rome over the West. While possing in an extraordinary degree the rching and teaching powers of the Celic masters, the apostles of Frisia and some writers, and of the warmest admiration to others. It was from Rome they sought again and again all spiritual authority for the work on which their hearts were fixed. It was from Rome that Willibrord sought and received his episcopal commission to form and to mould his Frisian church. It was to Rome that Boniface journeyed again and again, when he sought for fresh powers, when he wrote

for direction and support. The union between the successful English missionaries and the Roman see was at once intimate and enduring.

We have here brought prominently before us a fact which many historians have strangely lost sight of, and which brings into unexpectedly strong relief the influence of our British island upon the destinies of the world. For good or for evil, Englishmen have largely contributed to establish the spiritual sovereignty of Rome. The action of Wilfrid in the latter part of the seventh and in the early years of the eighth century, in his repeated reference to the Roman see as the supreme court of appeal in matters connected with the Church of England, coupled with the virtual acquiescence in the end of archbishop Theodore in the Roman decisions, gave the sanction of a powerful and independent national church to the still shadowy Roman claims of a universal authority; claims which were in after-years enormously exaggerated, and in time came to exert such a baneful influence upon Christendom. Then in the eighth century, the strong bias of the English Willibrord and Boniface in favour of Rome, had the effect of binding the Frankish reigning house—the most powerful dynasty the world had witnessed since the days of the great Cæsars—with the strongest ties of gratitude and interest to the same powerful Italian church. It is not too much to say, that the greatness of the Papacy in the Middle Ages sprang in great measure from the recognition of its authority by the German church, which Willibrord and Boniface built up. The two eminent English m sionaries *brought Rome and the Fra together*. Rome saw in the Franks mighty power which could effectu protect her from the pretensions a formidable claims of the Eastern Chu to supremacy, claims backed by the s far-reaching power of the Eastern E peror reigning at Constantinople—Rom most dreaded opponent. And the ho of Charles Martel and Pépin le B recognised in Rome a source of religi authority which could give, if it pleas a sacred sanction to their assumption sovereign rule over the whole Frank nation.

Boniface, the missionary archbish of Mainz, was the chief instrument w brought about this union between the t powers—Rome and the Franks; and Pé le Bref received the guerdon of his stea support of Rome and her pretensions t universal supremacy in the Church, wh he was anointed king of the great domini of the Franks, with the formal assent Boniface, the Legate of the Roman s The supreme title of king, which amo the Franks had been hitherto bor though for some time without soverei power, by another house, the Merovin was thus formally transferred to Pé le Bref and his heirs, by the high religious sanction in the western worl

It was the singular fortune of the famo House of Charlemagne, which had s ceeded in welding into one nation so ma various tribes and peoples, that for seve generations its acting chief was a man conspicuous ability—not only a brave a skilful general, but a born ruler of m Such was Pépin of Herstall, the foun

he Frankish power, the victor at eri. Such was Charles Martel, who tually stayed the Mohammedan in- rs in their awful progress through ope, the conqueror of Abderrahman in decisive battle of Tours. Such was n le Bref, his son, who, with the aid he English missionary, archbishop face, received the church's sanction his assuming the ensigns of kingly gity, and henceforth to his ruling over ast Frankish nation as the anointed he church. But, great and distin- ned as had been the first three chiefs e Franks, the fourth of this illustrious the son of Pépin le Bref, eclipsed all, and in the glory of Charlemagne use by anticipation the name by h he is best known in history—the r of his distinguished ancestors has almost forgotten.

arlemagne succeeded his father, Pépin ef, in the year 768, when our English ol of York was at the height of its erity, and was regarded as the chief ry centre on this side the Alps. His ificent reign lasted some forty-six a, until 814. The vast dominions h Charlemagne inherited from his r, Pépin le Bref, were enormously ased by successive conquests, until included roughly the modern coun- of France, the north of Spain, nd, Belgium, most of the German ories of the German and Austrian res, Switzerland and Italy.

arlemagne is perhaps the greatest rite of history. He unites in himself e varied attributes of the most popular loved heroes; the chivalry of the fabulous Arthur, the wisdom and love of learning of Alfred, the religious fervour of St. Louis, the gallantry and bravery of Cœur de Lion; while the wide extent of his vast dominions forbid any comparison with him on the side of boundless power and world-wide influence. He has been to so many generations in all parts of the world the great and loved hero-king, that there is no little danger of the real Charlemagne shading into a mythic personage as his form recedes into the mists of the past. The splendour of his story grows brighter, and men too often think of him as the romantic hero of Roncesvalles, surrounded by his twelve fabulous peers, and forget that he was a man of flesh and blood, very great but very erring; a warrior and a statesman of the highest order, fitted exactly for his own age, but certainly not that perfect character, that mirror of nobility and chivalry which different writers of different ages have loved to portray. As a man he was the inferior of the English Alfred or the French St. Louis, who were examples of that purity of life, alas! never attained by Charlemagne.

With writers of every age the mighty emperor is naturally a favourite, for he was the steady and consistent patron of letters, and as the all-powerful head of the Holy Roman Empire, in an age of semi-barbarism, was able to do a work for literature and learning such as perhaps no other man has ever had it in his power to accomplish, and schools in various branches of learning which had been confined to Rome and a few Italian cities on the Continent, and to certain religious communities in Ireland, and, later, to the monasteries of Jarrow, York, and Canterbury, from the

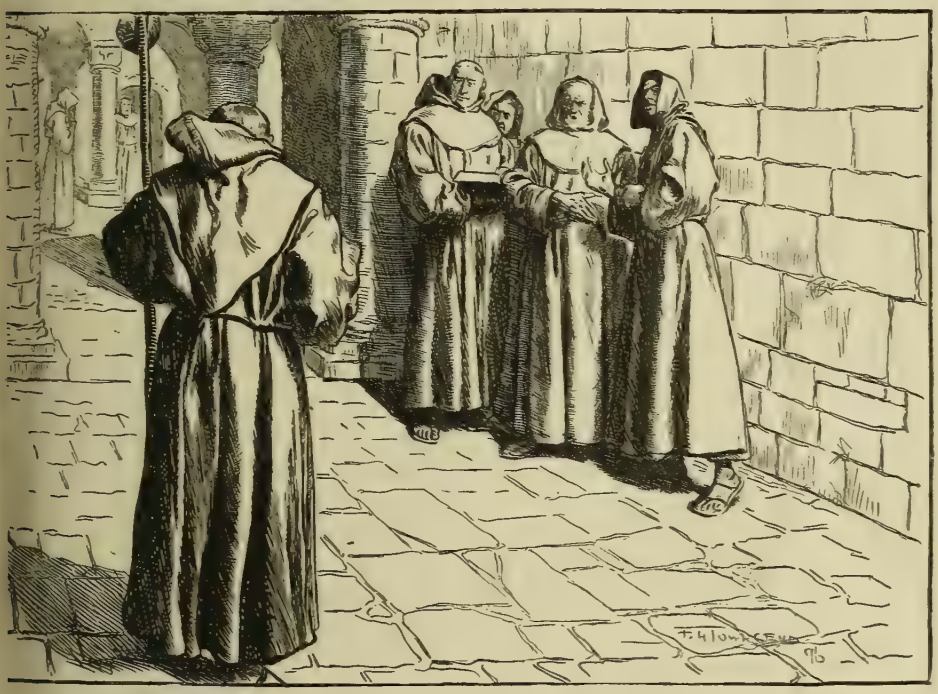
days of Charlemagne became the heritage of not a few centres in his broad dominions, where art and literature were from his time sedulously cultivated. But the man who prompted all this useful and far-

CHARLEMAGNE.
(*From the Picture by Albrecht Dürer*)

reaching work, who directed the great Frankish chieftain's mind in his love for letters and for art, and in his care for religion and education, was the English Alcuin, the faithful follower and disciple of Hadrian of Canterbury, of Bede of Jarrow, of Egbert and Albert of York. Alcuin became in the period of Charlemagne's greatest power his friend a favourite, then his adviser. He acted part, to use a modern term, of "minis of education and religion" to the mig king and emperor.

We have traced already the useful a brilliant career of the English scholar, most distinguished of the York teach Impressed with his learning, the Frank emperor induced him to give up his nat country and his work at York, and to dev his life's energies to his service. We s find him permanently attached to Cha

agne's court, and for eight years re-ained under the monarch's all-powerful otection, teaching and establishing fresh hools, restoring in many centres of the st empire the knowledge of the sacred nguages, the perishing text of the Bible, d the service-book—doing not a little, he knew so well, and with their assistance established numberless schools in Gaul and Germany. He constantly sent to York for more books and fresh helpers. Wherever Alcuin was, English scholars visited him, and often remained permanently with him. Indeed, North-



RECEPTION OF AIGULPH (*p.* 322).

ao, towards bringing back the moral rour of ecclesiastical discipline. In 70 we find him again in his native gland, but not to remain; and after 72 he remained constantly attached to te brilliant court of Charlemagne. Et all this time his connection with Egland and the Church of England was nst intimate. From York he drew a nmber of scholars trained in the school umbria in the last years of the eighth century was rapidly decaying, and for its students and men of letters it was too precarious a home; hence many were glad to find fresh work under the powerful protection of the Frankish sovereign of Europe.

A curious anecdote is quoted by Lingard from Alcuin's biographer, illustrative of the jealousy with which the numbers of

English who were brought to Charlemagne's dominions by Alcuin were regarded by some of the Frankish nation. "When Aigulph, an English priest, was entering the monastery of Tours, where Alcuin was residing, four of the French clergy were standing at the gate, and one of them exclaimed in his own language, 'When will this house be delivered from the crowds of Britons who swarm to that old man (Alcuin) like so many bees?'" The love of Alcuin for York and England, and the high estimation in which this true scholar and theologian held the literary resources of his native country, appear from such passages in his letters as the following:—"I feel bitterly the need of those priceless books of learning which I had in my own country, by the loving industry of my masters, and in some measure by our own humble labours. Let me send some of my youths over to bring back to France the flowers of Britain" (Alcuin to Charlemagne, in 796, written from Tours). Alcuin knew that it was to the Church of England Charlemagne looked for libraries and for scholars.

We still possess a fair number of the great Englishman's writings—notably a valuable biography of Willibrord, the Frisian apostle, and many Latin poems, some of high merit. There is one on the destruction of Lindisfarne—one, if not the earliest, of the long and terrible raids of the sea pirates, on whose eventful story we are presently to enter. The most important and generally interesting of his writings is however, after all, the collection of his letters, nearly three hundred of which have been preserved. Some of these are written to correspondents in England, to English kings, bishops abbots, monks; some are couched in a lighter vein to pupils and friends and to the women whose friendship he valued; others of a graver and more business-like character are addressed to the emperor Charlemagne, the bishop of Rome, and the patriarch of Jerusalem. It is not one of the least of the glories of the school of York to have produced so brilliant and devoted a scholar. To him we owe most of our knowledge of York that noble home of learning and theology of the eighth century, and from whence issued much, if not the greater part of the material which produced the renaissance of letters and education on the Continent.

In the next century we shall have to relate how all the libraries collected by Benedict Biscop, Aldhelm, Bede, and others with so much care and pains, perished; how well-nigh all the noble houses of prayer and study were sacked and burned in our England; how for a considerable period a deep dark night of misery and ignorance settled over the unhappy island. But it is a proud thought for every true lover of England, that before the awful calamities of the ninth century desolated our shores, Alcuin and his band of York scholars had won the confidence of the all-powerful Frankish ruler of Europe; that, under his strong arm and generous protection, these men had carried English learning into a hundred foreign centres where it lived and flourished; and that thus was handed on to coming generations the burning lamp of religion and literature. It is no exaggeration to assert that the church schools of York

ere the fount and origin of the literature of mediæval Europe.

Charlemagne was not only a warrior and a successful conqueror, not only a great statesman and ruler; he was an ardent lover of literature and learning; and theology he regarded as the centre of the intellectual system, round which the liberal sciences circled. He himself was no mean theologian; hence no doubt his admiration of and enduring friendship for the English Alcuin. Now one of the most important theological questions which affected the Church at that time was the position which sacred images and pictures were to occupy in Christian teaching.

Pope Gregory the Great had enunciated the principle, that pictures and images might be employed for the purpose of exciting devotional feelings, and of instructing the simple and unlearned, but that care was to be taken against the worship of both, a danger which he foresaw. The Byzantine emperor, Leo the Isaurian (730–730), put forth an edict requiring the demolition of images. Constantine Copronymus, the son of the emperor Leo, convened a council of 338 bishops at Constantinople in the year 754, which carried out the policy of Leo. The fathers of Constantinople anathematised all who would represent the Incarnate Word by material form or colours, and an order was made to remove all images, whether statues or pictures, from the churches. Until 787 the Iconoclasts — the destroyers of images and pictures—carried all before them in the Eastern church.

Rome, however, was bitterly opposed to this strange and exaggerated teaching, and in the East a complete reaction took place under the influence of the empress Irene, who convened another great Council of 350 prelates at Nice. This council, known as the Second Council of Nice, reversed completely the policy which condemned images, and restored them to the churches, allowing an honourable, though an inferior, worship to be offered to them as sacred symbols. The date of this second Council of Nice was A.D. 787.

Charlemagne and the Gallican church, no doubt largely under the influence of Alcuin, refused to accept the decrees of this Council, and the Frankish sovereign—he was not yet proclaimed emperor—put forth a learned and most able work convicting the second Council of Nice of giving its sanction to simple idolatry. This work, known as the Caroline Books—"*Quatuor Libri Carolini*"—was sent before promulgation to Alcuin, at that time in York, for revision and correction. Some have suspected that the writer of the books in question was Alcuin himself. There is little doubt, however, that the Frankish sovereign was the real author, although probably Alcuin had a large share in their composition.

In the year 794, under Charlemagne, an important Church Council met at Frankfort, attended by a vast crowd of bishops from every part of the Frankish realm, which then included the largest portion of continental Europe. Alcuin, at Charlemagne's request, was present at the deliberations. Although the exaggerations which disfigured the Iconoclasts were avoided, the second Nicene Council was condemned, and the worship of images,

SWORD OF CHARLEMAGNE.
(*Hofburg, Vienna.*)

"as being that which God's church execrates," under the terms worship, adoration, and service of any kind, was forbidden.

The judgment of Charlemagne and the Frankfort Council in the matter of sacred images and pictures—in which judgment we see the mind of Alcuin, Charlemagne's master and teacher in theology, clearly reflected—has ever been the guide of the more thoughtful and sober-minded teachers in the western church on this question. For history repeats itself, and the unhappy error sanctioned by the second Council of Nice has often appeared and reappeared with greater or less prominence in the story of the Catholic church. The desert wanderings of the chosen people, the history of Israel and Judah, again and again tell us how men's worship is ever attracted to something visible—to the sun, the moon, the objects of Nature—to the sacred image, however hideous and repulsive, representing the Unseen. In the Reformation of the sixteenth century, seven centuries after the days of Charlemagne and his minist Alcuin, one of the gravest errors combat and vanquished in the reformed catho Church of England was the undue reve ence paid to images—a reverence that t often glided into a scarcely veiled idolatr The views of the wise Alcuin and of h imperial master, Charlemagne, in the a important matter of this fatal error image worship, were generally adopted b the fathers of the Reformation in Englan

Alcuin, as we have seen, was an ind fatigable scholar, and is justly regarded one of the chief early mediæval workers the preservation of the true text of th sacred writings. As an expositor he is little value. His work-filled life—especial during his later years when he was attach to the court of Charlemagne—was not th quiet, reposeful existence necessary for th labours of a true expositor. But as church reformer and organiser the famo York scholar will ever occupy a disti guished place in the annals of Christianit His letter to archbishop Ethelhard Canterbury, written in 796, admirab summarises Alcuin's mind on the subje of a great prelate's duties, and shows us what must have been the general tenour of his advice to Charlemagne in the momentous work of organising and reforming churches and schools throughout the almost boundless dominions of the mighty European emperor.

PART OF SCABBA OF THE SWORD CHARLEMAGNE.

Ethelhard lived in very troublous times, ad in the exercise of what he deemed ls duty had incurred much unpopularity. lelieving that his life was in danger, te shepherd forsook his flock and left ls great charge. Alcuin, Charlemagne's nister, who was achbishop Ethelrd's friend, took upon himself gavely to rebuke te faint-heartedness of the archbishop, and urged lm in the course ca famous epistle t reconsider the otives of his light, remembering that "the good sepherd layeth own his life for te sheep." "Retrn," wrote Alcin to Ethelhard; ad then in words vich deserve to b remembered ileed in our Curch of England a the noblest advice ever given by a gat son of that church to her chief sepherds, he went on to write, "and bng back to the House of God the yuths that were studying there, the choir o singers, and the penmen with their boks, that the Church may regain its butiful order, and future primates may b trained up under her care. And for yurself, let your preaching be constant in all places—whether in presence of the bishops in full synod, whom it is your duty to admonish to be regular in holding ordinations, earnest in preaching, careful of their churches, strict in enforcing the holy rite of baptism, and bountiful in alms; or whether it be for the good of the souls of the poor in different churches and parishes, especially among the people of Kent, over whom God has been pleased to appoint you to preside. Above all, let it be your strictest care to restore the reading of the Holy Scriptures, that the Church may be exalted with honour, and that your holy see, which was first in the faith, may be first in all wisdom and holiness; where the inquirer after truth may find an answer, the ignorant know what he desires to know, and the understanding Christian see what may deserve his praise."

THRONE OF CHARLEMAGNE, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

Alcuin lived some eight years after writing the above wise letter of advice to the chief pastor of the Church of England, which lays bare before us the heart of the great English adviser of Charlemagne, and which shows us that the world-famed scholar of whom our church is so proud was a man of God in the word's true sense.

But it does more than this. It tells us what was the spirit which lived in York—Alcuin's home for so many years—in the chief school of theology in England, up to the time when that school, together with all that was noblest and best in the church of our island, was swept away by the ruthless sea-pirates of the north in the days of the fatal Danish invasions.

It was in the memorable year 800 that Charlemagne the Frank reached the summit of earthly power; when at Rome he was saluted emperor by the acclamations of the Pope, the clergy, and the people. The mere title, of course, added nothing to the power wielded by the master of Europe, but the imperial authority and name—the formal acknowledgment by the catholic church, in the person of the bishop of Rome, then generally recognised as the head of western Christendom, of the son of Pépin le Bref as the lawful inheritor of Cæsar's place and rank—threw a glamour round the magnificent court of the mighty Frankish sovereign.

And yet he failed to establish a dynasty. There was a mortal weakness already sapping the strength of his enormous empire, even at the proud moment when he assumed the imperial ensigns at Rome. It has been well said that Charlemagne's hand grasped more sceptres than even that mighty hand could hold. The decay had already begun in the great emperor's lifetime, though perhaps he himself was unconscious of it. It proceeded with fatal rapidity in the days of his son and grandchildren. The empire was divided again and again by his heirs; and the divisions, the deadly feuds and enmities arising from these divisions, the want all unity and cohesion in the states whi arose upon the ruins of the Franki Empire, were the chief causes which aid the progress of the Northern sea-pirates the continent of Europe—those same se pirates whose work of ruin in England are about to chronicle. Indeed, to unde stand the causes of their strange and fa success in our island, it is absolutely nece sary to have some knowledge of what the ninth century was going on upon t Continent.

Charlemagne's Minister of Educati had died in 804, after an unexampl career of splendid and successful wor The emperor, his master, survived hi ten years; ten years of outward mag ficence and boundless power, though t seeds of decay were already at work the vast realm. The dramatic envir ments of his entombment were in keepi with the circumstances of his wonder life and reign. "In the gallery of t basilica of his loved Aachen (Aix-Chapelle) he had erected his mar throne, covered with plates of go studded with Greek cameos and ast gems from Nineveh or Babylon. Bef that throne were the stairs descend to the sepulchre, which Charlema had already dug deep for himself in holy ground, even when he raised t marble throne. In 814 the huge br flagstone which covers the vault heaved up. There they reverently posited the embalmed corpse, surroun with ghastly magnificence, sitting e on his curule chair, clad in his sil robes, ponderous with broidery, pe and orphreys; the imperial diadem on

head, his closed eyelids covered, his face swathed in the dead-clothes, girt with his baldric, the ivory horn slung in his scarf, his good sword Joyeuse by his side, the Gospel Book open on his lap; musk and amber and sweet spices poured around, his golden shield and golden sceptre pendant before him." *

But Charlemagne was no sooner laid in his stately tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle, than the dismemberment of his weighty realm began and the ruin of the Frankish empire slowly set in. His two elder sons died before their father. His third son, known in history as Louis le Débonnaire, succeeded him as emperor. His long and disastrous reign lasted from 814 to 840 (twenty-eight years). In this period the Frankish Empire was divided between his four sons—Lothair, Pépin, Louis le Germanique, and Charles le Chauve—ten times.

In England, cut off from the continent of Europe by the sea barrier which has so often been its friend, the Frankish emperor, supreme in Europe, was only able to exercise an indirect influence. We possess, indeed, but the scantiest of details of any intercourse between the emperor and the princes who at the end of the eighth and in the early years of the ninth century were ruling in our island. In Northumbria, as we have seen, during the greater part of the period of Charlemagne's reign a miserable state of anarchy prevailed, which gradually undermined the still flourishing school of York. We catch sight of kings and claimants of the Northumbrian crown making their way as exiles and suppliants to the Frankish court. Alcuin, in a letter to Offa, the powerful Mercian king, who reigned from 758 to 796, after the murder of king Ethelred by his Northumbrian thanes, obscurely hints at an armed interference in Northumbrian affairs meditated by Charlemagne—warded off through his influential persuasion. "*Nisi ego intercessor essem*" were Alcuin's words.

The sovereign of Mercia—during the last half of the eighth century, when the power of Northumbria was fading, and Wessex was still enfeebled with internal disputes—occupied the principal and most prominent position among English princes. Two distinguished men, Ethelbald and Offa, filled the Mercian throne in this period. They both belonged to the family of that Penda, the famous heathen king who played so distinguished a part in the story of the preceding century. Ethelbald was the son of Alweo, a brother of Penda, and for a time exercised a supremacy over the centre and much of the south of the island. His power was, however, broken by the men of Wessex at the battle of Burford, in 754, and three years later the Mercian king was murdered by his own chieftains. He was succeeded by his kinsman Offa, in 758. Offa was descended from another brother of the great Penda.

Offa's long reign lasted until 794. He seems to have interfered but little with either Northumbria or Wessex, but he was supreme in middle England and Kent, and towards the end of his reign annexed East Anglia to Mercia. The event of his reign by which he is best remembered was the

* Palgrave's "Normandy and England."

huge earthwork he built up between the mouth of the Wye and the Dee, the remains of which still bear the name of "Offa's Dyke." This great barrier marked the boundary between Mercia and the Welsh, the remnant of the ancient British people, whom he drove further west behind the Severn. Another and a different work, which will ever be connected with the name of Offa, was the foundation of the mighty abbey of St. Albans, near the ruins of the old Roman city of Verulamium, on the spot hallowed by the martyrdom of St. Alban. It is a curious fact that one of the most famous and best known of our English abbeys owes its foundation to a prince of the house of Penda, the last Engle defender of the old heathen religion of the Northmen.

This Offa seems to have enjoyed in some measure the friendship of the great Frankish sovereign, who, however, was evidently far from looking upon the Mercian king as his equal. As certainly the most powerful of the English princes of the last half of the eighth century, Charlemagne considered it expedient to enter into correspondence with him, and even asked for the hand of one of his daughters for his son. Offa, however, in return demanded the hand of Charlemagne's daughter for his heir. The great Frank was offended at this request, as it seemed an assertion of equality on the part of the Mercian king, and for a time the relations between Offa and the Franks were of an unfriendly character. Through Alcuin's influence the two sovereigns were again reconciled There is no doubt that Charlemagne at one period meditated securing a supr macy in England, and hoped that o island would eventually become a provin of his vast empire.

But to the student of English chur history the most curious of the inte ferences of Charlemagne in England w connected with a strange and secr application of Jaenbert, archbishop Canterbury (766 to 790), for his assis ance and countenance. The transactic is interesting, and throws considerab light upon the position of the church England in the last quarter of the eight century.

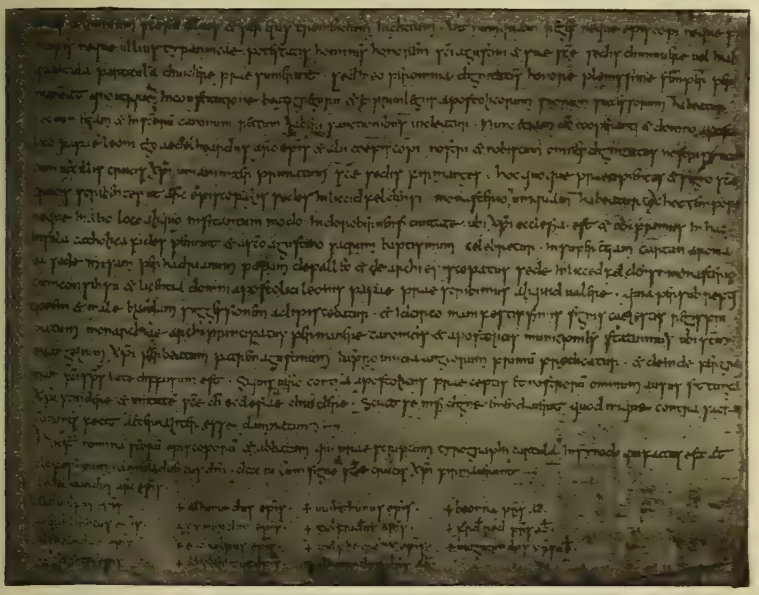
Archbishop Theodore, the first organis of the Church of England, died in 69 and between that year and the accessic of Jaenbert, the prelate who applied Charlemagne for assistance—a period some seventy-six years—five archbisho had sat in the seat of Augustine at Cante bury; not men of distinguished ability, b good, earnest bishops, and two or three them prominent scholars. The position the early archbishops of Canterbury was very high one. They were not only t acknowledged primates of the church England, but were possessors of lar estates in Kent and Mercia. Owing to t kings or sub-kings of Kent having tra ferred their royal residence to Reculve the power of the archbishops in Canterbu the chief city in Kent, was virtually u controlled. They coined money in th own name, and their effigy was impress upon it. Over malefactors arrested up their own broad estates they had t power of life and death. Some of them, least, assumed an almost royal state.

In the year 774, after the battle

LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

PHOTO: CHESTER VAUGHAN, ACTON, W.

Oord, the ancient royal family of Kent name extinct, and Offa, the Mercian king, assumed the royal authority in Kent. But Jaenbert, with the example of the Bishop of Rome before his eyes—the Bishop of Rome had lately, with the consent of the powerful Frankish sovereign, assumed



PORTION OF A MS. COPY OF THE CLOVESHOE CANON, A.D. 803, BY WHICH THE SUPREMACY OF CANTERBURY OVER LICHFIELD WAS ESTABLISHED (*p.* 331).

the position of a sovereign prince—considered that the archbishop of Canterbury, the pontiff, as he was called, of England, was the natural successor to the vacant Kentish throne. It seems that Jaenbert made his wishes known to Charlemagne, expressing his willingness to exercise sovereign authority in Kent as the feudatory of Charlemagne. The great Frank, however, declined the overtures of archbishop Jaenbert. But Offa of Mercia became aware of Jaenbert's intrigue, and not wishing for state reasons, openly to revenge himself upon the archbishop, determined to wreck the power of the metropolitan by the erection of a new archbishopric in Mercia, which should have its seat in Lichfield.

The bishops and the public assembly of the Witenagemot agreed to carry out king Offa's wishes, and the Mercian king, determining that the Mercian archbishop should hold equal rank with the arch-prelates of Canterbury and York, asked the sanction of the bishop of Rome, as the acknowledged head of the western church, to the new arrangement, requesting him to invest the newly-elected archbishop of Lichfield with the sacred pallium. The reigning bishop or Pope of Rome was Hadrian, a distinguished statesman, prelate, and the intimate friend of Charlemagne. Hadrian saw in Offa's request an opportunity for advancing

the ever-growing claim of Rome to supreme power in the western church, and suggested that if he sent the coveted pallium to Lichfield, king Offa should hold a council which should make fresh rules for the Church of England thus re-arranged into three archbishoprics, and that at the council so summoned two legates from Rome should appear. To this Offa consented. It was the price of the Lichfield pallium.

King Offa held the promised synod—for that is what the council really was—at Cealchythe, or Calcuith, which some suppose to have been in Kent (Lingard suggests Chelsea, near London, as the spot). The Roman legates were present. Subsequent to the synod a formal Gemot was held, and then the decisions of the synod were ratified ; and the ancient province of Canterbury was divided as Offa desired. Jaenbert of Canterbury was compelled to release from their oath of canonical obedience to him all his suffragans, save the bishops of Rochester, London, Selsey, Winchester, and Sherburn. The estates and property of the archbishops of Canterbury in the kingdom of Mercia had been previously confiscated, and were used as an endowment for the new arch-see of Lichfield in Mercia.

Among the canons of Cealchythe proposed by the Roman legates, was a curious one dealing with the diet and apparel of monks and nuns. Evidently Rome dreaded the secular and worldly spirit which was then rapidly invading the monastic citadels of the church. The vowed servants of God in their apparel were to avoid "the dyed colours of India and precious garments." This canon appears to have been specially directed against the nunneries, where these not unnatural feminine t were thought to be becoming a real dan Rules respecting the Holy Commun enforcing greater reverence, were made. The faithful were to offer *br* not *crusts*, for the Holy Feast, and chalice then used was to be made of *h*

Strangely enough, the important of this early and seemingly momen synod of Cealchythe, held at the clos the eighth century, came to nothing. hopes of Rome were disappointed. presence and overpowering influenc the Italian legates at the synod bec no precedent for future synods or cou in England. There is no record of legate from the Pope taking part in proceedings of the church during subsequent Anglo-Saxon period. F the archbishopric of Lichfield, with bishops of Mercia and East Anglia its suffragans, from which Offa in dream for the advancement of Me hoped so much, only lasted a very while. Founded in 786, it only dured some sixteen years. Offa, powerful Mercian sovereign, died in Then followed a period in which grandeur of Mercia, built up in the reigns of the great kings Ethelbald Offa, gradually faded, and Cenwulf, wh on the Mercian throne from Offa's d to 821, was glad, on the occasion a revolt in Kent against the Me supremacy, to recognise the assist of Ethelhard, who succeeded Jaenbe archbishop of Canterbury, by the sac of the Mercian arch-see. As early as

* The charter on page 309, witnessed by b of date 793–796.

Ligbert, archbishop of Lichfield, ceased to gn documents with the title of archishop, and in the year 803, at the synod f Cloveshoe, the Lichfield archbishopric as swept away, and the ancient glory of ie splendour and power of the prelates Canterbury were restored.

Nearly eleven centuries have passed nce the decrees of Cloveshoe in 803, nd no attempt has been ever made again touch the undoubted primacy of the e of Augustine in England. The words the Cloveshoe canon, which confirmed ie primacy to Canterbury, are remarkble :—"We give this a charge, and sign with the sign of the cross, that the see chiepiscopal from this time forward never in the monastery of Lichfield, nor in ny other place but the city of Canterbury, here Christ's Church is, and where the atholic faith first shone forth in this and, and where holy baptism was st celebrated by St. Augustine. . . . ut if any dare to rend Christ's garment nd to divide the unity of the holy Church God, contrary to the apostolical precepts nd all ours, let him know that he is ernally damned, unless he make due tisfaction for what he has wickedly done, ntrary to the canons."

The position of the archbishops of nterbury, the unbroken line of archelates stretching over thirteen centuries the quiet, noiseless but undoubted supremacy they have ever exercised (with the litary brief exception in the case of chfield, above related) over the Church England—has been a most important tor in the power and influence of the urch of the Anglo-Saxon race. With e solitary exception of the see of Rome, which for a yet longer period, from various causes, has held a unique place in the Catholic church, Canterbury stands alone among the great sees of the Christian world. We look in vain through all the countries of the world for anything like it. Germany, extending from the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic, far to the south in those lands where the Danube broadens out into an Eastern river ; France, from the sandy flats of Holland to the Mediterranean coasts ; Spain, from the Pyrenees to the Atlantic Ocean in the far west—all these possess many arch-sees of high distinction and power, with a splendid history of their own stretching over centuries ; but in none of these great Christian countries is there anything like Canterbury. The student would be puzzled to say to which of the more prominent Teuton sees he would assign the pre-eminence : Cologne, Mainz, Bamberg, Ratisbon, Vienna, and other names would pass before him in a long and stately procession. In France, such sees as Paris, Rouen, Lyons, and Arles would bewilder him if he attempted the task of assigning the position of primacy to any one of them. Toledo and Seville in Spain have been of equal dignity and power. But in the Church of England Canterbury holds now, as it ever has done from the days of Theodore, a unique position as the mother church, the metropolitan church of the Anglo-Saxon peoples; not only in Britain, but in the far more extensive Britain beyond the seas—a Britain unknown and undreamed of when Augustine first taught the Jutish king, Ethelbert, the story of the Christ, or when Theodore a century later moulded the great Church of the Anglo-Saxon race.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE COMING OF THE DANES.

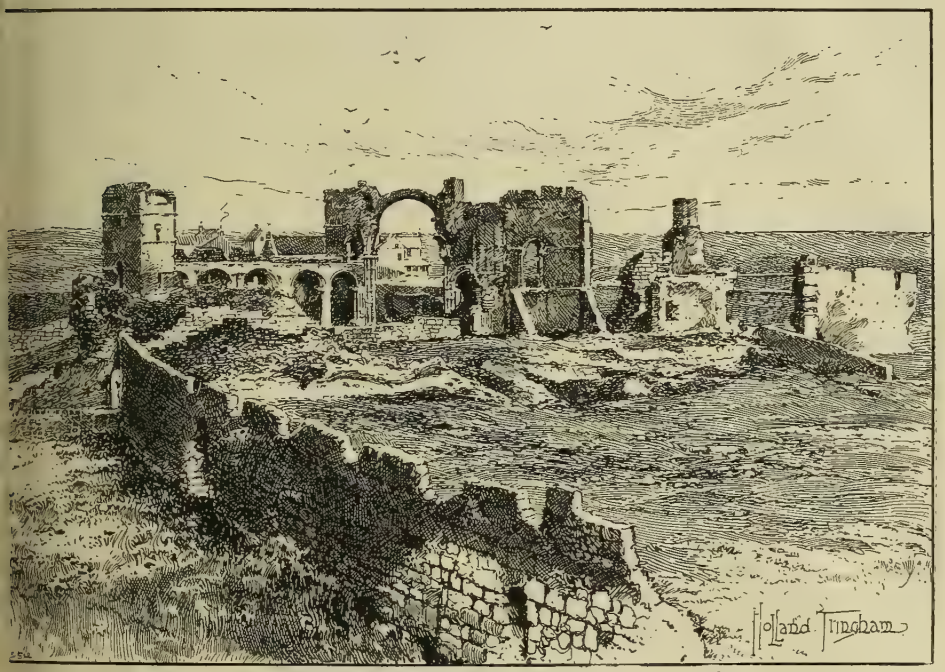
Common Origin of Danes and Engles—Vikings and their Ships—The Viking Thirst for Blood—
Domestic Virtues—The First Viking Raids in England—Larger Invasion of Ireland—Attacks
the Frankish Empire—Influence of the Church upon the Defence of England—The Danes Deliber
and Inveterate Foes of Christianity—Their Growing Power and Invasions, and Terrible Barbari
—Ethelwulf's Visit to Rome and France—Largest Continental Cities Sacked and Burnt—
Danish Storm Bursts over England—Reasons for England's Previous Immunity—The Danes C
quer Northumbria—Destruction of Christianity in the North—Further Conquests—Ragnar Lodb
and his Sons—His Death Song as Illustrative of the Viking Spirit—The Danish Revenge—Pres
Traces of the Danish Conquest—Final Attack on Wessex, and Resistance of King Ethelre
Ethelred's Death, and Accession of Alfred.

WE must now dwell a little upon those strange fierce raids, upon those expeditions of Danish freebooters, which terrorised—and with good reason — England and northern Europe for more than a hundred years. For good or for evil, they have left their stern mark upon the history of England and France. Without some knowledge of the Danish invasions and of the awful ruin which these invasions brought upon both church and people, it would be utterly impossible to attain to any real understanding of the story of England and of her Church in this period. Who were those sea-robbers, who, with their desolating raids and ever-recurring invasions, so nearly succeeded in effacing all Christian life, with its marvellous civilising results, in England and on the continent of Europe? What is their story?

They also were a Scandinavian race, whose home, whose life, whose language and customs were really the same as the home and language and customs of the Engles; although, perhaps, many of their pirate-ships were manned from farms and homesteads considerably to the north the districts lying along the North Sea a the Baltic, whence came most of the fi conquerors of Britain. Our own Engl chronicles speak of them generally *Danes*, which term we shall generally u On the continent of Europe they w usually called "Northmen." Asser, t biographer of Alfred, uses the words in t same sense, "Northmen or Danes." Af the middle of the ninth century the Da from Denmark appear, however, to ha been the principal sharers in the sea-ra which harassed England and the gr river-roads of Germany and France.

The question has been frequently ask What specially *attracted* these peop southward at this particular junctur the close of the eighth century? Vari reasons have been suggested, for we poss no formal history of the north at t period. It seems probable, at least, t the narrow limits in Jutland, Denma and in the countries lying yet further nor ward, of arable land capable of support life, had gradually become insufficient the needs of an ever-growing populati Some of the first wanderers from their

me would return, and would bring back ws of the undreamed-of riches and xury enjoyed by peoples dwelling to the uth. The hope of plunder would attract ore and ever more wanderers. The port that these riches could be easily




RUINS OF LINDISFARNE PRIORY, HOLY ISLAND. *Photo: Poulton, London.*

n, suggested organised expeditions, and the earlier freebooting expeditions on arger scale were gathered together.

he story of the "genesis" of the raids hus fairly accounted for. In seeking the causes of the earlier Danish freeting expeditions, the hope of plunder st stand in the forefront. The discery of the wealth of the dwellers in thern countries was a revelation to these thmen. "The spell which such disure of a world's wealth cast on a whole people has been well instanced since, from the memories of the Spain of Charles the Fifth, and the England of Elizabeth."* But we shall see presently, when we come to consider the organised later development of this terrible northern invasion, that the mere hope of plunder was by no means the whole of the story.

There was found, not long ago, in a Norway mound one of the old Danish pirate-ships. It was a large, long vessel—seventy-eight feet long by sixteen feet broad, and some five or six feet deep. Such a "long-ship" drew only four feet of water. She was driven by large red-brown sails and by oars—sixteen oars on either side.

* Green: "Conquest of England."

These pirate-ships sailed in companies. The first expedition of which any record is kept appeared in the year 787 on the West Saxon shores in the south of England, and consisted only of three vessels, while other pirate fleets somewhat later numbered as many as two hundred or more of these long-ships. They were built exclusively for speed, and, with their light draught of water, were able to penetrate far up each river-road, into the very heart of the country they wished to plunder. Only comparatively short voyages could be undertaken, for there was little accommodation in the "long-ships" for crew or stores; but as far as England was concerned no long voyage was necessary, for in about forty hours the sea-pirates could sail and row from Norway to the Shetlands and Orkneys. From these islands Scotland was easily reached, and from the islands of west Scotland the coasts of Ireland were visible—Ireland, with its mighty unprotected monasteries and their undreamed-of treasures. Or from Denmark an easy sail brought the sea-pirates to the mouth of the Elbe; a little voyage along the Frisian shores, and the broad estuary of the Rhine and the Meuse was reached; and farther along the same coast the mouth of the Seine. The Elbe, the Rhine, and the Seine were noble river-roads which led into the very heart of Germany and France. The white cliffs of southern England seemed to beckon these restless ocean freebooters as they coasted along from the Rhine estuary to the Seine, and the broad Thames offered a succession of safe harbours for the largest fleet of pirate long-ships; while to the north the Humber, the Tees, and the Esk were waterways leading to the heart of northern districts of our island. L voyages were unnecessary save for a rare and distant expeditions.

The popular name given to these dr northern pirates—Vikings—Men of Creek or the Bay—is derived from Danish word "vik" or "wik," which sig fies a bay or creek. There these "lo ships" were often moored, while th fierce crews did their dread work amo the inland villages and towns in neighbourhood of the sea, or at so monastery built in a lonely spot ami moors or fens by monk-builders who ne dreamed of these restless robbers, spru as it were from the northern seas; of wh very existence, till they paid their aw visits, burning and sacking their lo abodes, they had no conception.

These Vikings—these Danish sea-robb —were always, however, something m than mere plunderers. An absolute th for blood, a strange delight in inflicting cruellest suffering on their fellow-men passion for destroying, as it seemed, for mere savage pleasure of destruction, a characteristic feature of these enem of the human race. In the war-sagas death-songs of the Vikings which h come down to us, every now and then song-man seems positively drunken w blood. Ruin and desolation marked dread track, when the crews of the "lo ship" had landed. Villages and ha homesteads were burnt; the fairest mo teries were sacked and destroyed; work of patient scholars was ruined in hour; the fields the monks had reclai and tilled with so much care and pa were ravaged and desolated. The n

l tortures were pitilessly inflicted on unoffending dwellers, alike in the and in the monastery. To take but notable instance: at Paris, in one of raids up the river Seine, these fiends led one hundred and eleven captives, crucified many others, recklessly ng at they marched through the tiful and richly cultivated Normandy the Isle of France.

nd yet these fierce foes, who carried nd sword through our England and fairest countries of the continent of pe; the very men who slew the monk- ar working in his cell or praying e his altar, who dragged the women cruel slavery, and tossed little children ruthless fury from spear to spear, in own northern homes seem to have positively gentle and devoted. No- e did stronger ties bind husband to or child to father; nowhere was a deeper reverence for womanhood he sanctities of womanhood. Their for their stern inhospitable northern is proverbial; a touching scene, for nce, occurs in the Njal's saga. Gun- Viking doomed to exile, goes down te ship. Then he turned with his face wards the Lythe and the homestead, daid: "Fair is the Lythe, so fair that ls never seemed to me so fair; the fields are white to harvest, and the mead is mown; and now I will ride home and not fare to sea at all."* can hardly believe that such expres- of feeling, such home-love, such a code rals, belonged to savage war-chiefs, so the bitter curse of England and the bouring countries on the continent.

Quoted by Green: "Conquest of England."

The first appearance of a Viking ship on the English coast was long preserved as a memorable tradition by the people who afterwards suffered such grievous calamities from the crews of these ships with the dark red sails. It was, as we have said, in 787 that these terrible strangers landed, somewhere on the West Saxon shores. Offa was reigning in Mercia, and Beorthric, who had driven Egbert to his exile with Charlemagne, was king in Wessex. The king's reeve, or chief magistrate in Dorchester, heard of their landing, and at once rode to the coast to inquire what was their business in England. The unfortunate royal official too soon received the answer to his question, for we hear how the fierce strangers killed the reeve and his officers. Nothing more is known of the fate of this first party of Vikings. They probably, after the murder of the reeve, laded their ships with plunder and sailed away.

Six years later, in 793, England was appalled at the tidings which went through the land, that Lindisfarne and the holy shrines of the sainted Aidan and Cuthbert had been sacked, and the monks murdered, and many villages on the Northumbrian coast plundered. In the very next year the dread news gradually spread through England that the long black ships had sailed up the Wear, and had burned the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, the noble foundation of Benedict Biscop, the home of Bede and his famous school.

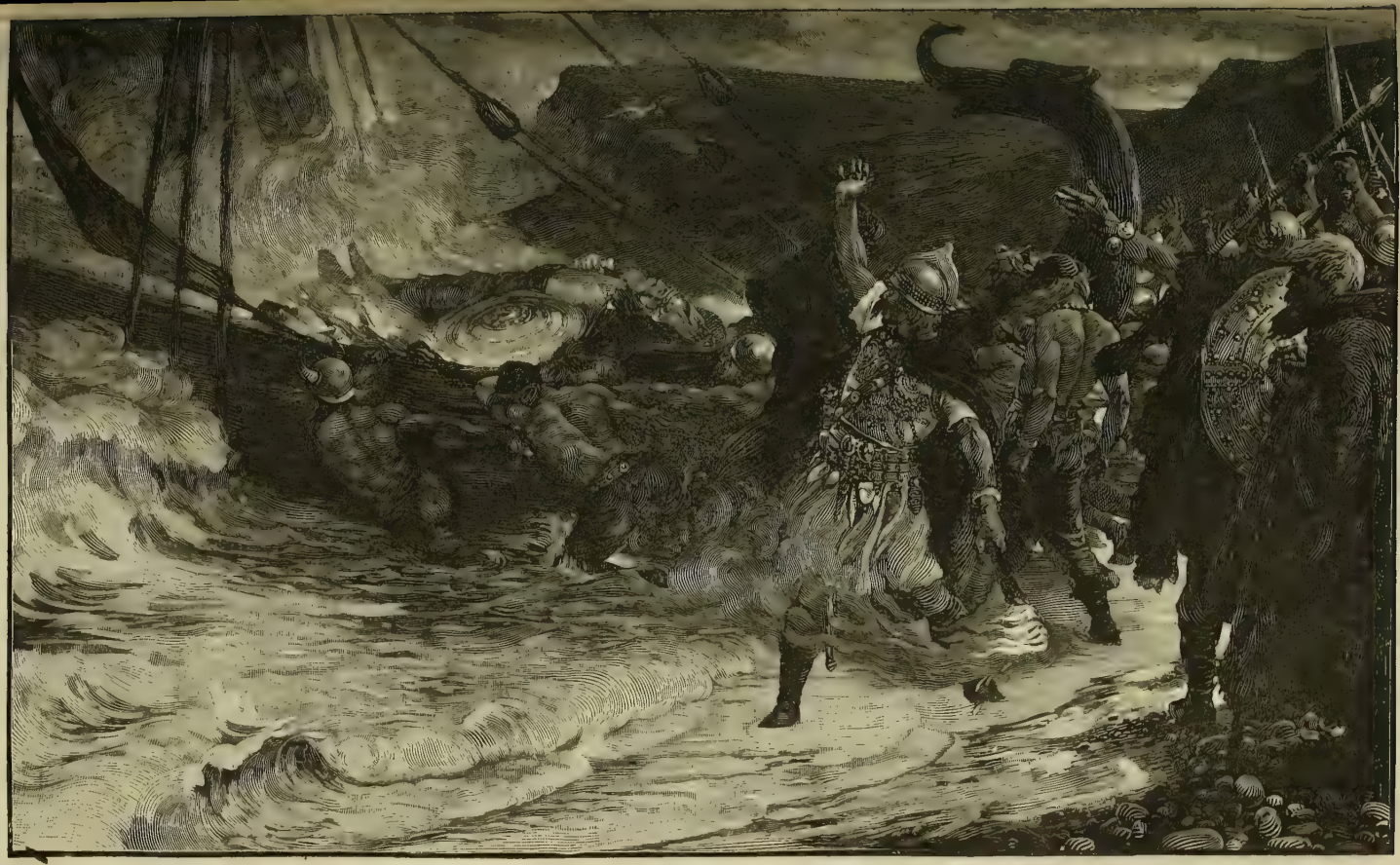
But these were mere small detachments of the mighty plundering fleet of Northmen. The pioneers of the Vikings—little squadrons of two or three ships like the one which appeared on the Wessex coast in the year 787, and which excited the ill-starred

curiosity of the royal reeve of Dorchester —had already reported at home that Ireland offered the most promising scene for plundering operations on a great scale. In Ireland there were numerous religious houses of great extent, inhabited by Christian monks and nuns, absolutely defenceless—houses containing vast treasures of gold and silver and precious things. So to Ireland the earliest raids were made by the Vikings in any really overpowering numbers.

The first appearance and landing of the Northmen in Ireland seems to have been in the year 795, when a place called Reckru was burned, and its shrines destroyed and plundered; but from that year forward Ireland was the scene of numberless Viking raids. It will never be known what treasures of a wonderful but almost forgotten age perished in the thirty years which followed the first landing of the Northmen. It must be remembered how for more than three centuries (Columba was born in 521, and the great Irish monasteries were in existence and in full working order before Columba's days) Ireland had been the famous home of learning, and in her countless monasteries were stored up the treasures which the learning and the patient industry of several centuries had gathered. Her shrines were enriched with gold and gems. Her libraries, filled with precious and costly manuscripts, curiously wrought chalices and sacred vessels, mass-books and copies of the holy books sumptuously bound, the crozier, the pastoral staff, the mitre encrusted with gold and gems, vestments richly and cunningly embroidered, from the treasure chamber of many a monastery, were ruthlessly plundered or destro Nowhere did the Vikings find so m booty; and nowhere, perhaps, so l resistance.

In 832 these detached plunde raids were succeeded by an organ invasion, and a Viking chief named T gil established himself in Armagh, exacted tribute from the whole of north of Ireland. From this time Ire became, as it were, a centre whence is bands of these wild depredators, ravaged at their will the western co of Britain. Egbert, the West Sa king, the over-lord of England, who in 836, we read, defeated these Vik from Ireland in a pitched battle on boundaries of Cornwall, and for the years of his reign won rest for the We division of his great kingdom; but t fatal invasions soon recommenced.

Ireland, however, was only one of many scenes of these fatal Danish r Alcuin, the minister and friend of Ch magne, whose words of bitter sorrow w he heard of the sack of the monasteri Wearmont and Jarrow in the year have already been quoted, no doubt s often with his great master of this new terrible peril which menaced the nort the vast Frankish empire. The No men's depredations on the contine Europe in various places had begu early as the year 800. In 803 a formi attack along the Elbe was only rep by the advance of a Frankish army. 810, two hundred Viking ships r a descent on Frisia, and the sea-kin command — Godfrid — boasted he w storm the emperor's favourite city of la-Chapelle; but internal dissensions an



THE FUNERAL OF A VIKING.

*(By permission from the picture by Frank Dicksee, R.A.)*

the Norsemen put an end to Godfrid's bold plans. The far-seeing Frankish emperor then made great efforts to protect his northern cities. He built ships and established garrisons; and while he lived, his strong arm seems to have effectually kept the Danish plunderers in check. But in spite of all his forethought, the long-ships with the dark red sails were no uncommon sign, even in the far south. There is a story told of Charlemagne, shortly before his death in 814, that when at Narbonne one day, at table, he was told that some of the pirate ships were in sight. He rose and gazed at them, and as he looked they say the great emperor wept. "I have no fear," he said to the bystanders, "that these dreaded pirates will ever injure me or mine; but I weep that they should dare, even in my lifetime, to come near my coasts, and I foresee the misery they will surely bring on those who come after me."

Charlemagne's forebodings were only too quickly realised. The story of the reign of his son and successor, Louis le Débonnaire, is a story of disaster; of dissensions within, and of continuous wars without. The vast realm of the Franks, ruled over by the great emperor, was surrounded by a ring of enemies who pressed it hard on every side. The varied nationalities of which it was composed, in Italy, Germany, Holland, France, had no feeling of deep loyalty to the reigning Frankish emperor. The empire, divided and weakened, opposed no effectual barrier to the ever recurring invasion and raids of the Northmen.

In England, in this disastrous period, the most remarkable feature was the positi occupied by the church. Although t strong arm and conspicuous milita genius of Egbert of Wessex, the over-lo of England, was able successfully to re the Vikings, and generally to preserve dominions from the ruin and destructi which followed in the track of the dread pirate bands, like Charlemagne — wi whom he had spent so many years duri his long exile—he was too far-seeing statesman to make light of these new fo to Christianity and civilisation. Like t Frankish emperor, he saw plainly that t Viking invasions were only beginnin that they would, as time went on, gath fresh force, would become better organise more united, would probably fall on cultur and wealthy countries like England wi an irresistible power. Egbert and advisers knew what had happened to t hapless Northumbrian monasteries of Li disfarne and Jarrow and Wearmouth the closing years of the last centu They had watched with dread and hor what these Northmen had lately done Ireland, and how a large portion of t great island, with its priceless treasur was literally at the mercy of these heath sea-robbers. It was this pressing, t immediate danger which determined t English king to draw the Church England into a closer and more intim union with the State than had e existed before.

Egbert, trained by Charlemagne, rec nised the power of an organised a united church, and felt that he posses in the Church of England a great natio community which rose above the pe jealousies of Mercia, Northumbria, a

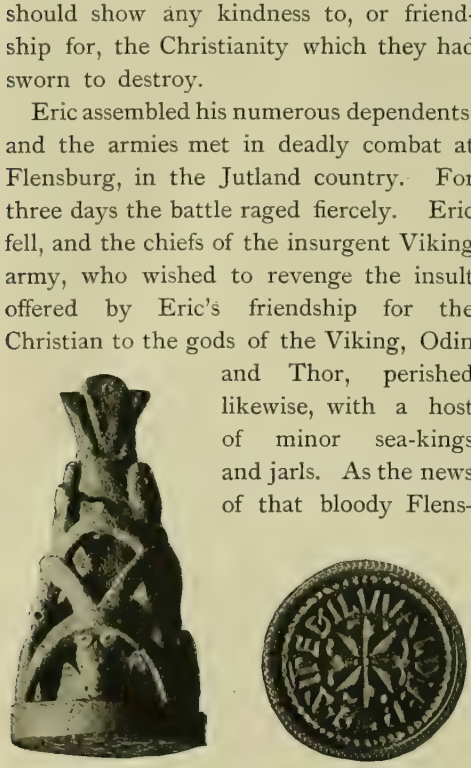
ssex. So in the year 838 the king and r-lord promised lasting protection and ce to the see of Canterbury; and arch-hop Ceolnoth, on his part, gave Egbert ledge of firm friendship and loyalty. th the bishop of Winchester, the chief late of Wessex, similar undertakings e entered into; and probably other im-tant sees joined in these mutual pledges a firm and loyal union. This intimate on between church and state was ally welcome to the prelates, who guided fortunes of the church, as to Egbert king. For the church felt its very stence was in the gravest peril from the ermined attacks of the pagan North-n, the bitter foes of all who bore the ne of Christ.

This special aspect of the Viking wars has haps been a little lost sight of. We are he habit of regarding these bitter foes civilisation as mere robbers, whose one at object was plunder; whose only ught was how they could attack and defenceless monasteries and nunneries, sperous villages and towns, farms and nesteads, wealthy abbeys and famous rches, and stripping these of all things of arent value, sail away with their plunder heir own northern homes beyond the In reality, the burning of the house rayer, of the homestead or the village, ruthless harrying and devastation of country, were rather incidents in those sions; simply careless, thoughtless ons of cruel warriors, accustomed to even finding a savage delight in scenes apine, of blood and suffering. The ings, Northmen, sea-kings, Danes, nen, by whatever name they are wn; the burners of Lindisfarne and Jarrow, the ruthless plunderers of the great Celtic monasteries in Ireland; the men who harried East Anglia, and then, under their sea-king Ivar, desolated Northumbria with fire and sword—were ever the constant, the determined, the relentless *enemies of Christianity*. It would seem as though, in the long-drawn-out bitter onslaught of these fierce Northmen, Paganism made its last desperate attack on Christianity; and at one time it appeared as though the old false gods of the north would be the victors, and in England and in many of the fairest countries of the continent of Europe would succeed in supplanting Christ.

A notable instance of the intense hatred of the Viking to the religion of Christ occurred in this century, in the year 855. Eric the Red, a famous sea-king, was acknowledged as over-lord of Denmark. The emperor Charlemagne, among the chief fortress-defences of the north, had built Hamburg. It rapidly became a great centre in the north, at once a fortress and a monastery; the city an archiepiscopal see. It was stormed and sacked by Eric, the Viking chieftain, and Anscharius, the archbishop, fled for his life. Anscharius subsequently returned to Hamburg. He was a man of rare nobility and devotion, and as his revenge for the injuries done him by the Danes, he spent his revenues in redeeming captive Danish children, and educating them in Christian practice and doctrine. He succeeded in winning the Viking Eric's heart, and his once persecutor became his protector and friend. King Eric never seems to have professed Christianity, but, won over by the goodness of the archbishop, he

became much more kindly disposed towards the religion so bitterly hated by his Danish subjects. Simply by this kindness to Anscharius and the Christians of Hamburg, Eric stirred up the most inveterate hatred of the Northmen. Sea-pirates from all parts gathered together, choosing even to forego their voyages in pursuit of plunder, rather than not share in the act of vengeance and punishment. The Norsemen's gods, the laws, the spirit of the whole Viking world, had received at the hands of Eric the Red, king of Denmark, the hated Christian's friend and protector, a deadly injury. It was insupportable that the chief Northman king should show any kindness to, or friendship for, the Christianity which they had sworn to destroy.

Eric assembled his numerous dependents, and the armies met in deadly combat at Flensburg, in the Jutland country. For three days the battle raged fiercely. Eric fell, and the chiefs of the insurgent Viking army, who wished to revenge the insult offered by Eric's friendship for the Christian to the gods of the Viking, Odin and Thor, perished likewise, with a host of minor sea-kings and jarls. As the news of that bloody Flensburg fight was noised in the count harried by the Norsemen, men hoped t the power of the dreaded sea-rovers broken by the terrible slaughter in t strange fight among themselves; bu Flensburg did give the hapless count any respite from the swift, recurring raids, the respite was but of brief duration.



BRONZE SEAL OF ETHILWALD, BISHOP OF DUNWICH (*circa* A.D. 850).

GOLD RING OF ETH WULF.

Egbert of Wessex, the over-lord of England, Charlemagne's friend, died in 839, and then began the real struggle between the Danes and the Englishmen. Ethelwulf, the son of Egb succeeded to the Wessex throne, and the nominal— for it was little more—o lordship of Mercia and Northumberlan

Meanwhile the power of the Viking Ireland—Ostmen was the name they w mostly called there—grew rapidly. Ul passed well-nigh entirely under their n and the rest of the island was threate by the invaders. Making use now Ireland as the basis of their operati several formidable expeditions were un taken with varying success against We and the south-west of England. F invasion, although generally repelled great loss to the Northmen, brought un misery and suffering upon the ha districts through which the pirates pa Wessex, indeed, ever offered a s resistance to the foe, and owing to persistent and gallant defence, Wess including the western and southern po of the island—never became Da

he Viking, often though he harried Vessex, was never able to settle permanently in any part of what are now the outhern and western counties of England. was in the east of England, the part the island most exposed to the Viking

We possess no details of the pirate raids in the east and south-east of England. We catch sight of passing descents of the Northmen in East Anglia and in districts north of the Wash, in A.D. 838. But these ruinous expeditions were no doubt of yearly

*Photo: O. Vaering, Christiania.*

OLD VIKING SHIP DISINTERRED AT GOKSTAD.

rds, and, owing to its political circmstances, least able to defend itself, that t real danger lay. It was, as we shall see, fim the Danish settlement in East Anglia ht the army of Vikings came which rned the north of England, and finally swept away the splendid civilisation which l church, after two centuries of patient d, had slowly built up.

occurrence, though they are mostly unchronicled. But in the year 851 they seem to have landed in force, and to have sacked the cities of Canterbury, with its famous monastery and schools, and London, which, owing to its unrivalled situation, was slowly growing into importance. We read of as many as 350 ships and their armed crews taking part in this fatal expedition. After

these deeds of destruction, however, they sustained a severe check at the hands of king Ethelwulf, who defeated the plundering hosts with great slaughter at Aclea. But this check was only temporary, for in 854–5 we find a great force of sea-pirates positively wintering in the Isle of Sheppey.

The danger now seemed so pressing, with the band of the Vikings apparently numberless, and increasing in boldness and daring every year, that king Ethelwulf determined upon a pilgrimage to Rome and a visit to the grandson of the great Charlemagne, Charles the Bald (le Chauve) who was reigning over that portion of the vast Frankish empire which generally corresponds with what we know as France. King Ethelwulf's journey took place in 854. It had a double object. Christian England feared, and with reason, for its very existence. A ring of fierce pagan warriors was gradually forming round the apparently doomed island. Ireland to the west was virtually in the hands of the Vikings. The opposite coasts of Frisia and Gaul were fast becoming settlements of the same pagan conquerors; fresh, and ever fresh bands of the same enemies of Christianity and civilisation, seemed to be ever arriving from the north. No sooner was one Viking force met and defeated, than another fleet and army succeeded them. The sacking and plundering of Canterbury and London were terrible warnings of a fate which too probably awaited the cities and monasteries of the northern and central districts. The visit to Rome was to implore, in the most sacred shrine in Christendom, the interposition of the Most High in defence of the church which seemed about to perish; was to take counsel with the chief Christian prel of the west, invested, as the Church England held, with a peculiar sanctity, this day of danger and awful peril. T visit to king Charles the Bald, on journey home, was to take mut counsel how best to avert the deadly pe which menaced the very existence of t realms and the religion alike of the Ang Saxon and of the Frankish kings.

Ethelwulf spent a year at Rome, a three months with Charles the Ba Although advanced in years, before closed his visit he married Judith, t young daughter of Charles. This som what strange marriage gave great umbra to many in England, and shortly afterwar we find king Ethelwulf relegated to t position of under-king of Essex and t eastern portion of the realm, while Eth bald, the king's eldest son, was placed the Witan on the throne of Wessex.

We spoke of the iron ring with whi the pagan Vikings were gradually girdli England. A large portion of Irela served as a permanent garrison of Vikin whence at their pleasure they could over to neighbouring England with a la or small squadron of the dreaded long-shi according to the nature of the raid invasion they had planned. But on east and south of England the dan from the Northmen pirates was far grea when the strong and far-reaching arm Charlemagne was once removed. T great emperor died in 814. The Nor men of Norway, Denmark, and Jutl and the Isles, who had been threaten the northern coasts of the Frankish pire for some years, were soon consci

hat the one foeman whom they feared, nd who had succeeded in keeping them irly in check, was removed, and that he imperial sceptre was in different and eaker hands.

Louis the Pious—generally known in istory as Louis le Débonnaire—was fully live to the dangers which threatened his mpire from the north, and continued and ven increased the garrison and frontier efences, and for a time prevented the irates from penetrating up the rivers ito the interior. He endeavoured to hristianise some of these formidable agans, and thus to win some of them the side of law and order and peace. Vith rare exceptions, his efforts to convert ie Northmen ended in failure. When hristianity was accepted by a Viking chief, was usually the result of a bribe, large or nall. On one occasion it is related how Viking, angry at the absence of the usual resents made at the baptising ceremony the converts, said, "This is the twenteth time that I have come to be washed; have always received the best white bes. If I can have no better robe than is, I disclaim your Christianity." At all vents, no real impression was made till a uch later date on these stubborn pagans. owards the end of Louis' reign the tacks on the northern coast grew more ad more numerous, and the defence less ccessful. The Northmen ravaged the lgic coast, and sacked the wealthy comercial city of Doerstadt, in which great ntre alone fifty-four churches were stroyed by them. The political circmstances of the empire, too, favoured teir attacks. Internal dissensions and mily feuds distracted the Frankish power, and Louis the Pious was utterly unable to control his sons, or his subjects belonging to so many nationalities. He died in 840, and France, much as we now understand by that name, fell to the share of his youngest son, Charles the Bald. The great Frankish empire was now split up into several kingdoms, if not positively hostile, at least jealous with a deadly jealousy one of the other. England, outwardly under one over-lord, in reality was divided into three or even more divisions, with different views, hopes, aspirations. Alone the Catholic church in England, as on the continent of Europe, represented unity of aim and purpose in the west, and helped to preserve civilised Europe from its terrible foes.

While England was thus divided against itself, and the varied kingdoms of Europe into which the empire of the Franks had split up, were hopelessly at variance one with the other; jealousies, race divisions, family feuds keeping them apart, and preventing anything like united action against a common foe, a strange "unity seems to have pervaded the achievements of the pirate-warriors, and to have sustained them in all their enterprises until their mission was fulfilled. Whatever may have been their internal dissensions and enmities, they conducted their enterprises as one people, one nation actuated by one spirit, having one object in which they all concurred." Plunder may account for much, but not for all; and as we have already pointed out, it seems most probable that the unifying and central motive was an intense hatred of Christianity, a last and supreme rally of Paganism against the religion of Jesus. At all events,

"henceforth (*i.e.* after 841, death of Louis the Pious) and until their conflagrations were extinguished, Gaul and the British Islands, the North Sea, the Channel, and the Atlantic coasts—nay, even the Mediterranean, may be considered as included in one vast scheme of predatory yet consistent invasion; and their systematic assaults, descents, and expeditions, whether consecutive or simultaneous, accelerated or delayed, almost indicate a grand design of rendering Latin Europe their empire." *

POMMEL OF A DANISH SWORD.
(*Found in the Seine, near Paris. British Museum.*)

The year 841 was memorable among the sad annals of the pirate-raids of this unhappy century, as being the first of the many inland expeditions of the Vikings. Hitherto, the skilful disposition of Charlemagne's garrison, kept up by his son and successor, the emperor Louis the Pious, had restrained the Northmen from sailing up the great river-roads into the interior of Europe. Their depredations had been, in Gaul and Germany, mainly confined to the coasts and their immediate vicinity. But the two emperors, father and son, were gone, and one of the Viking captains, Jarl Osker, a name which will never b forgotten among the bloodstained memorie of these scourges of Europe, found out tha he could sail into the broad estuary of th Seine and up its deep waterway, reapin a booty hitherto undreamed of, and migh strike the Christian Franks of Gaul with blow up to now unventured. Absolutel unhindered, the Danish fleet of long-ship aided by sail and oar, worked their swi way up the Seine to the rich and flourish ing city of Rouen—a city which had bee famous for ages before the Frank ha settled in the fair land, under the name Rothomagus. It was the first of man similar scenes which marked the unhapp years which followed. Three days, undi turbed by any real resistance, Jarl Oske and his crews worked their will on th hapless city—the chief city of all tha fertile and wealthy part of Frankish Gau They plundered and burnt and destroye at their pleasure. The cathedral and th churches and the monasteries were, usual, the special objects of their fury laden with booty, carrying with them their ships many captives, before Charl the Bald could make any tardy effort rescue, they dropped down the broad rive back to their familiar sea, ransacking a desolating as they went some of the wealth and splendid monasteries on the riv banks, such as Jumièges and Fontenel Fontenelle is well known in ecclesiastic story as St. Wandregisilias. This far-fam community — seven churches cluster together in these sacred walls—and t monastery, boasted the noblest library the north. The renowned house was sav from utter ruin by the payment of a ransor but it was only saved for a brief seaso

* Palgrave: "Normandy and England."

rmandy, the province of the Normans Northmen, which in after years was tined to play so great a part in the

COLLECTING DANE-GELT.

cy of Europe, and especially of England, a's from the three days' sack of Rouen.

1 the following year, A.D. 842, the i ngs, emboldened by the easy voyage of a Osker up the Seine, and by the news h ch travelled north of the splendid results f he raid, sailed up the river Loire in force, plundering Bordeaux and Nantes, wasting the land and massacring the inhabitants as they went. The Loire and the Seine, and further south the Garonne, henceforth became river-roads well known and often travelled by the long red-sailed pirate-vessels.

But the worst was yet to come. Charles the Bald and his Franks seemed paralysed with fear, seemed utterly unable to offer

any real resistance to their terrible foes, who swiftly came and went up and down these silent river-highways into the heart of his beautiful realm, burning and destroying as they pleased. The year 845 stands out among these fatal seasons as the date of an especially fatal capture. Ragnar Lodbrok, the semi-fabulous hero of saga and legend, but who was a very real person in the annals of unhappy France, with a great pirate fleet, determined to strike a blow far in the interior. Sailing up the Seine past Rouen, he stormed and sacked Paris, and was only induced to withdraw from the scenes of his new conquest by the payment of an enormous ransom. This appears to have been the first formal "Dane-gelt" paid by France; a dreary precedent too often to be repeated in coming years of disaster, in both England and in France.

The year of the occupation and sack of Paris by the Viking, Ragnar Lodbrok, witnessed another great disaster in the far north — the burning and plundering of Hamburg, the chief commercial centre of northern Germany. As many as 600 pirate ships—the number seems incredible —under king Eric the Red, took part in this successful foray. The curious story connected with king Eric the Red's successful exploit, which resulted in the battle of Flensburg, fought out amongst the sea pirates themselves, has already been related in connection with the bitter anti-Christian spirit of the Pagan Northmen. We even hear in these years of Viking raids as far south as Spain, where the distant city of Seville was plundered by these wandering Northern warriors. In 850-851 Jarl Osker and his Viking fleet re-

visited the scene of their first succe raid in the Seine some ten years be and for well nigh a year remaine Rouen and its neighbourhood.

Thus, at the commencement of the se half of the ninth century, we find Northmen pirates virtually the maste the fairest portions of France. They command of all the great rivers, eac which served as an open way for ships into the heart of the country. the extreme north, the Scheldt led into what is now termed the Low C tries—Belgium, and the northern fro of France. Possession of the Seine them that great and wealthy di called after them Normandy, allowed with their fleets free access to Paris the very heart of France; on the the Atlantic sea-board, the waters o Loire and the Garonne floated up long-ships and their warrior crews far the interior of central and southern When we remember, too, what Eng and Ireland were suffering at their h at the same period, when king Ethel the son of Egbert, was reigning— 839 to 858—and that in North Gern the Elbe and the Rhine were similarl fested by the Viking plunderers; tha to the south the same sea-robbers, th to a less extent, harried Spain, and reached Seville; we wonder wh came all these hosts of pirates. whole male population of barren No and even of Sweden, of the narrow of Denmark, Jutland and the islands, seem scarcely to have sufficed to man vast and numerous Viking fleets, who ravaging and plundering over so la portion of northern and western E

To account for this apparent disparity ween the relative extent of the popula- n in the home of the Vikings, and the t armaments sailing from the barren rwegian and Danish coast, we must fall k again on the theory already advanced, t the Viking raids as a whole must be sidered as "one vast scheme of preda- y yet consistent invasion"; that these ls under various sea-chiefs, apparently h fighting for his own hand, were erally part of one great plan, were the iberate work of one nation, inspired one spirit. Though plunder and greed ied not a few daring and reckless spirits their banners, and enormously increased numbers of their fighting strength, Viking leaders—men like Ragnar ibrok and Jarl Osker, Ivar and Ubbo, fdene and Hasting, and other distin- shed chiefs—dreamed of a pagan em- , to be built up on the ruins of the istian domination, in England and on continent of Europe.

'erhaps, too, we somewhat exaggerate ourselves the numbers of these pagan thmen, who took part in the long, lly strife. Although the area they sted was very great, their numbers e probably greatly magnified by their vellous activity, by the rapidity with ch they carried out most of their ects. Three days, for instance, were cient for Jarl Osker to burn and uder the great city of Rouen; a few e days sufficed to complete his deso- g campaign against the principal monas- s on the banks of the Seine. Now then we hear of the Vikings making rotracted stay, stretching over several ths, in some scene propitious for extended operations. But for the most part they swooped down with awful suddenness, and disappeared as suddenly as they came. Their long series of French raids, which put back all civil and religious progress for at least two generations, have been cleverly compared to "a stage procession, winding in and out disappearing and returning."*

In this awful decade of 850–860, so generally did the fear of the Viking sink into the hearts of the Christian Franks, that a new supplication was formally introduced into the Gallican liturgies; and along with the prayer asking to be delivered from pestilence and apostasy and *eternal* death, rose up the piteous petition, "From the wild rage of the Northmen, good Lord deliver us." In the stately monastery of Généviève, so deeply was the memory of the destruction and desolation inflicted by the raids of Ragnar Lodbrok and his Vikings imprinted on the hearts of the sufferers and their successors in that great home of prayer, that the same petition, "*a furore Normannorum libera nos*," continued to be intoned in the abbey choir up to the times of Louis XIII., in the seventeenth century. It was no exaggeration, no mere bit of rhetoric, when we referred to the iron band which was slowly closing round hapless England in the year 854–5, when king Ethelwulf went on his pilgrimage to Rome to implore the mercy of Almighty God for his doomed realm, and endeavoured to concert some means of mutual defence with his royal brother-sufferer, king Charles the Bald of France.

* See Palgrave, "Normandy and England," for a detailed account of their raids.

Ethelwulf died in comparative retirement as under-king, to which position the will of the Witan, and probably the ambition of his son Ethelbald, had relegated him in the east of England. His girl-wife, Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, who was but fourteen years old, probably for mere political reasons was married to Ethelbald ; but such an alliance was, of course, gravely censured by the church, and was quickly dissolved, Judith returning to her father in France. She subsequently married Baldwin (*bras de fer*) Count of Flanders. Ethelbald only retained the throne he coveted for two years after his father's death. Dying in 860, he was succeeded by his brother—Ethelbert—whose short reign, lasting but six years, was uneventful. Only two raids of the Northmen are specially chronicled during these brief reigns: the one on Winchester, the other on the eastern shores of Kent. But Ethelbert was succeeded by another brother—Ethelred—and in the first year of Ethelred's reign, in 866, the storm which his father Ethelwulf had foreseen, broke at length over hapless England.

In that year the state of the Viking "world" was as follows. This formidable nation had passed in the last sixty or seventy years from the position of an unknown and hitherto unheard-of piratical race, whose ships now and again committed isolated depredations on the coast of Ireland, England, and France, to the position of virtual masters of a large portion of northern Europe. They had begun by playing the part of simple sea-pirates, but had gradually settled on the coasts and in the regions they had harried. These settlements of the Northmen changed the character of many count In the year 866 they were masters of Shetlands and Orkneys and the Hebr The east coast of Ireland was theirs, much of the northern part of the isl From Denmark and Jutland to the Garonne and the far south of France long stretch of coast was absolutel their power. Far up the broad w courses of the Scheldt, the Meuse Rhine, the Seine, the Loire and Garonne, reached the supremacy of Northmen. In all these lands, wher the cloud of the long-ships with the red sails and their fierce crews had cast baleful shadows, the religion of the C fied had disappeared, and the old p worship of Woden and Thor reigned i place. Ruins of stately desecrated abl wrecked monasteries and nunneries, ma their dreaded passage; and rare was instance of any pagan Northman, e as a wandering sea-pirate, or later, a intruding settler, during the sixty seventy years of piracy and conq adopting the religion of the conque

This was the great difference betw these Northmen, and the races from north who had preceded them some centuries before as conquerors. Frank, the Saxon, and the Engle soon won over to the religion of the quered; in a very short space of they became converts to Christianity, devoted adherents of the religion o people whose lands they had appropri Not so the Vikings; *their* aim appar was to totally uproot Christianity. Vikings absolutely *hated* the religi Jesus. The first object of their destru

A VIKING CHIEF.

*(By permission, from the picture by Carl Haag R.W.S.)*

fury was ever the house of God and the home of prayer; and this not alone because in their sacred enclosures were stored up treasures of all kinds, but because they were the citadels of a religion which they detested.

Singularly enough, it was in England where they had worked least mischief during these seventy years of rapine and conquest. It was in England where they had met with the stoutest and most determined resistance from the men of Wessex. Various causes had led to this obstinate defence. England was colonised, we must remember, by a brave unconquered race of Northmen; kinsmen, indeed, of the Viking pirate clans. These Engles, Saxons, and Jutes belonged to a hardy, fighting race, and, as we have seen, there was little if any admixture among the Anglo-Saxons of any other people; they had exterminated or driven away their predecessors in the island. The Franks, on the other hand, were largely mingled with the older dwellers in the Continental lands they had occupied. The old Roman provincials made up a large portion of the inhabitants of Gaul even after the Frankish occupation. They were by no means the same hard-fighting people as the English of the neighbouring island.

Another and special source of English strength and English unity of action, was *the Church*. In learning and in organisation, as well as in fervid devotion, the Church of England, perhaps, held a unique position in Christian Europe. Its power and influence was borne witness to by one of the last acts of that warrior and statesman, king Egbert, who in 838, conscious how great and beneficial a part the Church of England was playing his dominion, made a solemn pact w its leading prelates at Canterbury Winchester. In Northumbria also, t and divided with rival factions, rival c petitors for the throne, the Church the one power which preserved semblance of unity in the distrac northern kingdom, and which mat ally helped to preserve and to strengt what was left of law and order in that c powerful division of England. The sch of York, though sadly weakened by dissensions which for so many years rent Northumbria, had continued to b great home of learning, a centre of relig light and training.

Then again, Wessex, in which great trict of England the majority of the ear Viking descents were made, was a comp territory, well organised for defence, g erned from 802 to 839 by a great warr king Egbert, and from 839 to 857 Ethelwulf, his son, who followed clos in his great father's steps. Th were the sixty chief years of Vik conquests. But when the "sixty yea had well-nigh run their course, Ethelw and Wessex too clearly saw the dan which lay in front of them. Ethelw when he went that pilgrimage to Ro felt that the power of resistance almost exhausted. The foe was yearly coming stronger, and yearly England becoming less able to resist the increas pressure.

Nor must it by any means be suppo that, because the resistance of Wessex of a more determined character than been generally offered in Ireland and the Continent, the sufferings which Engl

endured at the hands of these pagan tes were slight. The plundering and ning of Jarrow and Lindisfarne at the e of the eighth century, the sack of terbury and London in the reign of elwulf, must not be forgotten, besides numberless smaller raids, which too ly brought in their trail untold loss suffering before the depredators were ulsed with hard fighting. Even Ethel- f's victory at Aclea in 851 was a born and hardly-contested fight, and winter of 854 witnessed a host of pirates spending several months in the of Sheppey—terrible and dangerous ghbours for the dwellers in Kent and ex. But in spite of all this, up to the 866, when Ethelred, the son of Ethel- f, succeeded his brother Ethelbert on throne of Wessex, no permanent lodg- nt had been as yet made in England. Thames and the Severn, the Humber the Tyne, were not water-ways open he incursions of the Vikings, as were Scheldt and the Elbe, the Seine and Loire.

he astute chieftains of the northern ites were well aware of the comparative re hitherto on the part of the Vikings, aking any real impression upon Eng- . They were conscious that their race as yet, after some sixty or seventy s of constant warfare, acquired no nanent settlement in the great island, h, situated as it was, so long as it ained outside their sphere of influence, tually barred them from establishing hing like a great Viking pagan empire e north of Europe. Ireland, it is true, already in great measure theirs; but Irish dominion was separated from their Frankish and German conquests by England, intensely hostile to their policy and, above all, to their religion. "It was the winning of Britain which was needed above all to support and widen their conquests to the eastward and westward of it. Had the pirates ever become masters of this central post, the face of the west must have changed. Backed by a Scandinavian Britain, their isolated colonies along the Irish coast must have widened into a dominion over all Ireland, while their settlement along the Frankish coast might have grown into a territory stretching over much of Gaul. In a word, Christendom would have seen the rising of a power upon its border which might have changed the fortunes of the western world."* In the theory already advanced and discussed, that one of the principal aims of the leaders of the Vikings, was the destruction of Christianity, yet another reason is before us which accounts for the terrible eagerness of the Northmen pirates to make England their own. England and her church in the ninth century was the centre and chief inspirer of the religion they longed to ruin.

The plans and preparations for the great invasion which resulted in such momentous consequences for our English people, were no doubt the fruit of long and anxious consideration on the part of the chiefs who guided the Viking counsels. The whole character of the expedition, the part of the island selected for the operations of the invading force, shows how well the pirate leaders had been informed of the state of England, and with what skill and forethought they had

* Green: "Conquest of England."

profited by their true information. To distract the attention of the defenders of England, a large fleet, numbering two hundred ships, under a Viking captain named Olaf the Fair, sailed up the Firth of Forth, threatening the Northumbrian realm to the north. But the real host of Northmen who were to do the meditated work landed on the East-Anglian coasts. It is probable that many Viking raids had already desolated and utterly dispirited these eastern shores, for the formidable pirate-army were suffered unhindered to pass the winter of A.D. 866 in their armed East Anglian camp.

BRONZE BUCKET FOUND AT HEXHAM WITH 8,000 SMALL COINS, PROBABLY A.D. 867 (*British Museum*).

Warriors were quickly forthcoming for this memorable invasion. Ireland and France and the northern part of Germany had been plundered again and again in the last half century. It would not have been easy to find a wealthy monastery or an abbey church on the river-roads of France unplundered, or at least unransomed; but in England the Vikings knew well there was many a home of prayer, many an abbey church, in which were laid up what in the eyes of these sea-pirates were fabulous treasures, as yet untouched by Viking hand. The prominent part in fatal invasion of England, was taken warriors who came for the most part f the country now known as Denm This is the first appearance of sea-pir under their national name. They wer the same race as Northmen of sc Jutland, dist guished in Frankish raids the Northmen Norway, and under the name Ost-men, chose land as the scen their plundering vasions. Fr henceforth the n of Dane is invari applied to the vaders in Engla

The leader of army of adven was Ivar the B less, a name likely to be forgo by any studen our English past. some accounts h called Ingwar. He was of the royal Da race of the Skiolding, and according very general tradition was the son of famous Viking leader Ragnar Lodb who in the year 844 sailed up the S and sacked Paris. In the spring of the armed camp in East Anglia, w Ivar had wintered, was broken up, an the chronicle expresses it, "they ho themselves," and rapidly advanced on north of England.

The position of affairs in unhappy Northnbria was evidently well known to the anes. They expected, probably, an easy nquest; for, as was usually the case, the rthern kingdom was rent by the claims two rival competitors for the crown. ne over-lordship of Wessex had, since

A VIKING RAID.

death of Egbert, been but a shadowy nity, if it existed at all. The common ger nited he hostile Northumbrian nces; but t Danes under Ivar, with ir usual celerity of movement, arrived York before any help arrived. The rthumbrian forces, hastily gathered tother, fell upon the Danes, whom they bably outnumbered. The Danes reated behind the walls of York, which apparently was not strongly fortified. Victory at first declared for the English, who forced their way into the city; but a determined rally of the Viking chief changed completely the fortunes of the day. The Northumbrians were completely routed, and the rival Engle kings, who had united against the common foe, were slain.

The possession of York, the death of the kings, and the complete destruction of the English army, completely terrorised the whole kingdom. No further attempt at resistance was made, and Ivar and his pirate Danes found themselves in undisputed possession of the entire country between the Humber and the Forth.

Never in the story of the Northmen was so complete a conquest the result of one short, sharp campaign; never had so vast a plunder, in all the countless raids of the Vikings, been at the mercy of the Pagan sea-robbers; never in that bloodstained story which treats of the desolation and ruin of so many countries between the first years of the ninth century and 867, the year of the York rout, do we find such a record of destruction and ruin as in the dry details which we possess of the acts of Ivar and his Danes after the fatal field of York, in the year 867.

The glory of Northumbria had lasted some two centuries. Seventy-four years had passed since the country had been appalled by the tidings of the burning of sacred Lindisfarne, in 793, and in the year following by the bloody raid on Jarrow and Wearmouth. Up to those two terrible years, few in the northern kingdom had even heard of Northman or Ostman, of Dane or pirate Viking. But from that fatal date the terror grew, and with good reason. Every merchant ship, every traveller, as year followed year, brought tidings of their ravages in the broad realms of the northern Franks and in Ireland. England had suffered less during this weary age of "the coming of the Vikings," but even England in many parts, particularly in East Anglia, was sorely harried. All this uneasiness, dread of what was coming—a too well-founded dread, as it turned out—weakened gradually the vigorous, intellectual life of the Northumbrians; but it was far from being destroyed, and when Ivar and the Danes occupied York and routed the Northumbrian kings beneath the walls of the historic capital of the north of England, the school of York was s a flourishing home of religious and secu learning.

But the Dane lost no time in carry out his long-formed schemes for the r of Christianity. The rank and file am the Viking army of conquerors, in plunder of the northern religious hou were able to satisfy that lust of plun which had rallied them to the stand of the pirate leader Ivar; while the ch of the same host saw the great ob of the invasion fulfilled, in the s and utter destruction of these Chris centres. Not a single monastic establi ment was left in Deira, the south portion of Northumbria, when Ivar clo his first campaign. He met with no resistance. A few years later his w was thoroughly completed by Halfde his brother—another son, tradition says the great pirate chieftain Ragnar Lodbr the Viking who stormed and plunde Paris. Halfdene burned and ruined ev abbey and home of prayer and learning the northern province of Bernicia.

In the awful march of Ivar, and the de lating progress somewhat later of brother, the Viking Halfdene, passed a the historic houses of Hilda at Streon halch (Whitby); Melrose, where Cuthb was trained under Eatan; Lastingh loved by the brothers Ceadda and Ch Tynemouth, and a host of others. *one was left* in all that wide Northu brian realm. Bishoprics were wiped o abbeys, monks, nuns, all disappeared neath this flood of pagan conquerors. only were the great and small relig houses destroyed, and the communi of monks and nuns slain or scatte

t the church organisation, devised in first instance by archbishop Theodore Canterbury, and subsequently elaborated d perfected by great prelates like bert and Albert of York, was com-tely broken up, and well-nigh vanished der that desolating avalanche of athen Danes. In the eighth century archbishops of York ruled over a vast cese, stretching from the banks of the mber to the distant shores of the rth. Six suffragan bishops watched r and administered the parochial di-ions outside the wide area under the rge of the greater monasteries, which, re or less, seem to have been indepen-t themselves of episcopal control. The fragan bishoprics included the storied ndisfarne ; Hexham, where Wilfrid ruled ing the last year of his eventful life ; ndsey, on the south of the Humber ; on, with its ancient minster especially ed by Wilfrid, and eventually the resting e of his honoured remains ; Galloway l Glasgow, to the north. These bishop-i entirely disappeared, and some two ndred years later, when the Norman lliam the Conqueror became the master England, and once more Christianity made some way in the Danish dis-rts of the north, only two suffragans nowledged the supremacy of the arch-nops of York—the bishops of Durham of Glasgow ; the see of Durham occu-ng the area which once, before the ning of the Dane, included Lindisfarne. ham, and part of Ripon.

he entire north of England—the country g between the Humber and the Forth—involved in this utter ruin. All the nastic libraries, all the schools, all the stored-up treasures of knowledge were swept away. Teachers and pupils alike disappeared. Christianity, save where it lingered amid the remote villages and homesteads, had vanished out of a land which became henceforth the undisputed possession of pagan Danish conquerors, determined to uproot the religion of the Crucified, and to substitute in its place the altars of Thor and Woden and the deities of Scandinavia and the far north. Whereas Northumbria had been the home of letters and culture, the great religious centre whence issued the missionary leaders of the centre and south of England, from this time onward, until long after the Norman Conquest in the year 1066, it was the rudest and most ignorant part of Britain : so complete, so thorough, had been the work of the Viking brothers, Ivar and Halfdene.

York alone seems to have been partly spared. The ancient Northumbrian capital became the residence and chief seat of the Danish government ; and from henceforth the north of England must be considered a Danish settlement. The archbishop there was still suffered to govern the poor remnant of Christian churches, and to rule over the conquered Christian people of Northumbria ; but we never hear again of the famous school and its great library. It had perished utterly in the fatal Danish conquest.

A singular but wide-spread tradition exists, which closely connects "the coming of the Danes" in 866–867, which ended in the ruin of Northumbria and the consequent permanent settlement of the Dane in England, with the story of the

great Viking captain, Ragnar Lodbrok. The famous pirate is chiefly known from his successful raid up the Seine and the capture and plunder of Paris, already related. The northern traditions—no doubt founded on fact—relate how this popular hero, subsequently to his French exploits, against the advice of his wife, Aslauga, built three long-ships, considerably larger than the usual size of these dreaded boats. Manned with Viking crews, Ragnar Lodbrok sailed on a plundering venture of his own to the north of England; the fifty-first, he tells us in the poem bearing his name which he had undertaken in the course of that destructive life of his. The great size of the ships was the occasion of their being wrecked on the jagged iron-bound Northumbrian coast. After the loss of the long-ships, Ragnar Lodbrok found himself in a country of enemies, his own force comparatively small, and without the usual means of Viking escape seawards. Ælla, the reigning king of southern Northumbria —Deira—fell upon him with far superior numbers. In spite of the usual Viking bravery, the Danes were overpowered, Ragnar Lodbrok was taken prisoner alive, and king Ælla condemned his formidable captive to perish in a dungeon, stung to death by snakes. The well-known death-song of Ragnar purports to have been written by the dying hero himself; and in it, after singing his own exploits and expressing his perfect willingness to depart for the halls of Woden, he commends to his sons the sacred duty of avenging his cruel death. His sons, it is said, made up the most formidable group of sea-pirates of that day, including the too famous names of Ivar and Hubbo and Halfdene. The death of the old Viking captain is p about 862, or perhaps a little later. invasion of East Anglia under Ivar an brothers took place in the year 866, an fatal march on York and Northumbr avenge their father, in the following One of the two rival kings of Northur who fell in the stricken fight of York Ælla, the slayer of Ivar's father, Ra Lodbrok.

There is probably some basis of tru the wild, wide-spread legend; but coming of the Danes in 866, and conquest and settlement in Northum must be attributed to causes wider more far-reaching than simply to passionate revenge for a father's defeat cruel death. These causes have alr been discussed. The death-song itse placed by modern criticism many later than the event it commemor some would even place its composition centuries later. If the theory of its composition be accepted, we must assume that, like many other popular p claiming an antiquity which from va reasons does not appear demonstr this poem in its present shape was si based upon older fragments, and that form in which we now possess it w redaction of some older lilt.

The song is, however, of singular terest to us. It paints, no doubt accurately, some of the phases of Viking society which so gravely aff the work, nay, the very existence Christianity, and the civilisation w Christianity brought in its trai northern and eastern England; tel something of the spirit which live the hearts of these Northmen pa

HOW THE DANES CAME UP THE CHANNEL A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

*(By permission, from the picture by Herbert A. Bone.)*

who worked such irreparable mischief in the eighth and ninth centuries, and effectually destroyed, not only the progress, but even the very life of the church in a large portion of England.

The aspirations and the hopes, the life to which the Northmen looked forward after death, and also the joys of their present existence, are well and tersely set forth in this so-called "Death Song" of Lodbrok, the renowned and admired Danish hero. The wild delight in battle, the chief joy of the Viking, is thus described (one of the bloody raids on England is the subject of this part of the "Song"):

"We hewed with our swords.
Hundreds, I declare, lay round
The horses of the island rocks,
At the English promontory.
We sailed to the battle
Six days before the hosts fell.
* * * * *
Destiny was with our swords."

Further on, the songman proceeds in a similar strain when he speaks of a raid, apparently on the coast of Northumberland at Lindisfarne:

"We had the music of swords in the morning
For our sport at Lindis-eyri;
With three kingly heroes,
Many fell into the jaws of the wolf;
The hawk plucked the flesh with the wild beasts."

After dwelling on the fierce joys of battle, the dying hero speaks of the disastrous change in his own fortunes, so unlooked-for:

"It seems to me, from experience,
That we follow the decrees of fates:
Few escape the decrees of the birth goddesses.
Never did I believe that from Ælla
The end of my life would come,
When I strewed the bloody slaughter,
And urged my planks on the lakes.
Largely we feasted the beasts of prey
Along the bays of Scotland."

But he consoles himself with his faith the gods' promises of joys and pleasu in the future life—such joys and pleasu Yet these were the veritable hopes of Vikings of old:

"It delights me continually,
That the seats of Baldor's father,
I know, are strewn for guests.
We shall drink ale immediately
From the large hollowed skulls.
Young men, grieve not at death
In the mansions of dread Fiolner.
I come not with the words of fear
Into the hall of Vithris."

As the adders and snakes are sting him to death, he comforts himself with thoughts of his children taking a fi revenge upon the authors of his c sufferings. (The "Aslauga" referred was his wife.)

"Here would for me
All the sons of Aslauga
The bright brands of Hilda awake,
If they knew but the danger
Of my encounter.
What a number of snakes
Full of venom strike me.
I gained a true mother for my children,
That they might have brave hearts.
* * * * *
Grim dangers surround me from the add
Vipers dwell in the home of my heart."

Again he recalls the glories and work his past Viking life:

"Fifty and one times have I
Called the people to the appointed battles,
By the warning-spear messenger.
Little do I believe that of men
There will be any
King more famous than myself.
When going, I grasped and reddened my spe
The Aesir must invite me;
I will die without a groan."

Dying, he sings with a glad strain:

"We desire this end,
The Disir goddesses invite me home;
As if from the hall of him rejoicing in sp

From Odin, sent to me.
Glad shall I, with the Aesir,
Drink ale in my lofty seat.
The hours of my life glide away,
But laughing I will die."

The conquest of the northern part of England and the destruction of the church n Northumbria was, however, only a part f the Viking scheme in England. They ad fallen on the north because they were ell aware of its hopelessly disunited ondition, and of the bitter feuds which ad for so long distracted the unhappy ountry, which, as the Danes were fully onscious, would paralyse any real and rotracted defence. The result justified heir policy; never was a rout of an entire eople so sudden and so complete. But he Danish chief Ivar knew well that e hardest part of his task in reducing ngland to the condition of a pagan candinavian land still lay before him. Vell-nigh the whole of the south of ngland was included under the kingdom Wessex, and there the union of "the hristian church with the State" was, as e have seen, peculiarly close and intimate. o divided interests in Wessex weakened eir power of resistance; there were no val claimants to the ancient throne of erdic, the West-Saxon. The halo of the atesman and soldier which had settled und the head of the great Egbert, had t faded, and his grandchild, who was at e time of the coming of the Danes king Wessex, had inherited not a little of the ility of his famous predecessor. The wer and influence of the church, too, s then very great, and worked in perfect rmony with the king and the forces of tional defence. But in the disturbed and anxious condition of England, with the terrible Viking at their very doors, all progress in civilisation was, of course, stayed. We hear nothing now of the school of Canterbury. Study was forgotten in the great crisis; all learning was fading rapidly out of the land.

Ivar and his Viking host marched in the year 868 southward into Mercia, which nominally still acknowledged the over-lordship of Wessex; and in Nottingham, a well-known Mercian centre—known apparently then as Snottrynham—they passed the winter of that year. The Mercians were thoroughly alarmed. They looked forward to sharing the fate of Northumbria, and their under-king Burrhed urgently prayed for assistance from his over-lord, king Ethelred of Wessex. Mercia touched Wessex. If Mercia became a Viking possession and a pagan country, the future fate of Wessex and the south could be easily foreseen. Ethelred and a powerful West-Saxon army arrived in the year 869 before the entrenchments of the Vikings at Nottingham. The Danes, recognising the superiority of Ethelred's force, declined to give them battle in the open, and remained behind their fortifications at Nottingham. Ethelred, though he failed to storm the armed Danish camp, yet inflicted upon Ivar's force such severe losses that eventually the Viking chief agreed to a temporary treaty, in which he promised to evacuate Mercia.

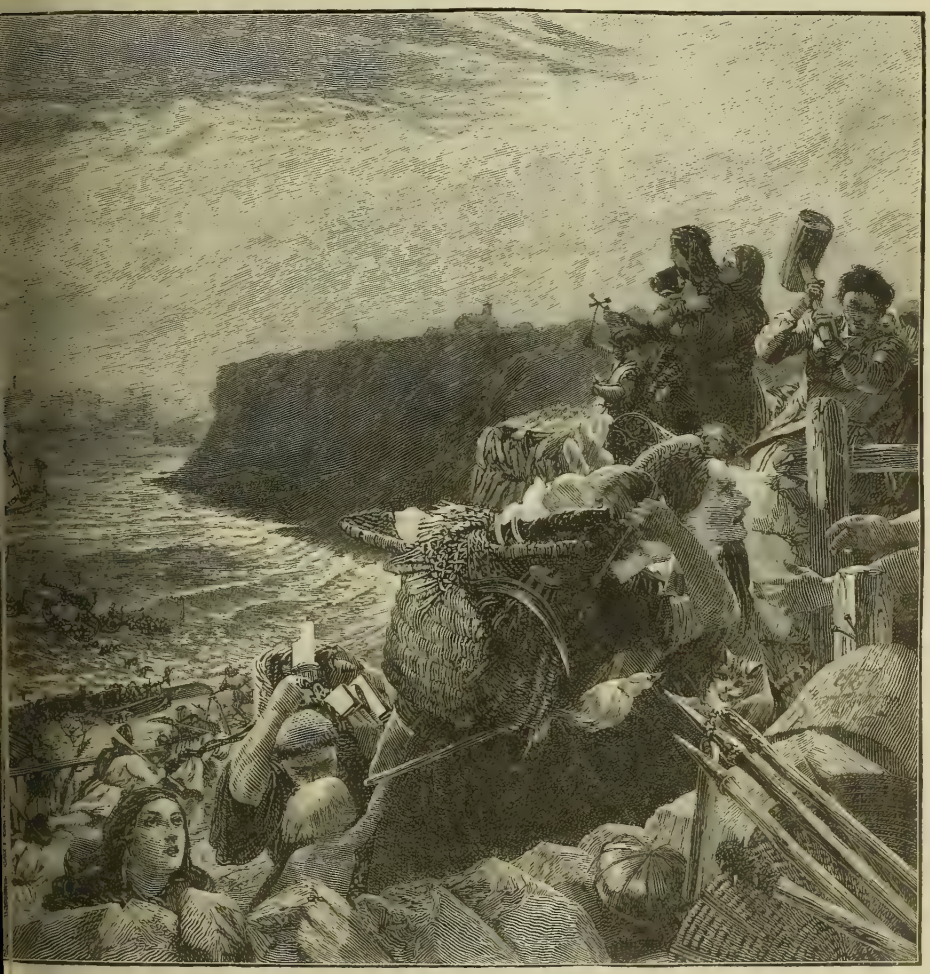
The following year, however, witnessed a more terrible attack on the part of the Danes. This year (A.D. 870) will ever be darkly marked as one of the most disastrous to the Anglo-Saxon church. The

Danes had now been in England well-nigh four years, and had learned where serious resistance might be looked for and where the most fatal blows could be directed against the religion they hated with so fierce a hatred. Fairly remote from Wessex were those vast fen districts which then stretched from the south of the Humber to the country round Ely. In these districts were located several of the most famous and wealthy of the monastic houses of middle England. The riches, real and supposed, of the great fen abbeys were a powerful attraction to the Viking warriors who fought under Ivar's banner; while the destruction of such mighty and renowned centres of Christianity would largely appeal to those more important Northmen chieftains who looked beyond mere plunder, and who were persuaded that with the destruction of Christianity was closely bound up the eventual success of their race.

Ivar and his brother Hubbo, the traditional sons of the renowned Ragnar Lodbrok, were evidently skilled strategists as well as valiant soldiers, and among a cruel group of pirate invaders, men utterly reckless of human life and careless of human suffering, have attained a sad pre-eminence. The Viking raid in the Lindesey and Kesteven districts, besides the utter destruction of the religious houses, was apparently accompanied with more than the usual attendant miseries which characterised the Viking marches. A later chronicle tells us that the local magistrates opposed the march of Ivar. If this be the case, these defenders of their country were certainly utterly routed, for the whole land of Lindesey and Kesteven (two of the three ancient divisions of L colnshire; Lindesey being the largest the three) and the country south Kesteven, far into East Anglia, fell i the Danish hands, and they plunder devastated, burned, destroyed at pleasu The years 868–9 and 870 were years, deed, of terror to most of the unhap counties lying between the Humber a the Thames. In the course of t terrible raid of Ivar the noble abbey Bardeney was destroyed, and its mon were murdered. The important fen abbe of Croyland and Peterborough shared t same fate, as did the great and famo home of prayer founded by Etheldre on the little hill of Ely, rising above t fen country which stretched around it and wide on every side.

We have but few dependable conte porary notices of the cruelties and atrocit perpetrated in this bitter time of tri through which the Church of Engla passed in the darkest hour of her event story, beyond some few dry stateme speaking of the sacking and burning of t more famous monasteries and nunneri Most of the details we possess are deriv from later accounts, founded, no dou on local tradition preserved by the f "religious" who escaped from the inc criminate slaughter which usually acco panied the plundering of all that co be carried away, and the conflagration the buildings of a religious house mar for destruction by the Danish Viki of Ivar and Hubbo. From these t ditions, founded, no doubt, upon l memories, we gather that many of treasures of Croyland, which a few mo endeavoured to carry away to some

ing-place, were lost somewhere in the p fen waters. The Abbot of Croyland l his attendant priests were struck down monastic buildings which surrounded it was said to have lit up the surrounding marshes during fifteen days.



A DESCENT OF THE DANES.

*t the fresco by W. Bell Scott, H.R.S.A., at Wallington Hall, Northumberland, by permission of Sir George Trevelyan, Bart., M.P., from photo by J. Worsnop, Rothbury.)*

he altar, and were beheaded in the tuary. The famous library of Peterugh, the glory of that great religious se, was burned, and the flame of the lagration of the church and the many

From the burning and sack of the Fen abbeys, the Viking invaders turned their attention to the neighbouring East Anglia, and entrenched themselves in a fortified camp at Thetford. A writer of the next

century describes East Anglia as almost surrounded by water; immense marshes, a hundred miles in extent, on the north; on the east and south, the ocean. Abbo of Fleury was apparently referring to the estuary of the Thames as the southern boundary. The soil he speaks of as fertile and pleasant. It was full of lakes two or three miles in extent, and *its marshes were filled with monks.* Allusion has already been several times made to the great progress, even at a comparatively early period, made by Christianity in East Anglia, under the rule of such under-kings as Anna, whose daughters were conspicuous among the founders of monasticism among their sex.

The East Anglian realm at the period of the Danish invasion was under the rule of Edmund. This East Engle sub-king appears in an extraordinary way to have attracted the love and admiration of his contemporaries. There seems to have been considerable resistance offered in the eastern counties to the Danish invaders; but the superiority of the Vikings as trained soldiers, their reckless daring, aided by the skilful generalship of their leaders, Ivar and Hubbo, enabled them utterly to defeat the East Anglian forces. Their beloved king Edmund was summoned by Ivar to divide with him his treasures, to reign as his lieutenant, and to abandon Christianity for the gods of the north. "Who are you," so runs the haughty traditional message of Ivar, "that you should dare to withstand our power? The storm of the ocean is no bar to our enterprise, but positively serves us instead of oars. The roarings of the sky, its lightning flashes, have never injured us. Submit, then, to a master whom the elements serve."

King Edmund's reply was memor The story is repeated by Abbo of Fle who wrote in the next century. He us he had the recital from the far prelate Dunstan, who had heard it the lips of an old soldier of Edmu who simply and faithfully recounted i oath to king Athelstan. Dunstan w tell the story, he said, "with eyes fu tears." "Tell Ivar," answered Edm to the messenger bidding him ab Christianity, "that I am not terrifie his threats. You may destroy this body; death is more desirable than vility." The savage Danish chief then the king, bound him to a tree, scou him with remorseless severity, then rid the tortured body with arrows, and cu his head.

The brave patience with which he mitted to his cruel sufferings, the rem brance of his gracious and kindly life exalted rank, in a peculiar way tou the heart of the English; and the mem of Edmund, king and martyr, was vener and preserved for centuries. His fame by no means confined to his own Anglian realm. We find traces of love and admiration he excited in north and south of England. He chosen as the patron saint of mar church. His martrydom, especially in eastern counties, even long after Norman Conquest was a favourite su for stained window and frescoed wall; w over his honoured remains, whic favourite and well-known legend tell for ages saw no corruption, rose one o most stately of the mediæval abbeys, u

ABBOT'S BRIDGE, BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

ne shadow of which grew up the vast and mous monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. s sacred and pathetic ruins still, after ore than a thousand years, serve to keep reen in the minds of Englishmen the emory of the saintly East Anglian king. nd Edmund, with his power of winning is subjects' love, with his quiet bravery preferring a painful death rather than eny Christ and build up altars to Thor d Woden, was a typical instance of the owerful hold which the teaching of the hurch of England had obtained upon the earts of the Anglo-Saxons at the time of e coming of the Danes in the last half of e ninth century.

From that year (870) East Anglia, like incolnshire and Northumbria, passed der the permanent Danish rule. The challenged supremacy of the heathen ikings now stretched from the broad tuary of the Thames in the south to the r north of the Engle kingdom of orthumbria; and, roughly, included rthern and middle England, watered the East Anglian Ouse, the Yorkshire umber and the Trent, by the Tees and e Wear of Durham, by the Northumbrian me and the border-river of the Tweed. e actual subjugation of Western Mercia ly took place some four years later, in 4, when it submitted without a struggle the Danish occupation. But from the te of the conquest of East Anglia and e death of Edmund, in 870, it paid bute to the Viking chief and acowledged his supremacy.

This Danish conquest of the largest half England, so long meditated and preed, was the most important, and by the most *thorough*, of the many Viking invasions; the somewhat later occupation of Normandy in France being the only other permanent settlement of importance. The presence of the long-ships, with their fierce crews of armed pirates, was felt along the coasts of the continent of Europe as an awful and terrible curse. Save in Normandy, however—that great French province watered by the Seine—the presence of the Viking only meant a piratical raid; desolating and destructive, causing untold misery and woe, but generally passing and transitory. But in northern and eastern England it was an invasion, a conquest, deliberately planned and carefully carried out. It meant a permanent settlement. It aimed at the uprooting of Christianity, and the substitution of the worship of Scandinavian Woden and Thor and the northern gods in place of the Christ of the Christian. The Viking succeeded in making a permanent conquest; but he failed in the long run in his purpose of uprooting the faith of Christ.

Although, however, he thus failed in his hope of destroying the religion which he hated, this last great effort of a dying paganism succeeded in arresting the splendid march of Christianity, which, during the seventh and eighth centuries, had accomplished such vast work in Anglo-Saxon Britain. For a long period its work was paralysed—well-nigh ruined—in the south of the great island; while in the north it virtually came to an end, and for two centuries, until after the Norman conquest, northern England almost entirely disappeared from the records of civilisation and Christianity — that illustrious north, which for so long had been a true centre of religion and learning, not only for

England, but for much of the continent of Europe. The religion and learning o the north of the island (Northumbria)—as it has been well said—*died of the Danes.*

More than a thousand years have passed since the dread year 866, which witnessed this "coming of the Danes" into England. Many changes has our country witnessed; many brilliant pages in the world's eventful history has the island and her people written. Another wave of conquest, bearing with it more far-reaching consequences, has passed over it. The same dynasty, it is true, which gave to Wessex Egbert and Ethelred and Alfred, still sits on the English throne; the same church, with its changeless traditions, watches over the spiritual work of England; to the vast majority of English men and women, the connection of the Dane with England is a story long forgotten. But the Danish occupation was a stern reality, and as far as Christianity and learning and the arts of civilisation were concerned, not only paralysed all progress, but succeeded in wiping out well-nigh all that had been done in the past. Nor has the north, where the Viking occupation was most complete, ever recovered anything of its old supremacy in letters and in art. It has again, after the lapse of a thousand years, become famous as the chief manufacturing centre of the Western world; famous, too, as the iron mart and coal mart and cotton mart of Europe and the world; but when the Dane burned the monastic libraries of Jarrow and Wearmouth and killed the church school of York, the homes of literature and art were for ever removed to other centres.

The forgotten Viking settler has, moreover, left many traces of his long reside in England still with us, though ten c turies and more have come and gone si Ivar and the Vikings occupied the la they had desolated. In the north—in t Ridings of Yorkshire—the Dane's prese is marked by the names of many localiti where the English termination "tun" "ham" has been replaced by the Scan navian or Danish "by," or the less comm "dale." Even the heathen faith wh replaced Christianity is still commemorat in such names as Baldersby and Thorna and in not a few Danish names which s linger among the villages and townships Yorkshire, for example, Ellerby, Grims Aislaby, Whitby, Ormsby, Swain Cleveland, or Cliff-land, long continued Scandinavian district; of its twenty-sev lords mentioned in the Domesday Bo twenty-three bore Danish names. T capital city of Northumbria, once the "u versity" of England, the resort of schol from all part of Europe, became m and more a Danish city, and was larg inhabited by Danish traders. In east Mercia—in the modern counties of Der Nottingham, Lincoln, Leicester — find the Danish "by" still clinging the villages and towns of the England to-day.* In parts of East Anglia, the sa peculiarity can be traced, notably Norfolk, and in Suffolk round the mou of the Yare. But East Anglia, as shall see, Danish though it was, quic became Christian again; and this counts for the comparatively few tra of the Viking conquest in the east counties.

* *See* Atkinson: "Whitby," chap. i., and Gre "Conquest," chap. iii.

To return to our story. More than two-thirds of England was now in the power of the Vikings. The design of changing Britain, the Christian stronghold of the Engle and the Saxon, into a pagan Danish

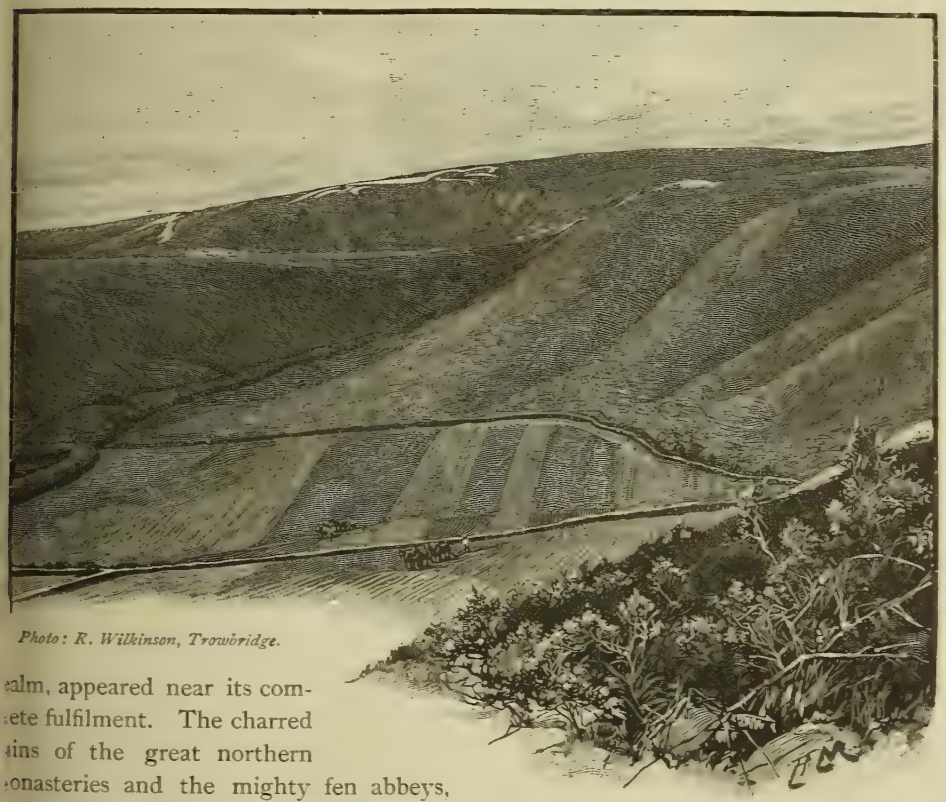


*Photo: R. Wilkinson, Trowbridge.*

THE WHITE HORSE, NEAR UFFINGTON, TRADITIONALLY THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF ASHDOWN.

calm, appeared near its complete fulfilment. The charred ruins of the great northern monasteries and the mighty fen abbeys, told of the ruin of the Church of England in the north and east of the island. Mercia, though not yet conquered, was at the feet of the pagan conqueror and paid him tribute. The extreme northern and central districts of the island were only waiting the appearance of the dreaded Vikings, whose numbers probably were not sufficient at once to complete their conquest; but these great districts were utterly helpless in the presence of the dreaded Dane, and a few years later fell, without an effort to avert the storm which soon descended upon them, sweeping away in its disastrous course, as usual, every abbey and monastery.

When, in the year 870, East Anglia was forced to bow before the Danish Ivar and Hubbo, and its king submitted to his martyrdom, England, north of Wessex, was virtually won, and a new era of triumphant paganism seemed to have commenced. Only Wessex and the south still resisted; as yet the Viking had made no lodgment in the ancestral dominions of Ethelred, the grandson of Egbert, of the

ancient royal race of Cerdic. But Wessex now stood face to face with the conquering Dane ; for the first time there was—to use a modern term—no buffer-state between the

CARVED OBJECT OF WHALE'S BONE OF UNKNOWN USE.
(*From a barrow, Namdalen, Norway.*) (*Brit. Mus.*)

West Saxon and the Viking. Everything now turned upon the conquest of Wessex. If this deed of arms could be successfully carried through, then the work of the Dane, so carefully prepared for, hitherto so triumphantly persevered in, would be accomplished, and a great pagan Viking kingdom would be erected on the ruins of the once powerful Christian England ; a kingdom which would serve as a strong basis of operations for the Viking race to carry on their triumphant warfare on the continent of Europe, the sea-board of which, and its great river-roads leading into the interior of the continent, was already in their hands. It was indeed an awful crisis for Christianity—that year 870, in whi Edmund of East Anglia, king and marty pierced by the cruel arrows of the Vikin Ivar and Hubbo, passed to his eternal re

There was no delay on the part the Danes. The one barrier to th complete success in England must stormed at once. The Viking host whi had conquered the Eastern counties, once invaded Wessex. The main bo of their army, under a leader afterwar famous under the name of Guthrun, wi Bægseg, King of Danish Bernicia (Nort umbria), and Halfdene, and various nowned jarls—their harsh names a preserved to us as the two Sidrocs, Frær Harold, and others—headed the invadi Danish host. Ivar returned to Yor perhaps he felt the hand of fatal disea already pressing upon him, for a traditi speaks of the death of the great freeboot in the following year.

The Vikings entered Wessex by w of the Thames, and sailing past Londo seized upon the stronghold of Reading the centre of their operations. The sce of the first battles between the Danes a the men of Wessex was mostly that Ber shire country lying westward of Readi as far as the Vale of the White Hor The forces of Ethelred fought stoutly f their country. Never yet in the Engli invasion had the Danes met with such valiant organised resistance. The succe was varying, until a pitched battle w fought at Æcesdune (Ashdown) in Ber shire. In this fierce contest Alfred, ki Ethelred's young brother, first disti guished himself by his splendid brave and tactical skill. A singular memory preserved of a striking incident of t

perate fight. Early in the day, Alfred ng hard-pressed by the foe, urgently yed the king, his brother, to bring him nforcements without delay. King Ethel- was hearing mass, and engaged in the emn prayer which he deemed the best paration for the day of stern battle ich lay before him. He bade the ssenger of Alfred tell his brother that king would come when the mass s done: "God first, man after," were helred's traditional words. The reli- n of the Wessex court must have en very real to have prompted such eply at such a moment; and it came m no superstitious weakling, but from ight noble and valiant monarch of men. r the battle of Ashdown was a victory for West Saxons. King Bægseg was slain the hand of Ethelred himself; five of Viking jarls and a great number of the ny perished in this bloody engagement. the Danes, who retreated into their ned camp at Reading, were shortly rwards strongly reinforced with fresh npanies of Vikings from beyond the . Another battle was fought at Mere- e (Merton, in Oxfordshire). After a long- uted fight, the West Saxons, who had heavily, retreated, and then king elred received his mortal wound. The survived the battle, but died very tly after. His remains were laid in l state in Wimborne Minster. The iar burying-place of the West Saxon kings in the abbey of Sherborne was probably, in this dark moment of the Danish invasion, in the hands of the Vikings.

Ethelred's career as a sovereign lay amidst troublous times, and his well-deserved fame has been obscured in the far greater glory which surrounds the memory of his brother and successor Alfred. Ever memorable, though, in the history of England, will be his march into Mercia, when he compelled the Vikings to retreat; his first disposition of the West Saxon army of defence; and his victory at Ashdown. These were the first beginnings of that splendid national defence which eventually, under his more famous brother, succeeded in rolling back the victorious Danish invasion, and thus preserving England, and perhaps a far wider area on the Continent, from becoming a vast pagan empire.

Ethelred left direct heirs in two infant sons, but the extreme peril of the kingdom, the actual presence in the heart of Wessex of a powerful Danish army, naturally placed on one side any claim to the succession of these infants. In the lifetime of Ethelred even, Alfred was his brother's acknowledged successor. No hint has ever been given that Alfred was a usurper, or that he set aside his nephews. He was at once unanimously acknowledged as the sovereign. But when he assumed the crown of Cerdic, in 871, it seemed indeed a heritage of sorrow.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### ENGLAND'S HERO KING.

Gloomy Accession and Prospects of Alfred—Brave but Unsuccessful Struggles—Forced to Conc ment—Legends of Athelney—Glorious Victory at Ethandune—Its Decisive Character and I ence upon Christendom—Peace of Wedmore and Division of England—Alfred's Own Acc of the Work before him—A Ruined Church—His Prayer for "Stillness"—Alternate Period War and Rest—Alfred as a King—Indefatigable Industry and Self-Sacrifice—Creates an A and Navy—Introduces a Budget, and its Characteristics—His Noble Character—Momen Importance of his Work to Christianity in Europe.

ALFRED, grandson of Egbert, the fourth and only surviving son of Ethelwulf, was about twenty-two years old, when with general consent he assumed the crown of Wessex and the chief command of the Saxon forces of defence, A.D. 871. We hear of no official coronation, of no solemn services, of no rejoicings such as generally accompany the accession of a new sovereign. Straight from the grave of his brother, wounded to the death in the late disastrous fight at Merton, he hastened to take the supreme command of the sorely disheartened Saxon army. Ill-fortune, however, dogged his footsteps. Defeated several times in a series of skirmishes rather than battles, the young king of Wessex, with the advice of his Witan, for the first time in the sad story of the Wessex and Danish war, purchased with gold a temporary respite for his harassed country, and the Danes agreed, in consideration of this humiliating bargain, to evacuate Wessex.

Indeed, Wessex was completely exhausted, its land overrun and harried, its towns pillaged, its armies defeated and dispirited. In one short year we hear of eight pitched battles having been fought, besides many smaller conflicts and s mishes; with varying success, it is t but generally to the disadvantage of Saxons. The Danes, too, were willing accept the ransom offered. The prolon and obstinate defence, no doubt, seriously weakened their invading for They contented themselves with hav harried and humiliated the southern k dom; and for a season, at least, agr to leave Wessex alone, other and n profitable opportunities of conquest that juncture presenting themselves.

Their armies, thus for a time freed f the stubborn and exhausting campaign Wessex, once more planned the comp subjugation of Mercia; and after a spent in consolidating their power southern Northumbria, in 872–873 t burst upon the defenceless midlands. T had little difficulty in the eastern pa central England. Burrhed, the last of Mercian kings, gave up the hopeless test and wandered away as a pilgrim Rome, where he died, a sad exile, in year 874. He was buried in the Pe city with royal honours, in the churc the Virgin adjoining the Saxon scho

In the next year—875—Halfdene, brother of Ivar, the son of Ra

odbrok, led a considerable division of the andering Viking force from its recent onquest of Mercia northward again, and ompleted the subjugation of northern ngland. The monasteries in the far

SEDGEMOOR, FROM MIDDLEZOY.

rth, which Ivar his first great asion had not ched, were all ned and sacked Halfdene in this terrible raid, ch completed the ruction of the lurch of England in Northumbria. The tion of the Viking host which did accompany Halfdene also left Repton, re, after sacking and burning the great ey, the burial-place of the Mercian gs, they had quietly spent the previous ter. This army under Guthrun, the well-known pirate chief, took up its quarters at Cambridge. To his armed camp there flocked Viking recruits from all quarters, for it was known that Guthrun was preparing for another desperate attack on Wessex. This was in 876.

The plan of the invasion was most carefully matured. Suddenly the Cambridge camp was broken up. Marching swiftly to the near sea-coast, the Vikings sailed round the east and south of England, and landing on the coast of Dorset, seized the town and convent of Wareham, which they made their head-quarters. Alfred was unable to make resistance against the cruel invaders, and for a second time purchased a

THE ISLE OF ATHELNEY.

precarious peace with Wessex gold. It was of little avail, however; for the invaders, leaving Dorsetshire, only retreated on Devon, where they made themselves masters of Exeter. Alfred, rightly considering this a breach of faith, hurried to besiege Exeter. The siege and reduction of Exeter was one of the bright spots of this terrible and devastating war. The Danes, who were starved into surrender, again agreed to leave the land in peace; but we find them still in Alfred's harried dominions, and wintering in Gloucester, in 877. Peace seemed further off than ever. The battles and skirmishes were endless, and were fought, as usual, with varying fortunes. In one of these, at a place called Kynwith, in Devon, a noble effort on the part of the Wessex defenders was made, and the famous war-standard of "The Raven," woven, says the story, in one morning by the three daughters of Ragnar Lodbrok for Ivar and Hubbo, was captured. This banner, the legend tells us, had a magic power: the great bird fluttered its wings when victory was near, but hung motionless and drooping before a defeat. But no gallantry, no reckless defence availed. The Vikings were again and again reinforced. Hubbo and a fleet of long-ships sailed up the Severn and joined the forces of Guthrun, and we suddenly hear of the Danes in great force in the very heart of Wessex, at Chippenham. The whole country seemed at their mercy.

This was the darkest hour of Alfred's career. All seemed lost. Wessex was utterly exhausted and dispirited, its cities pillaged, its land harried, its forces utterly unable to cope with the daring invaders, whose numbers, constantly recruit seemed to increase with every bat whether lost or won. Alone the br and devoted West Saxon king refused despair. This was the time when Alf and his dispirited soldiers, his queen a her children, and a few devoted Wes chieftains, retired to the almost inacc sible marshes in the heart of Somers The country where, during those we months of waiting and watching, the gr king devised those measures which resul in the campaign that saved the Christian of England, is well known. It was lit more in those days than a vast mor that district lying between the Polden h and the Quantocks, with the river Par running through it. The local nam Sedgemoor, and the zoys, or rises crown with marsh-villages, such as Chedzoy a Marshzoy, still tell us of the fens in t midst of which Alfred thought out th supreme attack which, at a moment wh all seemed lost, rescued his native la from sinking under the flood of the Viki pagans.

Matthew of Westminster, who wrote the fourteenth century, thus describes t resting-place where Alfred gathered t troops together for his last grand bat "In the extreme borders of the Engl people towards the west, there is a pl called Æthelingeie, or the isle of nobles. It is surrounded by marshes, a so inaccessible that no one can get to it in a small boat. It has a great wood alders, and contains stags and goats many animals of this kind. Its s earth is scarcely two acres in breadt Here, in this remote and unkno armed camp, the king remained ab

three months, while he made preparations for the final struggle.

It is during his mysterious residence in this fen-fortress that there have gathered around Alfred those legends which, after a thousand years, still delight English boys in the life of our English hero.* They had probably been the burden of popular folk-songs sung by the people, who delighted in these quaint memories of the national deliverer. Of these the most popular was the well-known incident of the adventure in the cow-herd's hut, when the good wife, not knowing the king, set him to watch the bread as it was baking on the hearth. The hexameters which intersperse the prose narrative tell us, that the whole had evidently once been a popular song :—

> "Holloa, companion!
> Dost not see that the bread there is burning?
> Why lazily sit and not turn it?
> Ready enough wilt thou be to take it from us
> and devour it."

Another favourite story is of the king, disguised as a minstrel, penetrating into the royal tent of Guthrun in the camp of the Danes, and thus becoming acquainted with the plans and the strength of his enemies. This account is most probably founded on fact. A beautiful but more mythical legend is preserved by William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the beginning of the twelfth century. It relates how to Alfred, sitting with the queen alone in his solitary hut of Athelney, came a beggar man, who asked for a piece of bread to assuage his hunger. With this poor starving Englishman the king divided his last loaf and a little wine still left in an almost empty pitcher. Then the poor guest suddenly vanished, and lo! the loaf was still unbroken, and the pitcher was full of wine to the brim! And that same night the great English saint, St. Cuthbert—whom he had relieved without knowing who was the strange beggar-guest—appeared to him in vision, with the glad tidings that his sufferings were about to end, and that the hour of deliverance was at hand.

After about three months—the wintertide had given place to spring, and it was the beginning of May, in 878, a memorable year in the story of England and her church—Alfred's plans were ripe, and once more he raised the Wessex standard, blazoned with the Golden Dragon of the ancient West Saxon dynasty. The thanes of Somerset joined him with their followers, and shortly afterwards the men of Hants and Wilts. The Danes in their armed camp near Westbury appear to have been taken by surprise. They evidently looked upon Wessex as utterly dispirited, and its conquest assured, while its king had disappeared, or at all events had withdrawn from any open hostility. Their brilliant series of successes in England had inspired them with a confidence that they were invincible, and they believed that the stubborn and long-protracted resistance their conquering arms had met with in Wessex had at last come to an end, and that, disheartened and defeated, the southern districts of the island were ready to accept the Viking supremacy, already acknowledged in the north, and east, and east-midland portions of England. The

* For the life of Alfred, see generally the exhaustive life by Dr. Pauli. Also Sharon Turner, books iv.-v., and Green's "Conquest," chap. iv., and Dean Hook's "Archbishop Plegmund."

widely-extended forests of Selwood had served as a veil to conceal the assembling of the men of Wessex, and when Alfred and his army suddenly appeared in front of the Danish lines near Chippenham, no

DANISH SWORDS FOUND IN THE WITHAM AT LINCOLN AND NEAR THE TEMPLE, LONDON (*British Museum*).

formal preparation had been made by Guthrun and the pirate Hasting, who were chief in command.

There was but little delay in Alfred's attack. The rival hosts joined battle at Ethandune, near the modern Westbury; and the men of Wessex under their brave king completely defeated the Danes. The beaten remnant of the Vikings took shelter in the lines of th armed camp, as they had so often s cessfully done before; but the victo led by one who, besides his many kin qualities, evidently possessed the pow of a great strategist, followed up th splendid success, and in a few days co pelled the beaten army of Vikings surrender, and as the price of their li either to quit England or to beco Christians, giving up Wessex for ever.

Never before had such a victory be won over the pagan invaders. It w absolutely decisive and crushing. T war was virtually over, and Wessex w finally delivered, thanks to the patie indomitable courage, and the splen generalship of Alfred. The tide Viking victory had at last turned, a Wessex and western Mercia were ever saved from the supremacy of t Northern invaders, who had so nea gained possession of the whole isla Large numbers of the defeated ar were allowed to leave the land, a under Hasting sailed in their long-sh for France, where once more they pla their old terrible part of pirate invade the remainder, under Guthrun, *accep Christianity*, and returned to the east counties. A treaty was concluded tween Wessex and the Danes, by wh England was divided between Alfred the Vikings. The treaty was conclude Wedmore, in Somerset, in the sum of A.D. 878.

The power of the Danes never recov this terrible blow. Their ravages, it is t long continued to afflict France and European continent. Northumbria East Anglia and part of Mercia still

heirs. But the spell of their awful name was broken. They had failed in their great enterprise to conquer England, and from the day of Alfred's victory in 878, their vast power gradually declined.

Roughly, the peace of Wedmore secured to Alfred and his West-Saxon dynasty Wessex, which included the entire south of England from Kent and the Medway to the heart of Devon and the Tamar; and western Mercia, which embraced the largest portion of that great realm of the Middle English, from the estuary of the Ribble, in modern Lancashire, to the Severn sea. To Guthrun and the Danes the peace of Wedmore left the whole of the eastern counties, which were already completely occupied by Danish chieftains, Cambridgeshire, parts of Hertford, Bedford, and Huntingdon. The boundary-line between Danish and English Mercia was the old Roman road of Watling Street, which during most of its length may be said roughly to correspond with the line of the London and North-Western Railway as far north as Preston. The kingdom of Northumbria in its southern portion, Deira, far north as the Tees, including Yorkshire and most of Derbyshire, was firmly held and permanently settled by the Danes. Mercia west of "Watling Street" became henceforth a part of the Wessex kingdom. The old royal Mercian line had become extinct when Burrhed fled before the

THE PEACE OF WEDMORE.

Danish Guthrun, and died at Rome an exile. Alfred and his line became undisputed kings of Mercia, which, however, preserved its own Witanagemot and its own native Engle ruler, who was styled the ealderman, owning Alfred as over-lord.

The Mercian ealderman Ethelred was also closely united to the royal house of Wessex, in the person of the subsequently renowned Ethelfleda—Alfred's daughter—who is generally known as "The Lady of the Mercians."

But though king Alfred had saved Wessex, and with Wessex indirectly a large part of central England, it was a sad and diminished realm that he entered upon on the morrow of the decisive peace of Wedmore. A glance at the map showing the division of England by the articles of that famous treaty, will show how large a portion of the island had, after all, passed under the permanent domination of the Danes. All northern, eastern, and perhaps half of central Britain—for eastern Mercia was reckoned as part of the Danish territory. And it must be remembered that the Danish rule meant *the substitution of paganism for Christianity*. With the exception of Guthrun, the East Anglian ruler, whose conversion after the Danish rout of Ethandune was but precarious and doubtful, the Viking chiefs were pagans; relentless foes of Christianity, whose shrines they had pitilessly destroyed. In the whole of the north of England the church of Cuthbert and Aidan, of Bede and Hilda, had perished out of the land. A small Christian remnant remained in the great city of York, in which the pagan conquerors had settled themselves, adopting it as their principal royal seat; but its noble school was gone, and its library, once famed throughout Europe, was a thing of the past. Gone, too, were the mighty fen abbeys, once the pride of central and eastern England. The ruin which had befallen the Church of England, from the Tyne and Tees to the Thames, w complete.

In his own Wessex, which, after years painful struggles and hard and desper fighting, he had freed at last from t Dane, things were somewhat bright Christianity had not utterly perished, b it was a feeble and dying church th Alfred had to do with, when at length was left alone in his ancestral dominio Schools and monasteries, churches a abbeys, for the most part had gone do before the pitiless Viking storm. But t king did not despair of a restoration the church he loved so well. "All mig be set right," he wrote, "if only we ha stillness."

Nothing gives so vivid a picture of t awful desolation which rested on the chur of Wessex (and other portions of Christi England were, as we have pointed out, a yet worse plight) as Alfred's own wor written at a later period of his stormy, br liant reign. These striking words appe in a preface he wrote to his translation his favourite book, Gregory the Grea "Pastoral Care," when that "stillness for which he had prayed so earnestly a touchingly, had for a blessed season settl over his kingdom. Alfred is addressi his friend and adviser, bishop Wulfs of Sherborne, and looks back on what t Church of England once was before t coming of the Vikings. "I wish thee know that it comes very often in my mi what wise men there were in England, bo laymen and ecclesiastics, and how hap those times were to England; how t kings who then had the government of t people, obeyed God and His messenge how they both preserved their peace, th

ustoms, and their power at home, and ncreased their territory abroad; and how hey prospered both in peace and in war. he sacred profession was diligent both to each and to learn, and in all the offices hich they should do to God. Men from broad sought wisdom and learning hither this country, though we must now go ut of it to obtain knowledge if we wish to ave it." . . . . . "So clean was it llen out of England, that there were very w on this side of the Humber who understood their service in English, or were ble to translate a Latin epistle into nglish, and I think there were not many eyond the Humber. So few such there ere that I cannot think of a single istance south of the Thames when I began reign. . . . . Thanks be to God at we have now some teachers in our alls."

The king in the course of the same pre-ce gently refers to some past neglect and kewarmness which had come over the urch, after those golden days of learning d religion which he had been regretting bitterly and pathetically. "We have red," said Alfred, "only the name of ling Christians, and very few of the duties. hen I remembered all this, then I ought also I saw, *before it was all spoiled d burnt*, how the churches throughout e English nation were filled with treasures d books, and also with a great multitude God's servants." Then he mourns over decadence of true learning, which had dently began to creep over the land *ore* the coming of the Vikings, and the ul destruction and ruin which subse-ntly followed in their footsteps. hey," alluding evidently to the generation immediately preceding the Danish invasion, "had very little fruit of the books, because they could understand nothing of them, because they were not written in their own language. They say our elders"—no doubt alluding to men like Theodore, Hadrian, Aldhelm, and their contemporaries and pupils—"who held these places before them, loved wisdom, and through it obtained weal, and left it to us. . . . . When I thought of all this, then I wondered greatly that none of the great and wise men who were formerly in the English nation, and had fully learned all the books, had not translated any part of them into their own native tongue; but I soon answered myself and said, that they did not think men would ever become so careless, and that learning would so decay."

The "Wessex and Mercia" which the great Anglo-Saxon king had with so much difficulty preserved from the all-conquering Viking, was, as far as men could see, a ruined land; monasteries and schools burnt, Canterbury sacked, Winchester sacked, Sherborne sacked, the country harried, the commerce destroyed, Christianity apparently dying, and those ministers of religion who were left, sunk in terrible ignorance. And yet Alfred did not despair. If he could only have a season of peace and quietness, a respite from desolating wars and cruel raids, he believed he could bring back security and even prosperity to his country; and, better still, that he would be able to restore the influence of the waning and fast dying church, and win back for it something at least of its ancient fame for learning.

For Alfred, without doubt the greatest of our English kings, a consummate general,

almost recklessly brave, a wise and painstaking law-giver, a statesman in the highest sense of the far-reaching word, a patient and devoted scholar and student, was first and foremost a man of God; one who believed with his whole heart and soul that the well-being of the people he loved so well was intimately bound up with the practice, not merely the profession, of a pure Christianity. This Christianity, he felt, in common with those devout and ardent souls who had laid so well its foundations amongst us, must be something learned and cultured as well as pious and earnest, else it would utterly fail in its high and saintly mission, and in the end would fade and die.

We possess no detailed information of the successive steps which Alfred took to restore the broken and ruined church life in England. We know he succeeded, however, in gaining for it once more a noble position among the churches of Europe. We have to gather up incidental details and to piece them together, as in the next chapter, and thus to form our story of his great work in building up again the well-nigh ruined fabric of the Church of England in Wessex and in "English" Mercia. Peace, quiet—some period of rest from mere perpetual wars, was what he longed for. "If we only may have stillness," was the burden of the prayer of the patriot-king; then he felt that, with God's help, all might yet be set right.

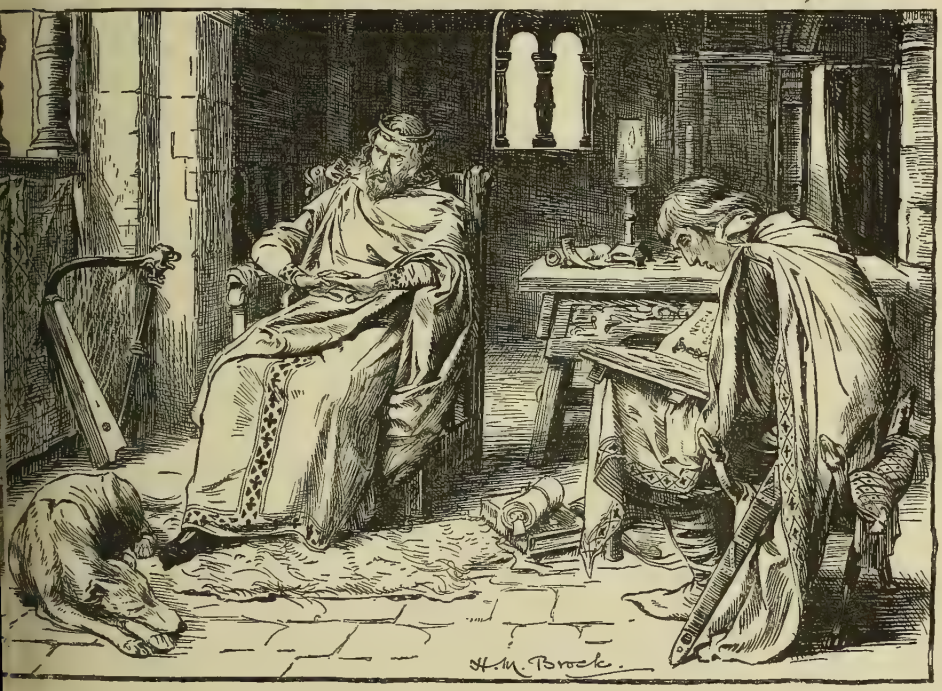
The solemn prayer was partly granted, as all such true prayers ever are. The dates of the great reign of restoration may from this point of view be divided as follows:—

| | A.D. |
|---|---|
| Peace of Wedmore ... ... ... | 878 |
| "*Stillness*" in England—6 quiet years... | 878— |
| Trouble with the Danes again ... ... | 885— |
| "*Stillness*" in England—5 quiet years... | 887— |
| War with the Viking Hasting and the Danes ... ... ... ... ... | 893— |
| "*Stillness*" in England—4 quiet years... | 897— |
| King Alfred dies, October 28th ... ... | 901 |

After the peace of Wedmore, Alfred joyed his longest period of quiet, lasti some six years—878 to 884. The restl Danes under Guthrun, of East Angl who had consented to be baptised, so sailed away from their East Anglian sett ments—not, of course, giving them up and commenced again their destructi raids on the banks of the Scheldt. Hastin the yet more dreaded sea-pirate, w refused to become a Christian after t fight of Ethandune, also returned to t Continent, and became virtually master the "Loire" country in Frank-land. B as in England, so on the Continent, the enemies of the human race now fou sturdy opposition. The first terror their fierce plundering bands had pass away. The determined stand by ki Alfred, and the Danish repulse from We sex, had produced its effect; and even their favourite haunts along the banks the Scheldt and the Rhine, the Seine a the Loire, they found they had mu hard fighting before them.

The year 884 found the pirate flee dispirited by the resistance abroad, ag in England. Alfred, however, met th now on sea, as well as on land, and though the sea-robbers were helped their East Anglian kinsmen, they w forced on all sides to retreat, the lar number again returning to the Contin

y, more: the treachery of Guthrun and East-Anglian Danes was severely nished by a large slice being taken of Guthrun's eastern-counties terri-y, and annexed to the English king's ninions. This gain to the cause of ristianity included most of Middlesex, included London in his Mercian government. This was the year when, as is graphically stated in the contemporary record of the English Chronicle, "all the Angel-cyn [*i.e.* people of the Engles or Angles] turned to Alfred, save those who were in bondage to Danish men." His power




ALFRED IN HIS STUDY.

Hertford, Essex, and the important of London, which henceforth became English centre, and from this time, as natural from its unrivalled position, ually grew in commercial importance. period of fierce fighting, which ed in the cession of London and the me" counties, came to an end in 886. Mercian ealderman and son-in-law, who tl as Alfred's sub-king in Mercia, now and reputation were now firmly established, and his authority generally recognised as king of the "England rescued from the Danes." The Engle and the Saxon were really fused for the first time, willingly, into one great people.

For about five or six years again "stillness" was over the realm of Alfred—from 886-7 to 893. During this period Guthrun, or East Anglia, who had received the

name of Guthrun-Atheïstan when he was baptised after the victory of Ethandune, died (890). At his death the peace between Alfred and the East-Anglian Danish settlers was renewed.

In 893 the resistance on the Continent to the northern ravagers was so stout, that the Vikings there again determined to attack England. In Germany their bands had suffered a terrible defeat at the close of 891, and in Frankland the veteran pirate Hasting was pressed harder and harder by the gallant resistance of the people whose country he had so long and so ruthlessly harried. There was a double invasion of Vikings in that year of fierce struggle in England. In the south, two hundred and fifty Viking crews landed near Lymne, in Kent; and Hasting, too well known already in England, with eighty more long-ships, sailed up the Thames. Two armed camps—one in Wessex, the other in Kent—threatened the kingdom of Alfred in that dread winter of 893. In the following year Hampshire and Berkshire were harried by the invaders. For a year Alfred succeeded in preventing any further advance on the part of the invading hosts; when a general rising of the Danes settled in England in the eastern counties, in defiance of all their treaties, seemed once more to threaten Christian England with ruin. But the work of Alfred was too strong to be shaken seriously, even by this dangerous combination. For many months the flames of fierce war were indeed lit up in all parts of England, and we hear of desperate fighting in East Anglia, in the neighbourhood of London, in the Cotswolds, in the heart of the Severn valley; as far west even as Exeter; in the north-west round Chester. The wise military organisat of Alfred, however, everywhere m head against the pirate foes, and in 897 East-Anglian Danes retreated to their c eastern-counties district, while Hasti thoroughly foiled, sailed again with long-ships, as he had done when defea in former years, to his strongholds Frankland. Once more Alfred won "stillness" for his England, from 897 to 901, when he passed his well-earned rest, the "stillness" hardly won remained unbroken.

There were thus three short peri of peace between 878 and 901 — sh periods lasting, roughly, six, five, and f years each; the intervals between e being filled with fierce and bloody wars which, after hard and desperate fighti the patriot English king always remai victor. In these broken fifteen years Alfred's work—military work, legislat work, church work, literary work— done; done too by a worn and sic man, weakened by the constant attacks a mysterious and agonising disease.* M have marvelled how the king, seemingly frail, and perpetually harassed with gr and painful sickness, found time in th few short years to learn so much, to r so much, to write so much. His faitl friends, some of the profoundest scho of Europe, whom he had attracted to

* The nature of the malady is unknown; b was manifested in long seasons of internal pai times almost agonising, and latterly almost in sant. Cancer in some internal organ has supposed by some; a peculiar form of neur by others. That the king was an almost cons martyr to pain during many years, is the one which is beyond doubt.

rt, tell us something of the secret of life. Gifted, no doubt, with rare ers of memory, the king never lost a nent; every hour that he could snatch n his ordinary kingly duties he filled n some well-chosen study. The book usually read aloud to him by one of scholar courtiers or chaplain; some-es it was carefully marked for him to l himself. Not a moment of those cious years of "stillness" was ever ted, save when his weary malady laid for a time aside.

simple device for measuring these fleet-moments, devised by Alfred himself, is ribed to us by Asser. Six wax candles equal weight were made to last for nty-four hours. They were never ered to go out, one being always kept ning. Each candle was twelve inches ; the inches were accurately marked, y inch thus lasting twenty minutes. he king on his frequent journeys was n sheltered in a draughty tent, a white horn case, transparent as glass, admirably (*mirabile*, says Asser) made him, and Alfred was thus enabled with able accuracy to watch the slipping of every hour, and carefully to ure his precious time.

udent though he was, Alfred never ected to keep up the necessary pomp state which belongs to a great rch, knowing well how impressive outward magnificence. He travelled, s the habit of the Saxon kings, from residence to royal residence, so as to onstantly present in the various of his wide Mercian and Wessex nions. Most of these villas or palaces in the midst of the royal estates; a few probably in cities like Winchester or Gloucester. These villas, by his direction, were adorned with gold and silver, and halls after the manner of his northern ancestors were constructed of wood and stone with rare skill. Goldsmiths and cunning workers of precious ornaments were welcome at his court. Their beautiful craft, we are told, was encouraged by the king. We read of his delight in arraying his grandson, prince Athelstan, when a child, with a purple cloak and jewelled belt, and gold-hilted sword. One remarkable example of the goldsmith's craft in the days of Alfred we still possess. Some two hundred years ago, in Somerset, near the river Parrett, not very far from the Isle of Athelney—the last refuge of the king and his family before the supreme effort which resulted in the victory of Ethandune—was found a beautiful jewel consisting of a polished oval crystal, two inches long, inlaid with green and yellow mosaic representing a figure sitting, holding in each hand a lily. The enamelled crystal is set in beaten gold, admirably worked; and on the setting are engraved the words, "Alfred had me wrought." This priceless relic is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

We have dwelt at some length in the next chapter, as belonging especially to our own story, on Alfred's care and pains in the matter of building up again the ruined walls of the English church. Outside religious matters, and the things which immediately influence them, we can only make brief allusions, but it must not be supposed that the restoration of the church, her enthusiasms and her solemn order, her laws, and, above all, her

learning, occupied to the exclusion of other kingly duties, the mind and heart of Alfred. We have seen him in that weary warfare with the Danes, which occupied the early years of the great reign, playing the part of a brave soldier and a skilled strategist, never despairing even in days when all seemed lost. We have traced that troubled life, filled with ceaseless fighting up to the glorious victory at Ethandune, where he won the independence of half of England and the overlordship of a still larger division of his native land. And when at length some years of "stillness" at last were his, among his many works for England was the creation of a standing army and of a permanent fleet.

*Photo: H. W. Taunt, Oxford.*

ALFRED'S JEWEL, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD.

It is in Alfred's reign, too, that we find any mention of the first formal "Budget." It is true that most of the more costly national expenses were defrayed by local and individual contributions. For instance, each man-at-arms was bound to serve for a time without pay, and had to provide his own armour and weapons; and the walls and fortifications of towns were maintained local payments. Yet in the new arra ments for the small standing army fleet, much of the expense naturally on the king. The royal revenue ari from estates and other sources was considerable, this sum Al formally div into two porti The one he plied to wor expenses, other to spiri needs. The then, went to maintenance worldly po to the defr of war exper the new stan army and fleet, now constantly o war footing the cost and m tenance of court; to b ing work— as for his royal pal which he largely rebuilt and richly ador and to defray the cost of the customary to strangers and others who visited thronged his court. These gifts, often lavish, to illustrious strangers visiti friendly court, must have been a se charge on the royal treasury; they evidently a prominent feature in the life of the kings of the north, from w Alfred was descended, and in his court

their ancestral customs were preserved. the great epic of the "Beowulf," a poem ll known in the days of Alfred, the gifts

picture of much of the court life of the Scandinavian kings of the sixth and following century.

MONASTIC CHARITY IN SAXON TIMES.

he hero from the king and queen in the a of Heorot were many and costly, and carefully described. Whatever be the xt date of the "redaction" of this m which we now possess, it is perfectly r that it gives a vivid and accurate

The second portion of the royal revenues was allotted to very different uses—exclusively for ecclesiastical and church purposes. One part was set apart for almsgiving and the poor; one part was given to the new monasteries of Shaftesbury and

Athelney; a third was devoted to education and the purchase of books; the king was specially anxious by degrees to replace the awful destruction of the monastic libraries by the Danes. Books were very rare in Wessex when Alfred began to set his hardly-won kingdom in order. The remaining fourth part of this, the spiritual half of his income, was given to help monasteries at home and abroad.

The great king was scarcely fifty-two years old when that noble life came to an end. "Little by little men came to recognise in Alfred a ruler of higher and nobler stamp than the world had seen. 'I desire,' said the king, 'to leave to the men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works.'" His aim has been more than fulfilled, and his memory has come down to us with a living distinctness through the mists of legend which time gathered round it. The instinct of the people has clung to him with a singular affection. The love which he won a thousand years ago has lingered round his name from that day to this. While every other name of those earlier times "has all but faded from the recollection of Englishmen, that of Alfred remains familiar to every English child."*

Of Alfred's earnestness in religion there is no shadow of doubt; but his extraordinary zeal in the restoration of the well-nigh ruined church in England no doubt fostered and matured by th cumstances in which his life was cast. a century before the victory of Ethanc which has been fairly called one o decisive battles of the world, had him really king of half England, A knew that the island had been one o chief world-centres of culture and lea and religion. All this—culture and l ing and religion, and the beneficial influ which naturally accompanied these t —had almost entirely disappeared; vanished as though they had never *Learning as well as religion had d the Danes.* We must never be weari pressing home this truth, that the Da Viking was not only a pagan, or not a indifferent pagan, but one whose life vowed to the extirpation of Christia The Viking — Northman, Ostman, D by whatever name we call him — the bitter foe of the religion of J His work and his wars, which co with a sombre hue the whole story of ninth century of our era, was the last bitterest uprising of heathenism ag Christianity. For a sad season it seemed probable that it would win day. But the Master willed it ot wise; and the great instrument of Providence, the captain of His whom He raised up to roll back ever the advancing tide of pagan was our English hero-king, Alfred Great.

* Green: "Conquest," iv.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### ALFRED'S WORK FOR THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Ruined Church of England—Its Ignorance as Alfred found it—His Fellow-workers—Asser his Biographer—Alfred's Laws—Limitations of His Realm—Rapid Reorganisation of the Church therein—A Restored Episcopate—Scholastic Establishments—Elevation of the Religious Ideal—Attempts to Restore Monasticism, and their partial Failure—Alfred's Relations with Rome—His Estimate of Education and an Educated Clergy—His own Early Training and Education—Influence of the Saxon Poetry upon his Mind—Himself Becomes a Scholar—And an Author—His Works and Marvellous Industry—The Saxon Chronicle—Alfred the Initiator of Modern Literature—St. Neot.

WHEN, in 901, Alfred entered into his rest, at the comparatively early age of fifty-two, it was a y different England from the country had saved from the conquering Dane he peace of Wedmore in 878. It was a period of some twenty-two years, this short period was, as we have seen, broken by wars and treachery that only ut fifteen years of quiet can be fairly nted. As regards the military power, security, the commercial prosperity and lth of England at the period of Alfred's h, we must content ourselves with the brief summary in the preceding chap- our own task concerns the Church of land, and of it we are now especially peak.

the year 878, then, enthusiasm, order, ning, had all vanished from the church lfred's realm. The monasteries had nigh all disappeared; the abbeys were ly mere heaps of charred and black- ruins; the remnants of the clergy monks were utterly dispirited; with ely an exception, they were devoid of earning; there was but a scant store ooks, for the libraries were well-nigh ely destroyed; and no one missed them, for few, if any, could read them. The knowledge of Latin, once so familiar a tongue to priest and monk, and even to nun, had vanished from the land in many places. Pagan rites were gradually superseding Christian services.

Bede had died in his loved cell at Jarrow in 735, and the peace of Wedmore was less than a century and a half later; but the change which had in that period passed over England was so tremendous, that the historian, when he attempts to tell the true story, feels that he may be charged with exaggeration. For well-nigh half a century after Bede's death, England, both in its northern and southern divisions, had been one of the chief places of education; perhaps the chiefest literary centre of Europe. Alcuin, "the disciple of York" and the minister of Charlemagne, had sought in England, and found in great numbers there, books and scholars to assist in the widespread literary and educational work of the all-powerful Frankish emperor. All this splendid development of literature had been the work, we must remember, well-nigh entirely of the Church of England; for, with rare exceptions, the scholar, the teacher, the writer of

poetry or of prose, was an ecclesiastic. But when Alfred, in the year 878, looked out over his liberated but desolated realm, it had all disappeared—monk and nun, books and literature, had vanished like a dream. In the north of England, monastery and nunnery and school had been really annihilated, while in the midlands and the south (Wessex)—his own kingdom—the few of them that yet remained had quite ceased to be homes of learning and education. *The very priests of the Church of England*—a sorry remnant—*had positively* (Alfred tells us so himself) *ceased even to be able to read their books.*

PORTION OF SAXON WORK IN SHERBORNE ABBEY.
(*Said to be contemporary with Aldhelm.*)

This was the state of things in the apparently dying church of 878. In 901 the churches had been rebuilt; the monasteries in many cases had been restored; schools had been organised in various centres; libraries had been established; a great and flourishing vernacular literature had sprung into existence; a band of real scholars, able, practical men, as well as profound students, with the English king as their patron and director, had set themselves to reform, to rebuild, to reorganise the whole ecclesiastical system. Latin once more was studied, and had becor favourite tongue to many. Hand-in-h with the state, the Church of Eng recommenced its beneficent career power and influence, the centre of cation and of all other works designed the true welfare of the people.

Religion, as been well said, the groundwor Alfred's charac Thus, while he boured as perl no sovereign laboured before ensure a cer measure of secu for his people those restless loving times, by creation of a st ing army and organisation regular fleet armed ships; w he placed the ministration of tice on a new nobler footi while he labo incessantly to cure the priceless advantages of ed tion for all sorts and conditions of n his *heart* was ever fixed upon relig His writings which have come d to us tell us this: that what he spec longed for was to restore the Ch of England to its old position of fluence among the people. Withou powerful church, at once devoted learned, Alfred felt that all efforts

ke his people free and great and ong would prove utterly abortive.

His first care was to provide men who red his lofty views on the paramount cessity for a strong church in a strong te; for a church which could guide and uence, which could inspire men with

SHERBORNE ABBEY AT PRESENT TIME.

a aims and a noble purpose. And of such men, alas! could be found his native Wessex. In Canterbury, a long period no really great and ted prelate had sat in the honoured of Augustine. Its records tell us of lustrious church leader like Theodore; chool, once so deservedly famous, had uced no teacher as a successor to the lar Hadrian, Theodore's friend and counsellor. Nowhere in his own Wessex could the king find a man whom he could trust to carry out his noble projects for the restoration of the Church of England to its old position of holy influence. Ethelred, archbishop at the date of the peace of Wedmore, and who lived until the year 889, was a loyal churchman and a good man, but was no efficient counsellor of the great king; no born leader of men in such a period of reconstruction and reformation, when a new foundation had to be again promptly laid.

Alfred was, however, more than simply king of Wessex; he was king of Mercia too, the formally acknowledged sovereign of the largest portion of central England, since the last Mercian king Burrhed, flying from the conquering Danes, had died a

pilgrim in Rome. The Danes only occupied the eastern division of Mercia ; the central and west portion had become an integral part of Alfred's realm from the date of the peace of Wedmore. Mercia, in those western districts which fell to Alfred's share, had been less harried by the Vikings than any other part of England; and in Worcester, under its energetic bishop Werfrith, a remnant of the old learning and teaching seems to have been preserved even in the most gloomy period of the Viking invasion. It was from Mercia that Alfred chose his principal advisers in his work for the regeneration of the Church of England. Among these advisers the names are preserved of Werfrith, the bishop of Worcester ; of Athelstan and Werwulf, who were attached closely to his person as his chaplains; and later, Plegmund, whom he placed in Canterbury when Ethelred the archbishop died in 890.

But for scholars for the work he designed the church to carry on, the king had to go beyond the limits of England, so utterly had all learning died out of the realm. From the famous monastery of St. Bertin in St. Omer, he invited the monk Grimbald to preside over the new religious house which he founded in his royal city of Winchester. Grimbald was a musician and singer; a most valuable acquisition in the constitution of a monastic establishment, where many services were kept up, and where variety and change were absolutely needful. Grimbald, too, was noted for his knowledge of that perfect form of ecclesiastical discipline practised in the greater Benedictine societies. Another monk of high repute, John, apparently from the well-known Westphalian m astery of Corbey, was brought over assist in the organisation of the new We Saxon and Mercian religious communiti and in the reformation of the few wh yet remained. These brought with th many companions to aid them in restori the ancient discipline and practices.

The best-known, however, of all t king's coadjutors was the author of t "Biography of Alfred," whence most what we know concerning the inner li the hopes and wishes of the great king, derived. Asser the learned, the devot friend of Alfred during the greater part his reign which followed the peace Wedmore, was a Welsh ecclesiastic, monk of St. David's, of great repute. I tells the story himself, how the king se for him from his secluded home in t far distant western border of Britai the monastery of St. David's. After h long journey he came to the king's hou called Dene, in Sussex, where Alfred ask him to leave for his sake all that he had the western side of the Severn, promisi to recompense him with yet great possessions. But Asser could not give his Welsh home altogether—the Briti scholar tells his life-story very vivid and simply—and he rode back aga to his distant home. After promisi Alfred soon to return, he sickened of dangerous fever, and was a sufferer twelve months and a week, and had lit hope of life. He describes how Alfr sent to him during his long sickness ask why he had never been again to him as he had promised. In the end agreed to spend half his time in t Wessex country, and the other half in Wal

Asser's devotion to the king's service ever flagged; he remained one of the ief ministers of the reign. His work y especially in the organisation of monasries and schools. Late in his career—obably only in the first year of Alfred's n and successor, Edward—he became shop of Sherborne, and died in the year o, nine years after the death of his ar friend and master. But although sser was only raised late in his busy life one of the few Anglo-Saxon bishoprics, e hear incidentally of his receiving rich wards and high honours at different mes from his grateful master. The king ve him the charge of Exeter and the estern parishes belonging to it in Wessex d Cornwall, an appointment peculiarly ting for one of the ancient British stock, d trained as a monk in the immemorial ditions of the renowned community of David's. On one occasion Alfred, he s, gave him a costly silk pallium, proby the insignia of some high office towed upon him; at another time the g presented him with "a man's load of ense," no doubt a precious gift for the of the many churches in the west, ecially entrusted to the care of the urite minister and adviser. Asser ns also to have been the abbot of two nasteries.

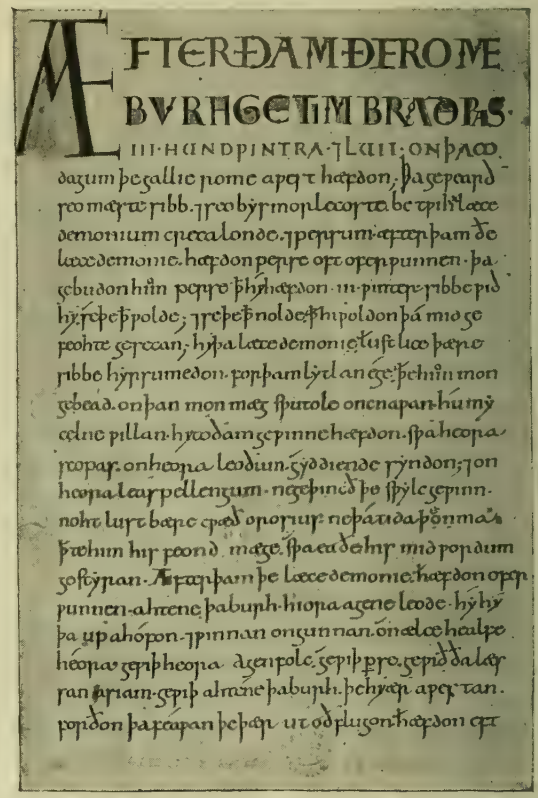
ound the king stood this little group cholars he had gathered together, who lly assisted their great master in his of the regeneration of the ruined . They, together with him, rescued Church of England from what seemed sition of hopeless ruin and degrada- and made her once more a command- and beneficent influence among the people. By English churchmen the names should never be forgotten of Asser, subsequently bishop of Sherborne; Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury; Werfrith, bishop of Worcester; Grimbald, the monk who refused to be archbishop; and John, the king's mass-priest, or chaplain.

In the laws of Alfred, the intensely religious spirit of the famous king appears in the curious Biblical mould in which these laws were cast. As far as it was possible the old Hebrew code, both in language and spirit, was introduced by Alfred into the laws of the Anglo-Saxon people. The vast influence of the church over the minds of great Continental princes like Charlemagne is clearly perceptible in the codes put forth at different times among the Franks. But this religious influence is nowhere so manifest as in the laws of Alfred. Many of these had exclusive reference to the church, its rights and privileges, its vowed servants.

It must be remembered that during the long Danish wars, the land in many districts had fallen under the influence of paganism; the influence of the church was everywhere weakened, in not a few places it had entirely ceased to exist. The great monasteries, the centres of Christian life and teaching, were well-nigh all destroyed. Even in such places as Canterbury, their power and weight counted but very little. Of the bishops, some had disappeared altogether; those who were still acknowledged in the ruined and desolated dioceses, with rare exceptions, were men of little weight and scanty learning. Thus not a few of the ecclesiastical laws of Alfred were directed against disorders,

which were largely owing to the presence and influence of paganism in the land. The performance of pagan rites and witchcraft were made punishable offences.

Punishments were decreed against any profanation of the Sunday or holy days. It would seem as though the observance of Sunday had largely ceased in what was rapidly becoming pagan England. Considerable and special privileges were given in these laws to the persons of ecclesiastics. Every offence against their individual dignity was rigorously punished. Those were rough days, yet anyone who presumed to fight in the sight of the bishop or archbishop was fined a great sum. Robbery of church property was punished by the infliction of a double fine, and, in addition, by the terrible penalty of the loss of a hand! The privileges of sanctuary in the case of criminals and fugitives from justice were carefully defined, and every detail of the treatment of these sheltered pers when in sanctuary was carefully provi for. This, of course, in a country wh has narrowly escaped a return to pagani



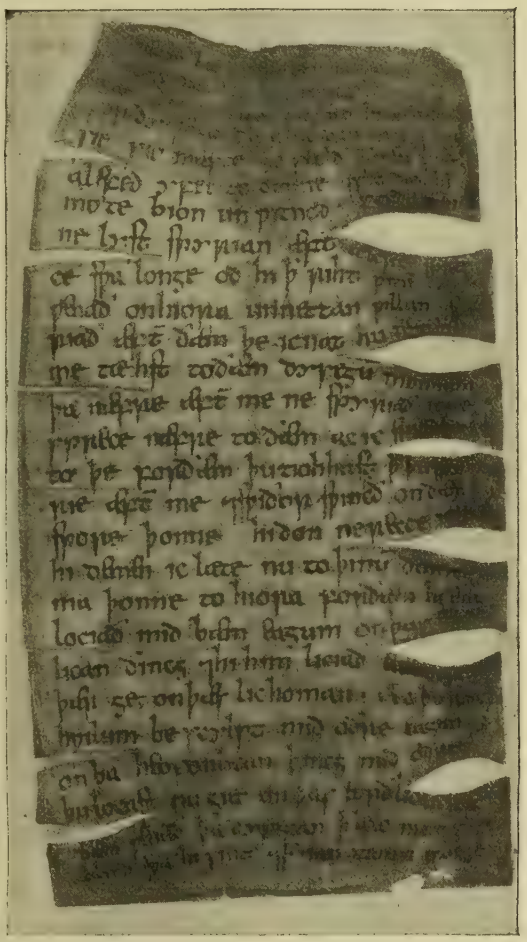
PAGE FROM AN ELEVENTH CENTURY COPY OF KING ALFRED'S TRANSLATION OF OROSIUS' "COMPENDICUS HISTORY OF THE WORLD."

(*British Museum Cott. MS. Tiberius B. 1 f. 42.*)

placed Christian chu in a pecu position of s tity in the of the people

But, al Alfred's re was not E land as we un stand the te The sharp, cl cut statemen the Engl Chronicle, in reference to year 886, ei years after peace of W more, in a words sums the situati The Engles Angles) dwel Northumb and Deira, f the lowland Scotland to hills of De shire; they cupied Lincolnshire and the broad country; theirs, too, were the eas counties from the shores of the Was the banks of the Thames. Mercia was Engle; it stretched, did this dominion of mid-Britain, from the lands to the Welsh mountain districts.

uth Yorkshire boundaries may be said ughly to have been its northern fron- er. In the south, the Engles of Mercia ached to the wiccian coun- y now roughly Worcestershire, loucestershire, nd Warwick- hire. As the hronicle says, All the Angel- yn" (Engles) turned to lfred, save those ho were under ondage to Danish men." ut this was o slight excep- on. The Angel- n in bondage Danish men ere the inhabi- tnts of the ger half of gland. The gan Viking l done his k but too well l thoroughly. completely Christianity ted out of north of gland, that great kingdom of Northumbria is said ave positively remained without a mo- ic house to the verge of the Norman quest. In the Fen lands the utter ruction of the great abbeys has been already related, and with the burning of abbeys such as Peterborough and Crowland, Bardney and Ely—renowned centres of Christian teaching and popular homes of learning—the fate of Christianity in this wild, strange country of swamp and fen, with difficulty won by the patient industry of the monk settlers, was sealed.



PAGE FROM A TENTH CENTURY COPY OF KING ALFRED'S TRANSLATION OF BOETHIUS.
(*British Museum Cott. MS. Otho. A.* vi. *f.* 104.)

In Mid-Britain, too, the religion of the Crucified seemed doomed. The sees of Dunwich and Lindsey disappeared; they were henceforth unneeded, for there was no church to watch over and to tend. At Lichfield the regular succession of bishops became broken and irregular. The end seemed not far here, in Mid-England, distant. In York alone, out of northern, middle, and eastern England, was the succession unbroken of the prelates who sat in the seat of Paulinus, and of the

great archbishops who helped to make the school of York famous throughout the western world. There, where the Danish king had fixed his seat of government, the chief priest of the conquered Engle race was permitted to live on ; so the list of archbishops of York in these sad times remains entire. But it is but a list of shadowy names. There is absolutely no history, for the church of Northumbria had virtually ceased to exist.

Only in the south of England—in Wessex and the Mercia west of Watling Street, in Kent, and the district generally known as the home counties round London, a later acquisition of Alfred—could the work of the king be carried out. Only in these districts, rescued from the hands of the pagan Danes, was the church built up again. Christianity in East Anglia, ruled over by the Danish convert Guthrun, for many years was but a feeble influence in the land, and shared but little in the great church revival of the south and west. Yet although confined to the kingdoms of Wessex and western Mercia, the Church of England as reconstituted by Alfred grew into power and influence with great rapidity, and was soon again reckoned in learning and in piety a leading church in the west of Europe. It endured, too; and, as we shall see, gradually though slowly extended its influence northward and eastward in the island. That Alfred in the face of such unparalleled difficulties could have re-laid so well the foundations of the Church of England is, perhaps, the most surprising fact and successful effort in her long and marvellous story.

Briefly, what Alfred accomplished was as follows. He placed at the head of eccle tical affairs a learned episcopate ; but here he encountered serious difficulties. find men capable, according to his i of governing and organising, he ha seek strangers ; and his chief adviser church matters were drawn, not from own Wessex, but from Mercia, Wales, even from the continent of Europe, a have already related. So difficult was i him to find learned men for the chief p in the church, that when he died sev sees were left without bishops, owing his inability to find scholars capable filling these high and difficult positio

Many schools were established, som connection with monastic establishme some independent of these communi Dean Hook even considers* that to Alfr foundations the English system of pub school education must be traced. Al desired that every youth in England had wealth enough should be taught read English, and afterwards, if t hoped to be promoted to a higher ra should be instructed in Latin. T last acquirement seems especially to h referred to those who intended to vote themselves to the service of church. He set up a special sc for the instruction of young nobles imitation of a similar institution of Ch magne, in his own court. Books unfortunately very rare in England at period. The magnificent libraries w had been one of the chief glories of land had been well-nigh destroyed ; without doubt some of the pre manuscripts from that of York had preserved, and when it became k

* "Lives of the Archbishops."

hat Alfred welcomed to his court all who ould bring him a book to add to the ibrary of Winchester, the remnants of iterature left at York would be carried outhward. It was thus probably that the ext of many of the poems of Cædmon and Cynewulf, unknown before, save as fragmentary lilts recited by wandering songmen, were brought to Wessex and the outh. These, put into the Wessex dialect, oon became very popular.* Several other amous works recovered by Alfred were endered into English. The great king et the example by turning into English imself the story of Bede for the use of is people. Lives of saints, such as Adamnan's Columba, were put into an English form. Many treatises and works on theology were also translated. English prose may be said to have dated its rise rom this impulse given to it by Alfred, as s more fully described a little further on.

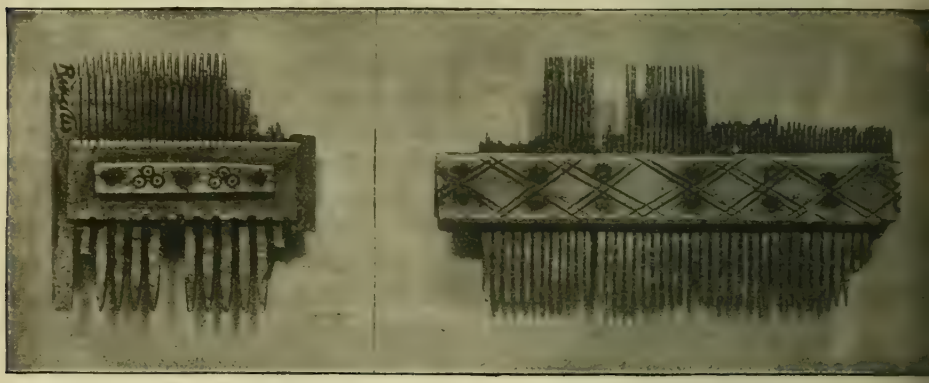
The king's own words in his preface to the astoral book of Pope Gregory the Great ividly and simply set forth what was in is mind when he set the noble example giving an English literature to his eople. "When I remembered how the nowledge of Latin had decayed throughout England, I began, among other various d manifold troubles of this kingdom, to anslate into English the book which is lled in the Latin *Pastoralis*, and in nglish, Shepherd's Book, sometimes word word, and sometimes according to the nse, as I had learnt it from Plegmund, archbishop, and Asser, my bishop, and imbald, my mass-priest, and John, my ass-priest; and when I had learnt it, as I could best understand it, I translated it into English."

The inner life of the church was purified and invigorated by an elaborate code of church laws specially framed for its guidance and regulation; while the same code guarded and re-affirmed its dignity and privileges. Above all, the king raised the whole conception of the work of the church and her ministers. His ideal was perhaps too lofty for ordinary men, and only in a few noble instances was attained; but his idea of the work and office of the church in relation to the state, his own labours and high example, completely changed the character of the dispirited and well-nigh hopeless church, which existed, but scarcely influenced the life of the harassed English people, in the disastrous period which preceded the fight at Ethandune. When Alfred died the Church of England had risen from its ruins; it had once more won the respect of foreign nations, and was playing an important and most influential part in the life and hopes of Englishmen.

One weighty department of Alfred's church work, in which he was by no means so successful, must be specially alluded to. In the story of Christianity in England during the seventh and eighth centuries, the centre of well-nigh all church life and learning must be sought and found in the monasteries and nunneries which were so plentifully scattered over the land, notably in the northern part of the kingdom and in the Fen country; but even in Wessex, where monasticism was less influential, there were not a few great and famous religious and educational houses. The greater number

* Compare remarks of Stopford Brooke in "arly English Literature."

of these had disappeared in the successive storms of the long-drawn-out Danish wars.



VIKING COMBS FOUND IN DENMARK (*British Museum*).

The few which remained, such as, for instance, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, and Canterbury, had sadly fallen away from the ancient discipline. Utterly illiterate, we find them living without any definite rule. Canterbury, the mother church of England, the home of the school of Hadrian and Theodore, scarcely second in European repute to that of York, had been "twice sacked and almost deserted. Those who could earn a livelihood elsewhere were unwilling to remain in a position so liable to be attacked; the canons of the cathedral had taken their departure, and archbishop Ceolnoth, who died in 870, had been obliged to employ in the services of his deserted church the secular clergy who were detained in the city to protect or provide for their wives and families. Archbishop Ethelred, who succeeded Ceolnoth at Canterbury the year before Alfred's accession, desired to expel these (the secular clergy), and to supply their places with monks; but monks to undertake the duty he could not find. The more devout had fled to the woods a wilds, there to live as hermits; the m active-minded and patriotic had exchang the convent for the camp, or, as in t case of St. Augustine's (the once famo monastery and school of Canterbur converted their monastery into a fortre determined from behind stone walls defend their relics from profanation, a the aged and infirm of their brethren fro violence." *

Alfred, in his far-reaching designs f the rebuilding of the Church of En land, was earnestly desirous for the rest ration and rehabilitation of the religio houses. For this object we have se that his "Budget" carefully set apart portion of his yearly revenue. He esta lished monasteries at Athelney and Wi chester; nunneries at Shaftesbury a Hyde acknowledged the great king as th founder. Of the house at Shaftesbury t king's second daughter, Elswitha, becar the abbess, and many noble ladies join the princess there. Ethelfleda, anoth and very famous daughter of Alfr

* Dr. Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops."

ually known as "Lady of the Mercians," wife of Alfred's Mercian viceroy or l of the Mercians, Ethelred, founded priory of St. Oswald under the walls of oucester, endowed it with costly gifts, l placed there the relics of the sainted rtyr, king Oswald. Its picturesque ns are still among the glories of oucester, and one ancient baluster, ong the crumbling relics of the fair ory belonging to a later age, is still own as undoubtedly a bit of the early rk of Alfred's daughter, Ethelfleda. fred's queen, Elswitha, also dedicated Winchester a nunnery to the essed Virgin, "for her soul's lvation," where after the death her husband she might end r days.

Yet, in spite of all this zeal and eful work, Alfred's efforts to tore monasticism were only tially successful. In Northumia, of course, he had no inence; north of the Humber, gland was purely Danish. In eastern counties his power greater, but he could do little n there to help the church. e ruler of East Anglia, Guthrunelstan, the baptised Dane, to day of his death in the year was a typical Viking chief ier than a Christian prince. We of him rather as the fierce te-chief leading successful raids rank-land, than as a wise and e-loving Christian ruler of Anglia. In Wessex and ern Mercia, as we have seen, the oration of monasticism entered largely into Alfred's designs for rebuilding the ruined church. But even there he was sadly disappointed. In and around Worcester, where the learned and pious Werfrith was bishop, a few religious houses seem to have taken firm root. But in Wessex, in the days of Alfred, the revival of monasticism was unpopular, and made no real way. In the abbey of Athelney, founded by the king as a thank-offering for the great deliverance from the Danes which had begun in the Somersetshire marshes, he could persuade no noble or even free West-Saxon to become a monk, and the community was made up of strangers from the Continent.

PILLOW STONE FOUND IN A GRAVE AT HARTLEPOOL, SUPPORTING THE HEAD OF THE PERSON NAMED ON THE STONE, A.D. 700 OR LATER.

We may perhaps trace here, even at this early period, the general recoil of the English mind, when the first attraction of contrast with paganism had disappeared, from the vowed celibate system. At all events, although in Mercia and in Wessex old religious houses were restored, and new ones built and endowed for communities of both sexes, this part of Alfred's church work was, on the whole, the least successful of all the noble strivings of this true toiler for God.

As Alfred may be considered to have refounded the Church of England, and raised it once again from its ruined condition to a position of influence and power in the land, it will be interesting to inquire what were the relations between this great and devoted churchman and Rome; to see whether the pretensions of Rome to supreme authority, advanced subsequently at a period not long after this time, and in a considerable measure then acceded to by the Church of England, were acknowledged by the first real king of England, to whom that church owes so vast a debt of gratitude.

From the time of Augustine in the last years of the sixth century, Rome, for a considerable period, largely owing to the peculiar circumstances of Augustine's mission, claimed the right of interference in the affairs of the church in the island. We have seen how, owing to the successful work of the Celtic missionaries, who had no commission from Rome, the influence of the great and masterful Roman see for many years counted but little in the Celtic churches and daughter-churches of Northumbria. Then, though travelling different roads, Theodore of Canter and Wilfrid of York again accust our English church to look to Rom the great centre of church life and i ence, and as the supreme arbiter in ca disputes; as the fountain whence sh issue at least the sanction to all app ments to the chief places in the ec astical hierarchy; as the final court i important questions of doctrine or r The influence and authority of Rom England, until the Vikings had well- put an end to Christianity in the is was, however, an undefined and ge one, though none the less real. But period of Rome's undefined claims t obedience of the churches of we Christendom was coming to an end.

Only some twenty years before the at Ethandune and the subsequent of Wedmore made Alfred a king in had the famous forgery of the Decretals been formally accepted as au tic by Pope Nicholas I., who died in Before these "False Decretals" took authoritative place in Latin Christen the decretals, or letters, or edicts o bishops of Rome, to which the could refer as precedents, as collecte Dionysius, only commenced with Siricius, near *the end of the fourth cen* The records of the Councils were preserved under the name of Isido Seville. On a sudden appeared a collection of documents containing, be decrees of certain unauthentic Cou letters and decrees of the twenty popes and bishops of Rome, reaching Clement of Rome, *in the first centu* the Christian era, or positively from tolic times. These also bore the na

idore as the original collector. In these ocuments the assertion appears and appears that the Church of Rome was rectly constituted head over all other urches by our Lord Himself; and it is leged that the episcopal chair of St. eter, for the sake of convenience, was ansferred from Antioch to Rome. In these arvellous documents, the Popes of Rome pear from the first the guardians and gislators of the faith throughout the world. There is much that is curious and teresting in these False Decretals, but ey abound in anachronisms and in consion in the order of events. They are w generally given up, and are acknowdged to be the work of some mistakenly alous canonist in the ninth century. hey were probably completed towards e end of the first half of the ninth cenry, at Mainz. Pope Nicholas I., who gned 858 to 867, was the first pope who mally referred to these "Decretals" as thentic and authoritative documents; t from his days they formed the basis of enormous and arrogant pretensions of Roman see to a sovereign and absoe rule over all other churches. From middle of the ninth century, until the formation in the sixteenth century, the thority of these strange forgeries was ost unquestioned.

Ve shall before long find these presions, largely based on the False Decretals ve referred to, advanced in England; up to the days of Alfred the authority med by Rome was, as we have here ed, somewhat uncertain and vague. will be remembered how, during the remacy of king Offa of Mercia, when sovereign determined to establish the archbishopric of Lichfield at the Synod of Cealchythe or Calcuith, held in 785, some hundred years before the reign of Alfred, Pope Hadrian I. sent two legates from Rome to be present at the synod, hoping thus to establish a precedent for the appearance of legates from the see of Rome at synods of the Church of England. But if this was in reality Pope Hadrian's design, it failed, for this was the only recorded presence of such Roman legates at any council of the Anglo-Saxon church. Some of the solemn decisions of Rome in the case of Wilfrid, bishop of York, in the seventh century, were carried out, but not all. The pall, in the case of the archbishops, was always conferred by Rome; but with this exception, there was little regular interference with England on the part of the Italian see. Indeed, the close and intimate connection between England and Rome seems rather owing to the deep veneration which the princes who ruled in England seem ever to have felt for the sacred city and her immemorial traditions, than to any direct claim to obedience advanced by the Popes. The pilgrimages from England to Rome were constant. Alfred himself in early youth visited Rome, in company with his father, king Ethelwulf; and the impressions which he received on the occasion of that visit were never effaced. After he had become really king in England we read of costly gifts being interchanged between Alfred and the Pope, whom evidently the great English king looked up to as the centre of Christianity; with whom he wished to live in close and intimate communion; and to whom he clearly looked as the supreme arbiter in matters of faith, even acknow-

ledging his over-lordship in the church; for Alfred seems to have sent money and gifts to the Roman prelate every year.

But here the influence and supremacy of Rome over the English church apparently ceased. Alfred was evidently supreme in ecclesiastical matters in his own kingdom. We read, for instance, of his issuing the famous *Pastoral* in his own name, referring to Plegmund as "my archbishop." He also undertook, in right of his royal power, to admonish his bishops. We read of no reference to Rome in any ecclesiastical matters connected with England. The king appointed his own nominees to the vacant sees, and (apparently because he could not find sufficient men of learning) positively allowed several sees to remain vacant. This was the case at Alfred's death. We may therefore conclude that the Church of England, as restored by Alfred, was absolutely independent of the Roman see, although the most intimate relations were ever maintained between king Alfred and the Pope.

Alfred was an indefatigable scholar and student; but his passion for study was enormously stimulated by his persuasion that England could only rise from its present fallen and ruined condition if closely united to the church, and that the church, to do its duty, must be a community learned and highly cultured. He was intensely convinced that the church, before it could carry out its high and beneficial mission, must possess all the necessary material for educating the people—varied learning in its bishops, monks, and priests, schools and libraries. This conviction of the king was the groundwork of all his carefully matured plans for restoration of church life.

This was the secret of Alfred's l zeal, and successful work for the Chu of England. The king felt that combat was not alone between gal and devoted patriots fighting aga the Northern pirates for the i pendence of their lands and hon but between the religion of Jesus the religion of Woden and Thor, the i deities of Scandinavia. He was well aw that the memory of Ethandune, glori victory though it was, would soon be wi out, unless he could set up and estab a great Christian England as a bulw against the pagan North. So while he n lected nothing which could strengthen country as a great military and naval pow his real work, the work upon which heart was fixed, was to build up a devo and earnest, a learned and cultured chu in England; and in the successful prose tion of this noble and patriotic w must be sought and found his t title to honour, his best title to the l and veneration which, halo-like, encircled Alfred's head for a thousa storied years.

There was little learning at the cour his father, Ethelwulf. Books were v scarce, and men who could read th scarcer still. The great king tells himself in later days, that in his yo "when he had the age and ability to le he could find no masters." Asser, faithful friend and biographer, relates he remained illiterate till he was tw years old or more. What he learnt in days of his youth was gathered from

PREACHER SINGING IN THE HIGHWAY (p. 399).

lips of the song-men in the royal mead-hall, who in the eveningtide would sing to his father and his warrior thanes the grand old English songs. This was the only literature which seems to have been popular in those days of war and disaster. But these old lilts were graven on the boy's heart, and were never forgotten; they begat in him that enduring love for poetry which lived in him all the days of his stirring work-filled life, and helped not a little to shape and mould his singularly winning character.

No land had such a store of songs as England. It requires no stretch of fancy to picture the boy Alfred listening while the Widsith, or wandering song-man, chanted to king and thane the story of Beowulf, the god-descended hero, who fought and vanquished monsters, enemies of man, but who lived in friendship with all heroic natures. The famous hall of Heorot, the king and queen and chieftains who were delivered from the foul fiend by Beowulf's valour, resembled closely the royal hall, and those who sat therein with his father, whom Alfred remembered so well. The friends with whom Beowulf fought were well represented by those wicked pirate Vikings who were desolating England. The deeds of gallant daring of which, at so early an age, Alfred was the hero, we may well suppose were largely inspired by such stirring songs. Nor were the splendid and unselfish acts of the great Norse hero all that the boy heard in these evening pass-times. Strange and moving recitals belonging to the Christian story, from the inspired poets of the great Northumbrian school, were no doubt often the themes of the song-men who helped king Ethelwulf and his thanes to away the long winter evenings of t war-wearied days. He would listen with attention while the Widsith, the wan ing song-man, would open his word-h and sing to king and thane the glor "Dream of the Rood" of Cynewulf, or great poem of "The Christ."

Religion was painted in these stra weird poems, which resemble nothing that has ever been written since, wit winning attractiveness to men enga in a deadly warfare for home and hea The sacrifice of the Son of God, with undreamed-of self-devotion—so brave touching, so tender, so utterly unselfish— was a god surely worth fighting for, d for! We read now the wild and passio poems of Cynewulf and his school cold and critical eyes, mostly in the of a more or less literal translation, and are quite unable to conceive the impres these lilts must have made on the hear men engaged in that awful war-game the seemingly countless hordes of pirates, when the stakes included relig and law, home and hearth, wife and ch Songs and chanted recitations, in those times, enormously influenced men's hea "Heroes in the midst of battle sang they advanced, like Harold Hardrada Stamford Bridge, or Taillefer, the mins of duke William, who sang the song Rollo before the Norman host at Hasti Vikings, as they drove their ships thro the gale or stormed a town on river, shouted their hymn of defia to the sea, or their praises of their s Warriors chanted their deeds of the in the hall at night, as Woden's ch did in Valhalla. The old chiefs sang

y of their youth—their very swords spears were thought to sing. Then the derer who came into the hall to claim itality sang his stave of thanks, or ed for the chief in the high seat who as. The king himself often broke in his tale, and seized the harp, as thgar did in Heorot, in the old Norse of Beowulf. Even eloquent Christian chers like Aldhelm sang ancient songs he public ways to draw people round n. In the women's chambers also the lays were sung. Alfred, we are told, the ballads of his people at his her's knee. In the evening recitals, player beat his harp in time with the ights and images of his songs; his e rang out the alliterated words and nted syllables of the verses; gesture mpanied and exalted the things ribed; the listeners often joined in, ed to excitement, and the whole us of voices filled the hall and the astery." *

rom such impassioned instructors the ng Alfred, who for years had no other rs, drew the inspiration which made the hero-king, the desperate patriot- or of a hundred deadly fights with enemies of his country. But they ht him other things than war. It was the religious songs of Cynewulf that future rebuilder of the Church of and perhaps first learned the story ristianity. Where, for instance, in prose or poetry of any race is a ler, more impressive, or more soul- ing conception to be found than the e of the Holy Rood in the "Christ" of wulf or in his "Dream of the Rood," where "the cross standing with its foot on Sion's hill, rises till its top strikes the sky? All the assembled hosts look upon it. Nor is it difficult to see, for by its light all things are seen. The sun is gone, it shines instead of the sun; it is the brightest of all beacons; all shade is banished by its brilliance. From head to foot it is red, wet with the blood of the King of Heaven. Christ is seen by all the multitude of good and evil crucified upon it. The good see it, and it brings brightness to their souls. The evil see it for their torment."

The image of the towering tree bearing the Crucified was a favourite one. Often, probably, had the boy Alfred heard it, in these rapt assemblies of the royal mead-hall—now "as the mighty Rood illuminating with its ruddy light the heavens and earth, and all the hosts of angels and of men summoned from their graves to judgment; now the same tree shining through a golden light, and over-wrought like a Rood at Ripon or Hexham with jewelled lines of ornament, or veiled in a crimson mist and streaming with blood—the strange tree, alive and suffering with every pang of the great Sufferer, shivering through every vein of it when Christ, the young hero, clasped it round, and mourning when He lay beneath, and longing to fall on and crush His foes, and conscious all the while that on it, as on a field of battle, Death and Hell were conquered." In one passage of extraordinary power and beauty in "The Christ," the Redeemer is painted turning to the great Rood—as a Roman Catholic preacher now and again turns to the Crucifix—and pointing to Himself hanging there, cries to the

* arly English Literature" (Stopford Brooke).

vast host of the lost, "See now the deadly wounds which men once made upon my palms, and also on my feet, by which I hung fastened most bitterly. Here, too, mayest thou look on the wound, blood-streaming on my side. O, how uneven between us two the reckoning! Why didst thou forsake the glorious life I bought for thee through love? Give me back thy life which I gave thee. Why hast thou crucified me worse upon the rood of thine hands than when of old I hung upon that tree?" *

The extraordinary influence which these early recitations had upon the life of Alfred is dwelt upon with much insistence by all those who have given us studies † of his life—that life so all-important to the history of our English church. Asser, his contemporary and friend, especially mentions these Saxon poems, and how he loved them. Long after the king became himself a great scholar, and deeply read in all kinds of literature, these national songs kept their hold upon him. He had learned many of them by heart; he took care that they should form part of his children's training.

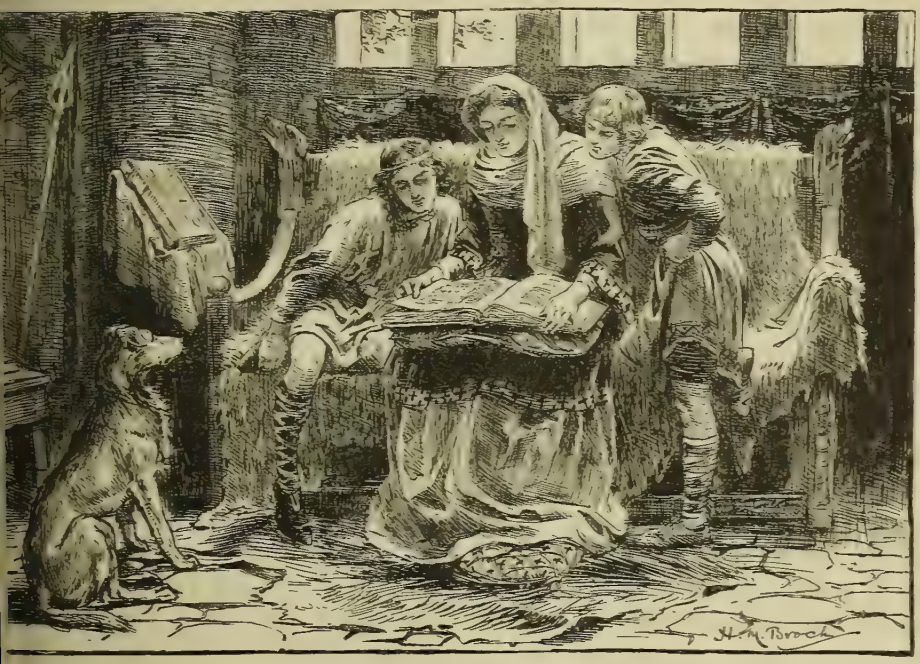
As illustrative of Alfred's early love for poetry, Asser tells a well-known story of his young step-mother, Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald of France, whom his father, Ethelwulf, married as he returned home from his Roman pilgrimage. "One day," says the old chronicler to whom we owe so much of our knowledge of the noble Saxon king, "his mother"—Asser, of course, is alluding to his young step-mother, Judith, for his own mother had died some six or more years b the incident in question—"showed A then a boy about fourteen years old, ar brother a manuscript of the Saxon po The boys were especially attracted b beautiful illuminations of the book doubt one of the treasures which J had brought from her old Frankish h where it had probably originally bee the costly library of her grandfa Charlemagne. The young queen prom to give the precious volume to the who would first learn the contents o book." Asser repeats the very w of Alfred when Judith made the gestion: "Will you really give that to the first of us who can understand repeat its contents to you?" J smiled, and confirmed her first offer. a time, goes on the story, Alfred came recited to her the poems of the book so won the prize.

But this national poetry, which exer throughout his life so great an influ on the hero-king, although it was foundation of the knowledge which acquired in his later life, and the probable source of his subsequent dev to theological studies, was by no m the only study to which, by his exa he gave an overwhelming impulse i new England he succeeded in ma We have seen how he gathered him from foreign countries that of learned and pious men who h him so loyally and devotedly to r the religion he prized so high his country. "As we were one day s in the royal chamber," writes Asse most intimate associate and counsellor conversing as was our wont, it ch

* "Early English Literature." (S. Brooke.)

† See especially Green; Sharon Turner; Pauli.

at I recited to him a passage out of a rtain book. After he had listened with ed attention and expressed great pleasure, e king showed me that little book which always carried with him, and in which e daily lessons, Psalms and prayers were itten, and he asked me to copy the age he had been listening to into his k; but we found there was no room for lfred having filled up every corner with own notes." The king and his friend arranged another commonplace-book, which striking passages might at once opied, for Asser or another royal secre- were constantly engaged in reading d to their master. This book was ed by Alfred his Manual or Enchi- n. The precious manuscript is lost; only fragments of the work have come down to us through William of Malmesbury, in whose time it was evidently well known. Pauli, in his life of Alfred, says it must have contained, besides a collection of passages from the Latin authors, many notes in the king's own hand, relating to the early history of his people, and probably, too, of his own family. How many of his own thoughts also have been lost with this private book!



JUDITH AND THE SONS OF ETHELWULF (*p.* 400).

We have, however, much of Alfred's own composition still with us; for in the fourteen or fifteen years of quiet which were given to the king in answer to his prayer, before he passed to that other and profounder rest, the sure heritage of all true servants of the Master, the king became, for

the church and country's sake, a profound scholar and even writer. It is from his own writings that we learn what Alfréd did for the church he loved so well, the church he found a ruin and left a stately edifice. Of these works, perhaps the most important were his translations of Boethius' famous "Consolations;" a rendering of the "Pastoral Care" of Pope Gregory the Great; a Saxon version of the Latin "History" of Bede of Jarrow; and a translation of the "Chronicle of the World," by Orosius, the friend of Augustine.

We call them *translations*, and so they were—renderings from the Latin of those old famous Christian scholars, into the familiar Wessex Saxon dialect understood by people over whom Alfred ruled; for the Latin tongue, alas! in the days of Alfred was well-nigh a lost language in England, unread alike by layman or ecclesiastic. They were, however, far more than mere translations; masses of fresh matter containing the king's own thoughts and feelings, his views, hopes and ideals, amplify the original text; sometimes entirely suppress and replace it. Alfred occupies so great a position as the founder and reorganiser of the Church of England after its great disaster at the hands of the Danes, that it will be worth while to describe a little in detail these special works, which occupy the place of "manifestoes" of the king to the church, as well as being weighty pieces of literature given in the English tongue for general study and use, to a church from which order and discipline had well-nigh, and learning had entirely vanished.

As to Boethius' "Consolations of Philosophy," the vast popularity of this treatise in the Middle Ages bears witn to its importance and value, and he to show us why Alfred selected it the text-book upon which he based t remarkable epitome of his own thoug and views which accompany his translati "In the Middle Ages, wherever," wri Pauli, "a newly-formed language w applied to literature, a translation Boethius' work into the popular dial was never omitted. We find one in t most ancient form of high-German, in t Provençal, in Norman, and even Chau made one when he gave her language England. Alfred seems to have studi this book above all others."

His "Bede" was a yet more dir appeal to the church for which he was anxious, and yet so hopeful. The ki would have every churchman, lay cleric, master the thrilling story of t preaching of Christianity to their Nort men ancestors. He would have the study well Bede's pictures of monaste and nunnery—then crowded with devo and earnest men and women. The stirri examples of the devoted Engle missionar Aidan, Cuthbert, Chad, and others, would set before the ignorant and son what slothful monk or cleric of his tim and thus he hoped to stir them up emulate—in some faint degree, at leas the nóble, generous life led by so many their fathers in the faith. The story of glorious works of Wilfrid and Bene Biscop, and the stately piles which t built in their day, should be a lesson to men who, with folded inert hands, w content to gaze on the blackened ruin monastery and abbey which disfigured desolated England of his generation.

Yet more direct, perhaps, in its influence pon the Church of England, was Alfred's ranslation of the "Pastoral Care" of Gregory the Great, a work in which the Anglo-Saxon king took peculiar delight. : was especially calculated to awaken a obler spirit in a church where enthusiasm nd self-devotion had in a measure faded way. The emperor Charlemagne and is advisers had already made this "Pas- oral Care" the standard of procedure, in heir work of reformation among the Frankish churches. It was soon after the election of Plegmund for the archbishop- c of Canterbury, in 890, that this ook was put out by the king. He was vidently assisted by Plegmund; but much the work was done by Alfred, and the dmirable preface, already referred to, was the king's own hand. In it he tells us hy he undertook the task, and sets forth e high aims which inspired him when he nt the volume he had prepared with so ich care to every bishop in England. he preface, as already quoted in the eceding chapter, eloquently reminds his iders of the past, when the church ccupied a very different position among k people; and presses home to them k truth of which the patriot king was intensely convinced, that the lost ry and influence of the church could y be won back when a real love of rning again animated her rulers and istian teachers.

Other religious works are attributed to pen of Alfred, besides these we have n referring to as being perhaps the t important; for instance, the Anglo- on Anthology, from a composition St. Augustine; and a portion of the Psalms; the latter was interrupted, apparently, by the death of the king. Besides theological works, Alfred translated and enlarged the "Chronicle of the World" by Orosius, Augustine's friend. This was a general summary of history and geography peculiarly valuable, for it contains a sketch of the chief German nations in the Anglo-Saxon king's time, and an account of the voyages of Othere to the far north, and of Wolfstan's Baltic voyages. Geography was a favourite study of Alfred, who eagerly sought after all the geographical knowledge available in his day.

We owe also to Alfred the English version and the enlargement of the Saxon Chronicle. To the ordinary reader the English Chronicle, up to the days of Alfred, when it broadens out into a vivid and picturesque narrative, presents but few features of special interest. It reads generally like a dry series of dates of the many years which the record covers, each year recording some accession of West Saxon king or bishop, or just mentioning some bloody battle, or terrible siege, or ruthless invasion. Nothing is written, scarcely, to relieve the dreary monotony of the entries. It is only when the work is examined, and its history told, that the enormous value and importance of the chronicle appears. Its story seems to be as follows:—

The year 635 witnessed the conversion and baptism of king Cynegils, of Wessex, by bishop Birinus, in the presence of Oswald, king of Northumbria, in the royal city of Dorchester. Birinus removed the seat of the West Saxon bishopric from Dorchester to Winchester. Like most other early Saxon and Engle religious houses,

the episcopal monastery founded at Winchester seems to have had its chronicle or roll, which was little more than a meagre series of entries of the dates of accession of kings and bishops, with a few notable events interesting to the abbot or monastic scribe. From the days of Birinus onward the Winchester roll was continued, until the death of king Ina of Wessex, when troublous times distracted Wessex and disturbed the peace of the monastery; then the entries in the roll apparently ceased.

Swithun was the preceptor of Egbert's son Ethelwulf. In the year 838 he became bishop of Winchester, and during Ethelwulf's reign was his principal adviser. Quieter and more settled times had commenced with Egbert, and the "roll" of the episcopal monastery of Winchester, begun by bishop Birinus, was taken up by bishop Swithun, who interested himself much in this record. Swithun and his scribe seem to have done three things with the old roll. They filled up the gap in the records which occurred after the death of king Ina in 726; they continued the Chronicle by a series of interesting entries, with greater detail, of events which happened in their own age; and, what was most important of all, bishop Swithun and his scholar-scribe "prefixed to the opening of the Chronicle those broken traditions of the coming of 'our fathers,' which, touched as they are here and there by mythic intermixture, remain the one priceless record of the conquest of Britain" by the North-folk.* These annals, thus apparently embodied in the Chronicle

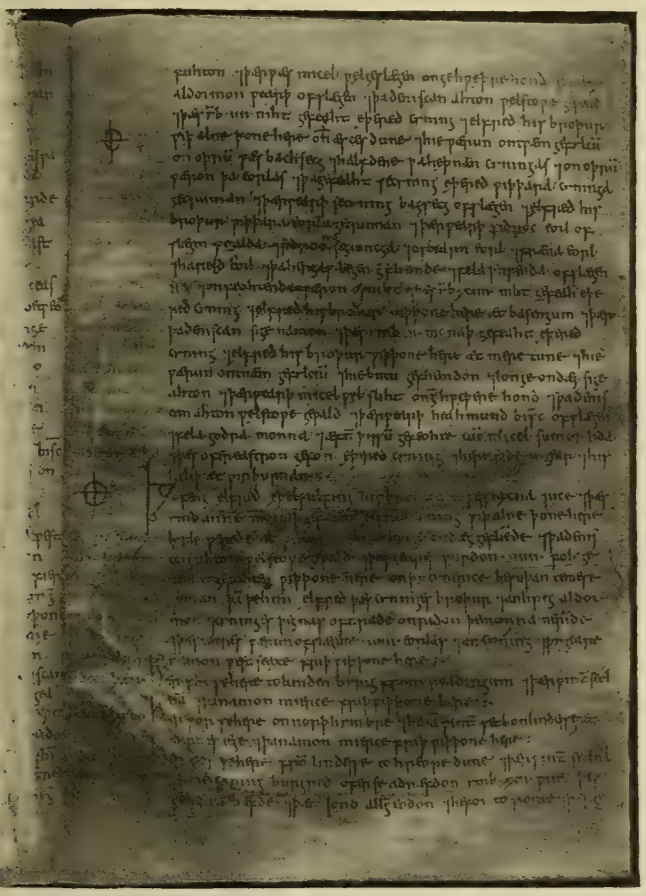
* Earle: "Two Parallel Chronicles" (Introduction).

by Swithun, of Winchester, somewh about the middle of the ninth centu "represent the gleanings and reconstr tion of the half-lost history of Wessex the time of the first compilation (*ci* 855) by bishop Swithun." This sect of the Chronicle, containing annals fr 449 to the end of the Northmen's c quest, is seemingly made up from c tradition of events precious to the peo from rare fragments of bardic poems, so of which, it will be remembered, we h already quoted and used for this pres history, and lastly, from the official roll kings, which even in the most illiter period seems to have been carefully p served. The peculiar value of th additions of Swithun consists in th being, outside the bardic poems, and curious work of Gildas, the one solit record of the conquest of Britain by North-folk.

King Alfred, aided apparently in t instance by archbishop Plegmund Canterbury, about the years 887-8 stimulated probably by the wide inter excited by his translation of and no upon Bede's great ecclesiastical Histo took up the Winchester Chronicle, larged and enriched by bishop Swithu care, and *translated* it from the Latin which form it then existed, into Engl or what is generally known as An Saxon. Alfred and his scholars prefa the Chronicle thus translated with introduction drawn from Bede, adding it besides many details, also copied fr the monk of Jarrow's history.

Thus the English Chronicle, wh originally consisted of the meagre ent of bishop Birinus and his successors,

ontinued and enlarged by bishop Swithun, whose loving care and scholarly industry e owe much of this curious tapestry of bishop Swithun's work, with the "Bede" extracts, went on with it, making entries of events belonging to their own times.



PAGE FROM THE MS. OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, CONTAINING THE ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF ASHDOWN.*

(*Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*)

ly memories made up of almost forgotten dic poems, Runic inscriptions, and oral ditions. King Alfred and his scholars, ong whom, in this case, archbishop gmund seems to have been specially ployed, after translating and enlarging But no longer limiting its entries to a simple record of the accession of kings and

* This MS. (end of 9th century) is the oldest of the existing MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The name of Ashdown (æcesdune) may be seen in the fourth line.

the consecration of bishops, to the bare mention of certain battles and sieges and invasions, under Alfred the English Chronicle widens out into a vivid history full of interesting details.

The influence of the work of Alfred extended far beyond his own many and diversified works. The royal example had the effect he intended. The scholars he gathered round him were the pioneers of a new and vigorous school of *English* writers. Although from the days of our great scholar-king, Latin was a familiar study in the church schools of the land, yet the literature of the country, in accordance with Alfred's wish, became almost wholly vernacular. "Among the literatures of modern Europe, that of England led the way. Of the German folk across the sea, none were to possess a prose literature of their own for centuries to come. English, therefore, was not only the first Teutonic literature—it was the earliest prose literature of the modern world. And at the outset of English literature (especially in theology) stands the figure of Alfred." *

* Green: "Conquest of England," chap. iv. See generally—Pauli's exhaustive "Life of Alfred"; Sharon Turner: "History of the Anglo-Saxons," especially book v.; Earle and Plummer: "Two Saxon Chronicles"; Dr. Giles: "Anglo-Saxon Chronicles"; S. Brooke: "History of Early English Literature"; and Dean Hook: "Lives of Archbishops—Plegmund."

No mention has been made, in the f going study of king Alfred, of *St.* N who has been in various histories c brought into connection with the w and days of the great king, upon evid that will not bear critical examinat St. Neot is supposed to have aided king in the foundation of the school Oxford. Much has been said and wri on this "Oxford foundation" of the k It is, however, too precarious an assump to deserve grave mention. Sharon Tu evidently believes in the existence of St. Neot, who, in a work of Asser, genuineness of which has been called question by critics, is called Alfred's k man. Pauli, in his well-known "Lif Alfred," does not hesitate to term St. N a purely mythical personage; perhaps sweeping an assertion, for he qualifie subsequently by a suggestion that "Al in his earlier years may have been c nected with this saint, who lived in south-west of England, and flouris unquestionably about the middle of ninth century;" and that the k (when young), holding him in h estimation, may have taken advice fr him. This St. Neot, however, was alre dead in the year 877, when, according a legend, he appeared to the king a dream when Alfred was encamped Athelney, before the fight at Ethandu

# CHAPTER XIX.

## A GREAT ANGLO-SAXON CHURCHMAN AND HIS TIMES.

fred's successors—Edward subjugates the Danish part of England, and receives homage from Scotland —Athelstan—Edmund—Edred—Edwy—Edgar—Decline of religion during this period—Birth and early life of Dunstan—Work at Glastonbury—Educational and literary revival—Continental revival of monasticism—Dunstan's connection with the movement in England—Peculiar difficulties in England—Archbishop Odo—His pastoral letter—Death of Edred—Edwy and Elgiva—Accession of Edgar—Dunstan Prime Minister—His reforming work—His own moderation in reform—Brief reign of Edward, ended by his murder—Ethelred the Unready—Retirement and last years of the great statesman-ecclesiastic — Legends and honours — Biographies — Different views of Dunstan's character.

HE story of the period stretching from the death of Alfred in A.D. 901 to that of archbishop Dunstan in 8, when Ethelred the Unready was king, ows how well and solidly our hero-king d laid the foundations of a great and werful England. His work must never measured by the state of his realm the date of his death; his ailing, ffering life was brought to a premature se, the king being little more than y years of age when the end came. can only be fairly measured when take into account what his successors re enabled to do so rapidly, building on the sure foundation their great estor had laid so well.

Alfred's successor, Edward the Elder, gned twenty-four years over England. has been truly said of Edward, "that it only the unequalled glory of his father ich has doomed this prince, one of the atest rulers that England ever beheld, a smaller degree of popular fame than deserves." His whole reign bears out high praise given him by that ancient onicler, Florence of Worcester, "that ward was fully his father's equal as a warrior and a ruler, and was inferior to him in nothing except in those literary labours which were so peculiarly Alfred's own."

During the first nine years of Edward the Elder's reign, save an attempt on the part of his cousin Ethelwald, the son of Alfred's elder brother Ethelred, to dispute his kingly title—an attempt which was soon repelled—the peace of England was little broken. The English Danes were more or less cowed by their repeated repulses in the days of Alfred, and the foreign Vikings were largely occupied in northern Frank-land, where Rollo was consolidating his power at Rouen and in the Seine valley—a permanent Viking settlement that brought in its train momentous consequences. During these nine years Edward was not idle. In conjunction with his famous sister, the able and patriotic Ethelfleda—the Lady of the Mercians—fortresses were built on the borders of the English territory in all directions, notably at Chester, Tamworth, Warwick, Cherbury, Runcorn, Hertford.

When the war, so long and carefully prepared for, broke out between the

English and the Danes, in spite of fierce fighting on the part of the Northmen, victory everywhere declared itself for Edward. His forces were well-disciplined, a number of fortresses kept any invading army in check, a small but efficient fleet of war-ships patrolled the seas. Edward conquered East Anglia; and his sister Ethelfleda the famous Danish Confederation of the five boroughs, which included Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, and Stamford, and the territory around.

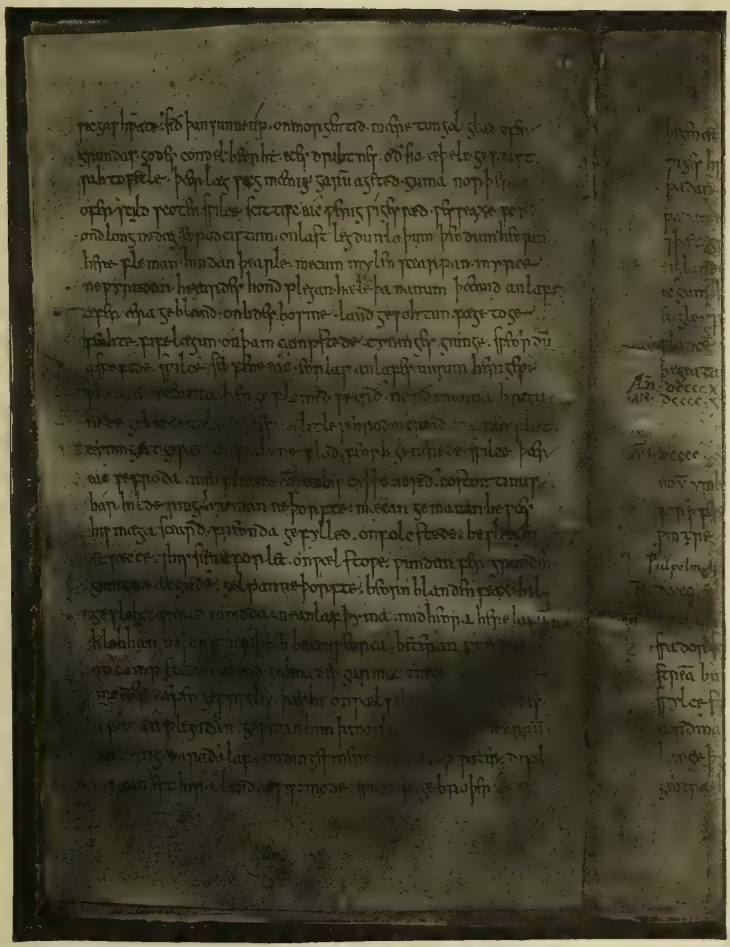
The famous Lady of the Mercians died in 922, just as the war, so glorious for England, in which she had borne so large a part, was drawing to a close. The whole of the Danelaw* south of the Humber, including East Anglia, Essex, and the five boroughs, which extended over a la portion of central England, submitted Edward, and the Danish jarls became hen forth his vassals. Nor was this all. A the general submission of the eastern a central Danish districts to the Engl king, we find all the other independ princes of the island submitting themsel to Edward by a voluntary act, no do from a general dread of his power. "Th chose him," says the English Chroni "to father and to lord." The chiefta thus submitting themselves included t princes of Wales, Northumberland, Stra clyde, and Scotland—independent chi tains of nations made up of Britons, Sco Picts, and Danes. Strathclyde was small Welsh (British) kingdom whi roughly comprehending modern Cumb land and the south-west lowlands of Sc land, included the districts bordering the estuary of the Clyde.

ANCIENT NORTHUMBRIAN CASKET (KNOWN AS THE "FRANKS" CASKET), *circa* 8TH CENTURY. (*British Museum.*)

[The front represents on the right-hand side of the lock the Visit of the Magi, and on the left Herodias and her daughter receiving the head of John the Baptist. The side in view shows the finding of Romulus and Remus.]

* The word "Danelaw" or "Danelaga," which is sometimes used as an equivalent for "Danish" England, signifies the region where the Danish law was in force.

his submission (922–924) of the Celtic gdom of Scotland and Strathclyde to son of Alfred, was the most distinctive ure in his great reign. It was an event ch had great toric results in r years. "From s time to the rteenth century, the vassal- of Scotland s an essential t of the public of Britain. The success- s of the king the English, o had once en voluntarily sen to father l to lord, never ingly gave up position thus owed upon m. Whenever king of the glish is strong gh, he always ears as the knowledged su- or of the king te Scots. Ken- acts the of a faithful l to Edgar. rd the Con- or transfers ributary crown of Scotland from a er to the lawful heir. When the an William had subdued England, aimed and received the homage of Scotland as one of the undoubted rights of the crown which he had won. And nothing is clearer than that this homage was paid, not only for Cumberland and Lothian, but for the true kingdom of the Celtic Picts and Scots." *



PAGE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, CONTAINING THE "SONG OF BRUNANBURGH." (END OF 9TH CENTURY.)
*(From the MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.)*

* Freeman · "Norman Conquest."

In 925, Edward the Elder died, and was followed by his son Athelstan, another very illustrious member of the brilliant royal line of Alfred. Tradition has preserved to us the memory of the appearance of "Glorious Athelstan," as Florence of Worcester calls him, and tells us how the famous king and warrior was of a slight though vigorous frame, with golden hair. During king Athelstan's reign the name of England as a powerful state to be reckoned with in European politics, was heard far and wide. He was careful in seeking alliances among great foreign houses for his sisters, one of whom married Otto, afterwards emperor; another married Hugh the Great, the all-powerful duke of France, who refused the crown of France, and whose son, Hugh Capet, founded that royal house which was destined for so many centuries to play one of the leading parts in the story of the Western world.

But the power and influence of England on the continent was by no means the only noticeable work of Athelstan. At home the wealth of the people enormously increased during his wise reign. The rapid growth of prosperity and wealth in the land was shown by the prominence given to Athelstan's laws affecting property. We possess a long list of boroughs in Britain where mints for the coinage of money were established. Years were passed in peaceful, beneficent organisation of the now great and apparently united kingdom. We find this grandson of that Alfred whose realm was once bounded by the marshes which encircled the little Somersetshire island of Athelney, now announcing himself as "King of all Britain," as "Basileus of all English," and even as "Emperor of the kings and nations dwelling within bounds of Britain."

In the midst of all this blaze of glor undoubted prosperity, we come sud upon a great rising of the northern v of the English king, the men o northern Danelaw, reinforced by the Vikings—the Ostmen, as they were —and aided by the kings of Scotlan Strathclyde. Athelstan and his br Edmund at once marched northwar meet this curious but formidable gro Celtic and Viking enemies, made up o so long and so bitterly hostile one t other. The English met the Danes their Celtic allies on the field of Br burgh, the site of which is still un mined, and the deadly fight went on sunrise to sunset. There on that stricke the work of Alfred and his son Edward, princess Ethelfleda, and of king Athe was tested. The English men-at- trained and disciplined in a hundred prevailed, and the "shield wall" o Viking and his Celtic ally was at last b through. The victory of Athelstan decisive. Among the heaped-up slai fell on that memorable day, lay five cro Viking chiefs, and seven of their famous jarls. The song of Brunanbu one of the grandest of English war- woven into the curious tapestry o Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, preserves memory of the deadly fight which se the power of the English king, and rounded the head of Athelstan w glory such as no English king had before.

Three years after the famous fi

* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 937. Green: quest of England," chap. v.

nanburgh, in the year 940, "glorious" elstan died at Gloucester. The next reigns, of his two brothers Edmund Edred, are filled with the same scenes monotonous war in the north; the nes constantly revolting, and being as stantly brought back to submission by valour and skill of the English kings. mund, whom the chronicler Florence of rcester surnames the Magnificent, was ssinated while sitting at a feast, by an law named Leofa, and thus the reign a sovereign wise and beneficent, as l as successful in war, was brought to remature conclusion. Edred, another ther of Athelstan, succeeded him in , and during a reign of nine years, in te of much sickness and bodily weak- s, valiantly pursued the same policy of eady resistance to the Danish claims to ependence—an independence invariably d to harry the English peoples.

But though the power and influence of gland at home or abroad, under the t West Saxon kings of the house of ed — Edward, Athelstan, Edmund, ed, and Edgar—was very great, a great of this power and influence was due to personal character and distinguished hts of these eminent princes. Their ts were ever directed to effecting fusion een the varied and often hostile races h occupied the island, comprehend- he Engle and its several divisions, the n, again subdivided, the Dane, and the At some of the more important ings of the great national council— Witan—notably under king Athelstan e year 931, and again under king d in 946—we see sitting side by side of the Danelaw, Saxon and Mercian earls and thanes, British (Celtic) princes, the archbishops of Canterbury and York. But this fusion of races, so conspicuous at the national Witan, was more apparent than real, and it is manifest that in those early days no sufficient national feeling existed to do away with the old love of local independence in the several kingdoms, and to make the various local rulers regard the king of England as *their* king.

In this passionate desire for independence, Athelstan, even after the decisive victory of Brunanburgh, had to acquiesce, and he judged it necessary to restore an under-kingship in Northumbria with a sort of independence. The under-king was subsequently replaced by an earl, and to the date of Norman William's conquest, Northumbria remained so distinct from England that no king's writ ran in the great northern earldom. Gradually the irresistible desire for a kind of separate existence forced even these powerful and able kings of the house of Alfred to separate England into great earldoms. The earl or alderman in most cases was chosen out of the royal Wessex family; but none the less were these powerful divisions of the land, destroying as they necessarily did the sense of national unity, a source of grave danger to the unity of England. The earls and the king, although perhaps kinsmen, would naturally often come into conflict. The king would be thinking of England; the earl rather of his own special province. The danger of such a conflict of interests between these too-powerful subjects and the Crown, less apparent when a true statesman king like Edgar occupied the throne, became, when a weak sovereign

like Ethelred the Unready wore the crown, pressing and ever-present; and in the end the internal conflicts provoked by jealousies and conflicting interests between the king and the great earls, paved the way to the subjugation of England by Swein and Canute, the Danish kings. In the reigns of Athelstan and his immediate successors, England was parcelled out into the following earldoms—Northumbria, East Anglia, Essex (including Middlesex, and part of Berkshire), the five boroughs, Mercia, including Oxfordshire (into two divisions); another earldom, including the south-western counties, and one more, comprehending central Wessex, were added.

It was in the reign of Edred (946) that the influence of Dunstan—Dunstan the Benedictine monk, abbot, bishop, and archbishop—became supreme in church and state. King Edred died in 955, after a long struggle against sickness, the last survivor of the three illustrious sons of Edward the Elder. He left no heirs, but his brother and predecessor Edmund had two boys, Edwy and Edgar, the former of whom, on the death of Edred, was acknowledged as sovereign of England. He reigned less than four years, during which period Edgar reigned as sub-king in the country north of the Thames.

Edwy was succeeded by his brother Edgar, surnamed the Peaceful, in 958; and for seventeen years, until the year 975, the throne was occupied by this prince. It was a period of almost unbroken peace, and the one minister and adviser of the reign was the celebrated Dunstan, who became archbishop of Canterbury the year after Edgar's accession. It was a time of great prosperity for England. We hear of no Danish rising at home, and c Viking invasion from abroad. The p of the great earls remained unbroke their several districts, but we hear serious conflicts between them and king.

Under Edgar and his ecclesia minister, England held a high pla the estimation of the chief nations o continent, while the wealth of the co rapidly increased, owing much to growing commercial prosperity. L ture revived under the steady prote and encouragement of the all-pow prelate; a stricter and nobler and self-denying life among the clergy ecclesiastics advanced the best intere the church. The days of Edgar were phatically the period of the greatest and prosperity of Saxon England.

But with the death of Edgar the of the island sank. He passed away a peaceful and vigorous reign of sever years, in 975, leaving two sons—Ed the Martyr, and Ethelred, surnamed Unready. During the short reig Edward, archbishop Dunstan conti in office; but when, three years Edward was foully murdered, and brother Ethelred succeeded him on throne in 978, the archbishop fell power, and for the remaining ten yea his eventful life lived in comparative s sion at Canterbury. He died in In the sad reign of Ethelred the D invasion recommenced, and with a terrible result than ever; but we now this brief sketch of the history of Eng since the death of her great king A —necessary as a background—to re our story of the Church of Eng

ing that period, covering some eighty ninety years.

)uring the first half of the tenth cen-, things in the church had been going kwards. The religious and literary work Alfred had been necessarily suffered to had no successor. Nor was the church more happy in this respect than the state. No distinguished prelate, no fervid and devoted religious scholar or missionary, arose in the course of the first forty years of the century. It was only in the second half of the tenth century that

THE ESCAPE OF KING EDMUND (*p.* 414).

gish. The princes who sat on his ce were almost ceaselessly occupied l war. It was a stern combat for very snce, and the intervals of peace were lps too short for any real united effort curch and state towards consolidating leveloping Alfred's work. It must be confessed that, although Edward lder and Athelstan and his gallant ters were great and successful warriors, lters and in love for religion Alfred there appeared one of those extraordinary characters whose strength of will, whose learning and splendid devotion infused a new spirit into the church, which in the days of Athelstan and his brothers was scarcely fulfilling its high mission among the people.

Dunstan, somewhile abbot of Glastonbury, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was born in the first year of king Athelstan's reign, 924–925. His father and

mother were noble West Saxons, whose property lay in the centre of Somerset, close by the Tor Hill, so well known as looking down on sacred Glastonbury. He is described as a fair-haired little boy, with a passion for music from his childhood, and with an intense love for the old songs and hymns still sung in the evening gatherings in the thane's hall.

Glastonbury, hard by his father's home, was famous as a place to which pilgrims resorted; was yet more renowned as a school. In this home of learning—apparently the only notable seminary then in England—the boy Dunstan laid the foundation of his great scholarship and many acquirements; there he learned to love and to prize books and study. When quite young his ardour for reading and his knowledge became known at court; he was sent for, and became one of the young king's companions. The dates that we possess of the early days of this remarkable man are few, but from the details preserved in his biographies—two of which were written within a very few years of his death, and one of the two by a personal friend—we are enabled to put together a fairly accurate sketch of his early life.

At the court of Athelstan—where he seems to have been on terms of friendship with the young brothers of the king, Edmund and Edred, both afterwards kings of England—his many and varied gifts soon excited jealousy and dislike among the other young thanes of the court. Dunstan was evidently unlike other men. Brilliant, excitable, rarely and exceptionally gifted, he fancied he saw visions; he was intensely religious. These peculiarities, which made him different from other youths of his own age, stirre hatred and envy. We find him comp to leave the court for a season, and w after the accession of Edmund, he recalled, he became the victim of a outrage. One day, as he was riding thr the marshes, some of the more b of his foes among the young th threw the young dreamer from his h and trampled him under foot in the A grave illness followed the cow attack, and we next find him a m But a monk in those times was unde necessity to quit the world, and Dun again appears at Edmund's court.

Once more he excited the same jeal and hatred; but just as he was abou quit England for Germany, a strange dent befel king Edmund. In the ar of the chase, one day, a red-deer w Edmund was pursuing among the Me Hills, in its headlong course sprang the steep cliffs of Cheddar. Only on very brink of the awful precipice was king able to rein in his horse. The sh determined him to make amends to D stan. Instead of allowing him to go exile, Edmund made him abbot of Glas bury; and from this time really dates story of the mighty influence and of the future statesman and archbis whose splendid industry and foresight, years of patient toil, restored the Chur England to its place as the guide teacher of the country. Dunstan bec abbot of Glastonbury in the year 942 or

The foregoing brief account of his life probably accurately represents leading features. It is derived from somewhat prolix story told by his ea biographers, who, however, have ado

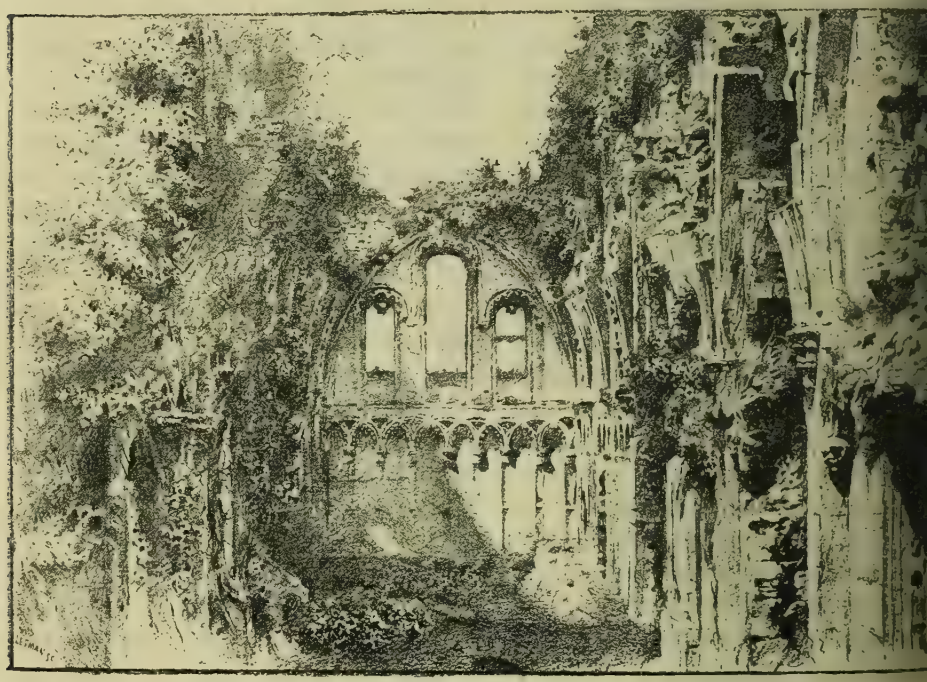
with various seemingly miraculous ıncts, many of which, based on real dents, no doubt are due to the excitable feverish imaginings of a precocious th whose health was often undermined ›vermuch study and vigil, and prolonged s. Through all, however, we catch ıt of a singularly gifted and impulsive lent, at once poet, musician, artist and olar; one to whom was evidently en the power to attract the devoted love admiration of some, and the hatred and ike of others. The being early placed ı position of dignity and power, where great gift of attracting men, his ent love for scholarship, his evident ı real piety, would find an ample sphere, doubt developed all that was good ı great in Dunstan, and constrained i to correct and finally to obtain the ı tery over much in his character that hysterical and ill-balanced.

lastonbury and its famous school, at the el of which, under the title of abbot, Dun- a found himself in the years 942–3, had reat history, which stretched far back t the ages which preceded the Anglo- on conquest. There was evidently an ent ecclesiastical establishment there le seventh century. "As the place of stan's birth, education, and promotion, onbury had a later history, much of h is coloured by its connection with s eminent saint and statesman. It ne a rich abbey, and laid claim to rly history and remote antiquity; it ted Joseph of Arimathæa as its first er, and produced evidence of its nce and sanctity under kings and in long anterior to the West Saxon rule. Not only Edmund the Magnificent, ruler of Britain, and Edgar the Peaceful, and Edmund Ironside, but king Arthur himself slept there." *

Although these splendid traditions only first appear woven into a complete tapestry, in the pages of the Norman chronicler, William of Malmesbury, in the early years of the twelfth century, there is little doubt but that Glastonbury was indeed a famous centre long before the days of Aldhelm and the early West Saxon times; and had perhaps been a Celtic sanctuary, revered and famous, before the coming of the North-folk in the sixth century had swept away the once powerful and learned ancient British Christianity. When Dunstan became its abbot, Glastonbury was a renowned seminary — little more. A few secular priests still ministered in its church, and it was not a monastery in the usual acceptation of the term. Monastic life had really ceased to exist in England in those days. In the north the Danes had swept away all the once flourishing religious houses of both sexes. In the south of the island, as we have seen, king Alfred had failed to restore monasticism. A few communities had been established by the great king's piety and zeal; failing, however, to captivate the hearts of the West Saxons, they had never taken firm root. We hear of no daughter-houses of the original foundations springing up; and when Dunstan became abbot of Glastonbury the few foundations of Alfred were languishing and in a state of decay. Glastonbury existed and flourished, it is true, but it flourished rather as a school than as a religious community of monks.

* Bishop Stubbs: "Memorials of St. Dunstan."

And it was as a school that Dunstan first devoted himself to its care, and developed far and wide its useful and beneficent work. For some years Dunstan's life was mainly passed in his loved abbey. He was determined to infuse a new life into the church, to repair the mischief



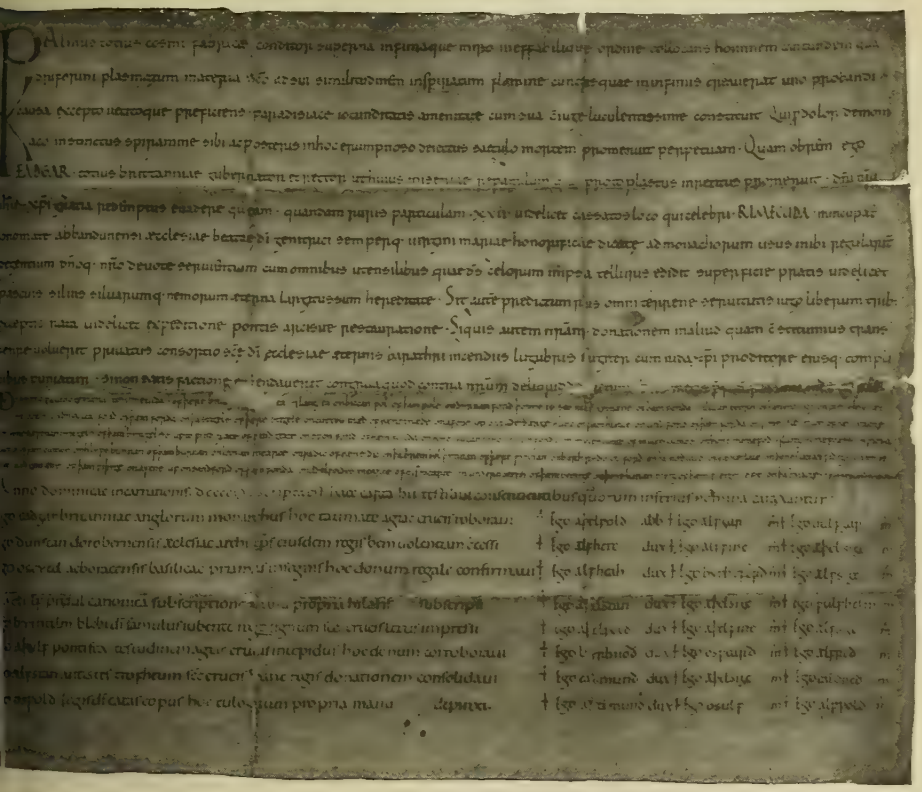
THE LADY CHAPEL, GLASTONBURY ABBEY. (12TH CENTURY.)

which long and constant wars had effected among the works of Alfred. The various educational efforts which the great king had set on foot had well-nigh died away. There were few monks even in the south of England, and these were subject to no definite rule. Benedictinism in England was practically extinct. The clergy had reverted largely to a state of ignorance, and even of worldliness. Marriage, which was against the accepted ecclesiastical of those days, was common among t and the sacredness of the marriage alas! was not always regarded.* remarkable impulse which Alfred's example and powerful influence had to literature ended with the king's Not a book or even a translation, the continuation of the English Chron had appeared since the scholar-king been laid to sleep at Winchester.

Dunstan possessed the instincts of a church reformer, and felt that no s

* Various documents show that it was far uncommon for priests to take advantage of th canonical character of such marriages, to repu their wives after a period and marry others.

, no infusion of a more generous and d spirit, would have any lasting results ng an ignorant clergy. Like Alfred, elt that the cause of education was cause of religion; and so, first and no mere statesman educationalist, who well and wisely arranged and developed schools, and provided generously the means of education. Dunstan was all this, but in addition was himself a wise and



CHARTER OF EDGAR, A.D. 961, GRANTING LAND AT RIMECUDA (RYE) TO THE MONASTERY OF ABINGDON, *witnessed by Dunstan, Oskytel Archbishop of York, and other bishops, abbots, etc.*

ost, this really great ecclesiastic ed himself and his great powers to e to the church a love of learning. portion of his noble life was more nt with results than the quiet years sd at Glastonbury, after his appoint- as its abbot. He was a born teacher te highest order—no mere organiser, tireless teacher; and it was thus that he so captivated the hearts of the people, that for more than two centuries he was the favourite saint of the English. Simple stories were long told of his kindliness of heart, which won his pupils' affection; how he would sing psalms to them in his sweet voice as they walked together; how he

recounted his sorrow for the loss of a dead child pupil, and how he was comforted in a vision for his little scholar's death, when he saw his loved child borne by angels heavenwards.

From Glastonbury the celebrated Ethelwold, once the pupil and afterwards the chief teacher under Dunstan, went to the abbey of Abingdon, of which house in 955 king Edred, Dunstan's friend, appointed him abbot. Aided by a few Glastonbury teachers trained by Dunstan, Ethelwold soon made his school celebrated; it even rivalled Glastonbury as an educational centre. From these two schools the new spirit gradually spread through Wessex and Mercia, and a new and better state of things was soon apparent in the southern and central districts of England. Nor was it only the Church of England that benefited by abbot Dunstan's educational work. The church, it was true, was invigorated and renewed by the spirit of learning which Dunstan so wisely infused into it. But his great schools of Glastonbury and Abingdon gave also to *secular* literature a new impulse. We date from this period a mass of homilies and scriptural versions, and saints' lives, and grammars and lesson books. All this tells us of a real awakening among the clergy of the Church of England to a desire for knowledge, that they might be better teachers of their flocks.

There was also a love of poetry visible in this new intellectual life which Dunstan awakened in Wessex and Mercia; though very inferior, it is true, to that noble school of poetry which flourished in Northumbria in the great age which went before the disastrous coming of the Vikings. No one like Cædmon or Cynewulf, their strange and stately religious arose in the south and midlands a time. But the great Glastonbury sc taught the southern England of hi and time to love the great Northum poets of a vanished age; and our ow owes to the poetry-loving schools of stan not a few of the remains it pos of the striking Northumbrian song is in translations largely made in the of Dunstan, into the West Saxon di that we know the poems of Cædmor Cynewulf, and the nameless write their school. In their original Nort brian dialect we scarcely possess a l

But if in this period no really original song-man sprang up, many lar poems were written. Such the battle-songs of Brunanburgh—w into the English Chronicle—and Ma and the death-songs of Edgar and Ed some of them poems of no mean p Other and slighter songs, too, were written in this age, prose versio which are preserved for us by Willia Malmesbury; songs which had for heroes kings like Athelstan and Edgar, doughty and patriotic deeds had wo people's heart. The titles of some of are worth recording as indicating the for romantic poetry which had suddenly born among the people. In ballad p songs were written under the titl "The Birth of the Kings," "The D ing of Edwin," "The Craft of A Belonging to Edgar's time we find Slave Queen," "Edgar and Elfth "Edgar and the Scot-king."*

* See Green: "Conquest of England," ch and William of Malmesbury: "Gesta Regu

he meantime a great change and in monastic life was impending. ticism in England, as a power, had eared; in Mercia and in Wessex a ligious houses founded or restored by still remained; but as an institution completely ceased to influence the the church. Remembering, how- what the monasteries had done in atter of evangelising the conquering -folk in the seventh and eighth ries; what noble centres of piety learning the great religious com- ies had been before Viking or settled in England; calling to the honoured names of Columba of Columban, of the mighty parent of Luxeuil, and the network of steries and nunneries with which nban had covered northern Europe; ous kings like Alfred, and far-seeing ascetic churchmen like Dunstan, lly regarded the restoration of ticism as absolutely necessary to enewal of a vigorous and active n-life. Alfred in real earnest set f the task of re-introducing religious throughout his dominion; but his were only crowned with partial e, and the disturbed state of England his death effectually prevented any- ike a development of his scheme for toration of monasticism: the time ten not yet come.

the continent of Europe also, for a rable period, the monastic life had n the decline. The same causes had contributed to its ruin in d were at work in Germany and nd. For many years the Viking d desolated the fairest provinces of northern Europe. The more prominent monastic houses, with their precious treasures, utterly defenceless, had been the first objects of attack by these pirate invaders. In the districts watered by the great rivers, scarcely one monastery had escaped. Other causes, too, had been at work which helped on the general decay of the institution. The past fervour shown by the church and monastic reformers—men like Benedict and Columban and their companions—had long waned, and in the lament of the Council of Trosley, in 909, we get some notion of the state of the religious communities of northern Europe, at the time when the princes of the house of Alfred were reigning in England, and gradually bringing into subjection the fierce Danish intruders. Some monasteries had been burnt or destroyed by the pagan Vikings, some had been plundered of their property, and those which remained observed no form of a regular institute. They had no proper heads; their manner of life was disorderly; some monks had deserted their profession, and were even employing themselves in worldly business. Lay abbots with their wives and children, with their soldiers and dogs, occupied the cloisters, and the inmates of monasteries had cast off all regard for rule as to dress and diet.

Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and heir, in the first half of the ninth century had attempted a reform, but the ever-increasing troubles of the empire had rendered these efforts abortive. Early in the following century—the tenth—monastic reformation was at length undertaken in good earnest and with conspicuous success by a private individual.

Berno, abbot of Beaume, the founder and abbot of another house—Gigni—having succeeded in reforming the way of life of these two societies in the year 912, when Edward the Elder, Alfred's son, was king in England, was invited by William, duke of Upper Aquitaine, or Auvergne, to select a spot in his territory for a new monastery of which Berno should be the first abbot. Berno selected Cluny, near Mâcon. This had once been the home of a society of canons, but when Berno fixed upon it as the home of his new community, Cluny was used as a hunting-box by the duke. Twelve monks accompanied the abbot to the new house.

The rule of St. Benedict in its ancient integrity was adopted by the little society, and thus, with this humble start, the monastery of Cluny, in 912, began its historic career. In the year 927, shortly after the accession of Athelstan in England, Berno was succeeded as abbot in Cluny by the celebrated Odo.

Odo is generally reckoned as the real founder of the famous Cluniac order; for to him are attributed the various ascetic additions to the rules of Benedict peculiar to the Cluniac order of monks. One of these strange regulations required the monks, at the close of their scanty repasts, to gather up and to consume all the crumbs of their bread. Some of the brothers desiring to evade this seemingly trivial and arbitrary rule, a tradition of the order relates how a dying monk exclaimed in horror that the Evil One was holding up in accusation against him a bag of crumbs which he had been unwilling to swallow. Periods of strict silence were also enjoined upon the members of the community. Even the use of medicine in the c sickness was forbidden.

The fame of Cluny rapidly grew austerities of the house were adopt other communities. A number of spicuous saints belonging to this famous house spread abroad its gr reputation. Mayeul, the fourth in 965 (Edgar being king of Englar fused the archbishopric of Besançor in 974 even declined the highest h of the popedom. His successor fifth abbot of Cluny, attained throu reputation for austere sanctity an mous reputation. Popes of Rome t him as their equal, kings and em sought his advice; bishops went to and became monks under his direct pupils. His contemporary, Fulbe Chartres, even styles him "The Arcl of Monks." He was credited with m lous powers, and his prayers were s possess strange efficacy.

The monastic reform inaugurated Burgundian house of Cluny extended far and wide; a new passion for m ticism sprang up, innumerable mona adopted the stern Cluniac rules, and more or less closely affiliated t great mother monastery, and gradually the "congregation of C was formed.

The organisation of the now famou was completed by Hugh, the sixth in 1049, who ruled the "congreg for some sixty years. The reformed continued to grow in number and tance; it spread over France, Ge Italy, and England, and by the close twelfth century the enormous nun 2,000 daughter-houses had adopte

: rules, and were obedient to the
r-house of Cluny.
ile thus in the early years of the

PAGE FROM THE BENEDICTIONAL OF ETHELWOLD (A.D. 963-984), SHOWING THE VISIT OF THE THREE MARYS TO THE SEPULCHRE.

*(In the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.)*

century monasticism seemed to be
and occupied less and less space
hearts of earnest and religious
of a sudden it sprang up again.
Before the next century—the eleventh—closed, everywhere on the continent of Europe the monastery and nunnery had more than regained their ancient influence over the hearts of men. In France, the abbeys of Citeaux (Burgundy) and the Grande Chartreuse (near Grenoble)

became the mother-abbeys of two great orders—the Cistercian and Carthusian—whose houses, scattered over Europe, became in their day one of the most powerful influences in the church. The wave passed over Italy also, and the historian of church life there, among the new influences in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had to reckon with the enormous influence of the reformed cloister, and to tell at length the story of the rigid and ascetic orders of Camaldoli and Vallombrosa.

The same wave of reviving attachment to the monastic institution which passed over France, and through France to Italy and Germany, reached the shores of England. But while on the continent it was a work of reform, in England it was almost a re-creation; and it belonged to a somewhat later period to witness the complete restoration of the monastic system to its ancient position of influence. This it eventually regained, though not till after the second great age of revival, in the days of Lanfranc and Anselm, the Norman archbishops. Among the works of Dunstan for the church, however, even the partial restoration of the monastic system must occupy a prominent position. Three names are inseparably connected with this movement: Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, a friend of Dunstan, and whose appointment to the great post of primate was evidently owing to the influence of the powerful abbot of Glastonbury; Oswald, the nephew of Odo, another of the followers of Dunstan; and Ethelwold, the Glastonbury teacher, who went from Dunstan's school to organise and teach the equally famous seminary at Abingdon. Ethelwold in after days bishop of Winchester.

To expel the clerks and canons fro homes in the existing monasteri from the buildings attached to the dral, was no easy task. Not only reformers to encounter oppositi hatred at the hands of the dispo but in some cases from the peop whom these secular clerks and were popular. In the next cent instance, we read of disturbances armed resistance. At Gloucester the secular canons were defende wealthy thane, much blood was sh seven of the new monks placed Gloucester religious house were k a popular uproar.*

Ethelwold, bishop of Winchest Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and quently archbishop of York, were

* The Early English or Anglo-Saxon peo to have had the same strong common-sens ence for a married clergy which distingui nation to the present day; and their supe by celibate priests or monks was not fina pleted till after the Norman conquest. Th toleration of marriage preserved Englar measure from some of the scandals which p where a strict rule was enforced; and ther dence that the attempt to enforce the rule, p much of the scandal that did exist, such temporary unions already referred to. other hand, it must in fairness be rem that the celibate idea was itself a reaction the sensuality and animalism of the age was the *accepted* ideal, however mistake Christian minister of that day; and that men had taken vows to abide by it. Ob so held could hardly be abandoned w sense of guilt and spiritual loss in vario which, in its turn, would lead to other neglect in many cases. It is a sad picture aspects, and the evil which in one way or must result from the undue burdening of co by merely "ecclesiastical" offences, is one of the most impressive of its lesson

PAGE FROM THE ETHELWOLD BENEDICTIONAL, SHOWING THE ANNUNCIATION.

*(From the Original in Chatsworth Library, by permission of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.)*

o of Canterbury, the leaders in this n work of reformation. The first two e especially zealous and uncompromis- in their measures. They were, all ee, friends or disciples of Dunstan, and e intensely convinced that the Saxon rch could never be brought to a state purity and strength, until *real* monks e generally introduced into the old and aying, as well as in the new religious ses, and also in the cathedral chapters. ey were also well acquainted with the l and fervour of the reformed mon- ries of Frank-land, and were determined eproduce "Cluny" and "Fleury," and stern ascetic discipline practised by the oted inmates of these and other famous gious houses, in their native country.

t is difficult to estimate fairly the true dition of these English ecclesiastical res. Elfric, the biographer of bishop telwold, draws a sad picture of the old ster at Winchester. It has been sug- ed* that Elfric's picture may be ex- grated, it being a kind of apology for t lwold's drastic proceedings; still it must emembered that it is the testimony of re-witness. He describes these Win- er secular clergy as living in luxury, evoted to the pleasures of the table, l ing for a season with wives to whom were unlawfully married. On the hand, Dunstan, who was equally in st in the work of regenerating and ring the church, certainly never ved the secular clerks from his own drral at Canterbury; an incredible of laxity, if these men were living te state of indulgence and sin de- td so graphically by Elfric. The

lshop Stubbs: "Memorials of Dunstan."

truth probably lies between the two extremes. Many of the English secular clergy were no doubt living, if not vicious, at least slothful lives; some probably deserved even the bitter words of Elfric; while others, among whom the Canterbury clergy must be included, were working quietly and peaceably as married men with their wives and children. The reformers, however, proceeded with their work; the Benedictine rule and severe discipline was introduced at Winchester, Chertsey, Milton, Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney, and in these and various other places it is clear that the monastic revival was successful, and did a useful and beneficent work. No doubt many instances of hardship and even of cruelty occurred in the cases of the men dispossessed, but in time a more learned, nobler, and purer church emerged as the result of the life, work, and labours of the ascetic reformers.

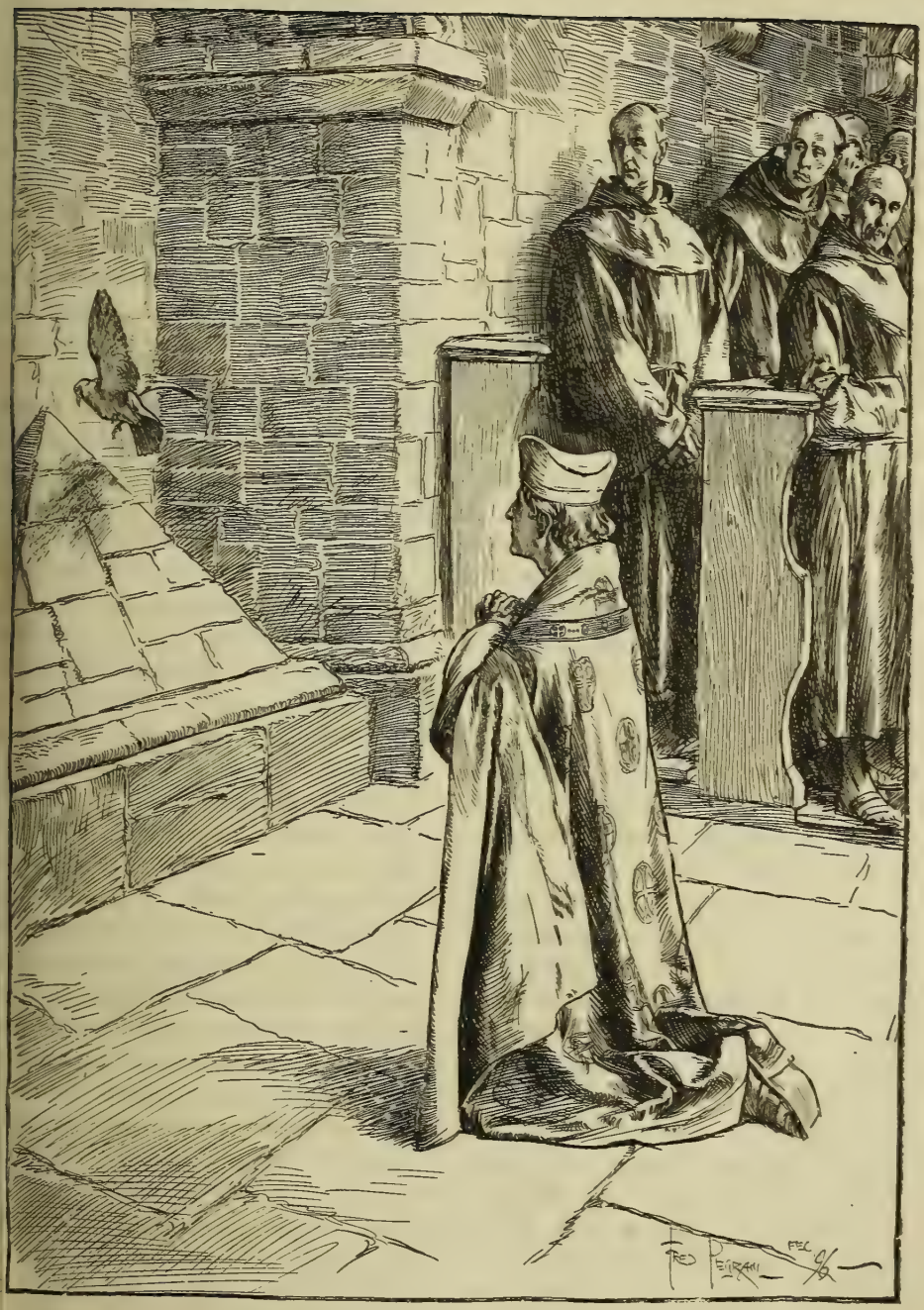
The story of Odo, who preceded Dunstan in the primate's throne at Canterbury, is striking and picturesque, and gives us a good picture of an eminent churchman in those stormy and disturbed times. Indeed, the great part he played in the work of renewing the spiritual life of the Church of England has been largely forgotten and obscured in the blaze of glory which surrounds the memory of Dunstan. Odo, subsequently archbishop, was the son of a Dane of noble birth, who had been a chieftain among the wild Vikings who followed the fortunes of the dreaded pirate leaders Ivar and Hubbo in the famous Danish invasion of the year 870—the raid which, it will be remembered, resulted in the capture of York, and the conquest of

and permanent Danish settlement in the north of England. The young Dane was attracted by the fervid preaching of a Christian missionary, and, against the will of his pagan father, renounced the old faith of the Northmen, and, placing himself under the tuition of a Christian thane at the court of Alfred, became a devoted adherent of Christianity. His early career was a romantic one. The devotion and persistent zeal of one of the hated pagan race soon attracted attention, and in the year 926, when Athelstan was king, we hear of Odo, the Danish convert, as consecrated to the bishopric of Romsey. Romsey was a small Wessex diocese, afterwards merged into that of Salisbury. It was a strange career, that of Odo. With all his undoubted zeal and earnestness on behalf of the religion for which he had sacrificed all his home ties, the old Viking blood showed itself in the Danish bishop. He was certainly present at the bloody fight of Brunanburgh in 937, when Athelstan defeated the formidable union of Northumbrians, Vikings, and Irish Ostmen; and a probably true tradition is handed down that Odo on that occasion saved king Athelstan's life. When the chair of the primacy was vacant, the influence of Dunstan, then abbot of Glastonbury, and the trusted friend and counsellor of king Edmund—Athelstan's brother and successor—procured Odo's elevation to the arch-see.

Before his enthronement at Canterbury, in 942, he spent some time in the great Loire monastery of Fleury, where the rule of St. Benedict was rigidly kept. Fleury ranked at that time, perhaps, as the leading religious house of the great Benedictine order. To its cloister repaired not a of the men who took a leading part in revival of church life and energy of time. In Fleury, the ecclesiastic believed that only in a restoration *real* monasticism could the church rec its vitality and influence over men's he would see what was the secret of B dictinism, and how men were traine become true monks. In the enduring almost passionate attachment to the l monastery, of such eminent prelate Oswald, bishop of Worcester and bishop of York, we see how strong a over ardent and devoted souls the and teaching of a religious community Fleury was able to exercise.

The cathedral and monastic estab ment of Canterbury, once famous thro out northern Europe as a great sc was sadly changed. The cathedral Odo found in a state of dilapidation; o once renowned school we hear little. of the first works of the new archbi was a complete restoration of the vene pile, which had suffered so much at hands of the Viking pirates and subsequent neglect. The old roof stripped and re-covered with lead; massive piers were strengthened; a ne was infused into the metropolitan ch which once more was filled with worship

We possess a pastoral letter of the D archbishop who owed his promotio Dunstan's friendship and support. pastoral of Odo is an interesting docu for it tells us a good deal of the earne and reality with which the reform the school of Dunstan were inspirin Church of England. He began i name of the Holy Trinity and th



DUNSTAN AT THE TOMB OF ODO (*p.* 427).

Deity with: "I, Odo, the lowly and meanest that is promoted to the honour of a pall and of being chief prelate, have resolved to put together some institutions . . . . to the consolation of my lord the king, that is, Edmund, and of all the people subject to his most excellent empire." In the first division of his pastoral he dwelt on the subject of *taxes*, which he declared ought not to be imposed upon the Church of God. In his second division he admonishes—or it would be more correct to say commands—the king, princes, and all that were in authority to be obedient to their archbishops and all other bishops, reminding these great worldly rulers that to bishops belonged the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and that they had the power of binding and loosing. In the third paragraph Odo turns to the prelates of that church for which he demands exemption from state taxation.

First, to *the bishops*—whose claim to a universal obedience he has put forward, as above, with no little arrogance; but he sharply and gravely admonishes these spiritual chiefs, telling them if their privileges are great, their duties are onerous in proportion. They must preach, said Odo, and show a good example to all; they must go about their parishes every year "vigilantly preaching the word of God." The Danish archbishop evidently set much store by the influence which the preaching of the bishops would exercise upon the people at large. He warned them against covetousness, and for a *third* time bade them "preach" the word of truth to all, without regard of persons—to king and princes, to all dignities alike. The *priests* too, while not neglecting to instruct their people in holy doctrine, w to be careful to teach by the force of a g example; in their life and conversation matters of goodness and modesty, t were to excel others, they were to with all honesty and reverence. The *mo* and all "devoted to God," day and ni were to study, to perform their vo abiding quietly in the churches where t first pronounced those vows. Such mo were not to be strollers and saunte through the world, men who desire name but despise the duties of a mo They were to inure themselves to ha of humility, to labour with their hands give themselves continually to holy read and to continual prayer. The paste contained other injunctions, sternly bidding the marriage of persons of n kindred, or of nuns; and enjoining fast and almsgiving. It directed a rever observation of Lent and other lawful fa and, above all, pressed upon the peo the duty of keeping the Lord's day the festivals of saints.

We gather from this ecclesiastical st paper, that already a great revival of and work had begun in the Church England, that the church was exercis considerable power and influence in land, and that monasticism was evider reviving and again becoming a pow while the grave remonstrances addres to bishops, clergy, and monks showed anxiety which men like Odo and of school of Dunstan felt, as to the cond and life of ecclesiastical persons. future of the Church of England, t felt, largely depended upon the exam of these bishops, clergy, and monks. might have been expected from his Vik

ancestry, Odo, while intensely in earnest, indefatigable in his work and efforts to bring life and vigour into the church in which he held so distinguished a position, was harsh and even cruel in his procedure against married clerks, and even against secular clerks occupying positions he looked upon as better filled by Benedictine monks. Owing to this harsh, unyielding policy, he acquired the name of "Severus."

To Dunstan, whose influence was evidently very great, if not paramount during the time of Odo's rule at Canterbury, this Danish prelate was always true; and a touching story is told of Dunstan's loyalty to the memory of his friend. After Dunstan had become in his turn archbishop, and was officiating one Whit Sunday in the cathedral, there settled on Odo's tomb—shaped like a pyramid, on the south side of Christ's altar—a dove, which had flown through an open window. To the archbishop's fervid and imaginative spirit this was a visible descent of the Holy Spirit on his dead friend's grave, thus publicly proclaiming to men that Odo was counted holy before the throne of God.

All through the rule of Odo at Canterbury, Dunstan continued his great educational work at Glastonbury, in conjunction with the daughter school at Abingdon under his friend and disciple, Ethelwold. He was, however, often at Winchester, where king Edred, Athelstan's younger brother, who followed King Edmund on the throne, usually held his court. The friendship dating from their boyish days, between Edred and Dunstan, remained unbroken. The great churchman's life was, during this period, divided between Glastonbury and its famous school, and the court, where Dunstan acted as treasurer of the "Royal Hoard" and estates. It was in one of his attendances on the king, during a visit paid by Edred to the north, that Dunstan saw the remains of St. Cuthbert, still incorrupt, and to which Abbo of Fleury, in his well-known letter to Dunstan, written later between the years 985 and 988, alludes.

Edred, who throughout a fairly successful reign of about nine years had struggled against constant ill-health, finally succumbed to his malady in 955. Dunstan's power in church and state during his friend's reign had been very great; his ceaseless labour in promoting education has been already dwelt upon, and gradually the church was being strengthened and purified. In political matters his great influence seems to have been exerted with equal wisdom. Northumbria peacefully acquiesced in the sovereignty of Edred, and in the last year of his reign we find him styling himself king of the Anglo-Saxons, and Cæsar of the whole of Britain. Dunstan was at Glastonbury when the message from his dying friend reached him, bidding him with all haste bring the royal treasure to Frome, where Edred was lying sick unto death. Quickly the treasurer hastened to comply with his friend's command, but as he rode towards Frome, it is said a heavenly vision warned him that all was over. Dunstan, on arriving, found the royal corpse already deserted by the courtiers, who had departed in haste to pay homage to the new king. With all reverence, he brought the dead king to

Glastonbury abbey, and laid him he loved so well, and served so faithfully, by the side of king Edmund, his brother.

King Edred, the last surviving brother of Athelstan, died childless, but his brother and predecessor, king Edmund, had left two children; the elder of these, Edwig, generally known as Edwy (by which name we shall call him), ascended the throne without opposition; his younger brother, Edgar, subsequently became one of the most famous sovereigns of the family of Alfred. Edwy reigned from 955 to 959, about three and a half years—a period of great confusion, in which little progress was made in the work of restoring life and vigour to the church. It is in this short reign of Edwy that the scenes of the well-known stories of the cruelty and harshness of Dunstan and archbishop Odo, are laid. Later historical investigations have, however, gone far to disprove the popular legends, so far at least as they have darkened the memory of the great churchman whose life and work we are now describing.

The true story of the tearing away of the boy-king from the arms of his bride Elgiva, and forcing him back to the rude and boisterous banquet, seems as follows. The "banquet" in question was the solemn coronation feast, at which the chief thanes and bishops, composing the Witan of England, were present. From this important gathering of the chief men of England Edwy had retired, preferring the society of Ethelgifu (Elgiva), with whom he was in love, and her mother. The thanes, archbishop, and bishops were indignant at this apparent insult, and commanded abbot Dunstan, the royal treasurer, and bishop Kynesige, of Lic field, to fetch the foolish lad back to t coronation banquet. The Chronicle relat how the envoys found the boy-king wi Elgiva and her mother, the splendid golde crown of the realm, gleaming with gem tossed heedlessly on the floor. Reproac ful and no doubt bitter words passed, a the young king returned with the abb and bishop to the company of the gre lords of the Witan. Edwy, howeve never seems to have forgiven Dunst for the part he bore in this transactio He disgraced the treasurer and abbot, a drove him into exile, and had not Du stan succeeded in escaping to Flande would, it is said, have put out his eyes

The story and the chroniclers' dat now become somewhat confused. T archbishop of Canterbury persisted denouncing the marriage of Edwy a Elgiva as against the law of the churc being within the prohibited canonic degrees.* Partly owing to this quarr

* What the relationship actually was, is nev stated. Some writers believe Elgiva to have be a first or second cousin; the majority of Engli historians seem to lean to the belief of Robertso that her mother had been king Edwy's *fost* mother, which would have been a sort of "spiritua affinity very dear to the ecclesiasticism of that ag It seems incredible that any really direct relatio ship should not have been stated by the mon chroniclers in justification of what followed; the other hand, there is no doubt that stro popular feeling sided with the church, and again the king. These are really the two opposi arguments. It cannot even be positively affirm whether or not Edwy and Elgiva were marri at the feast of the coronation, or afterwards. T probability seems to be that the marriage w subsequent; but as the monkish chroniclers p sistently write of Elgiva in opprobrious terms, the ground that she could not be lawfully "marrie at all, it is uncertain whether more than this meant where the marriage is denied.

with the powerful church party, which was further accentuated by Edwy espousing the cause of the married clergy; partly owing, no doubt, to the removal of the

DUNSTAN, EDWY, AND ELGIVA.

strong and capable hand of Dunstan from the helm of the state, the Mercians nothing loth to separate themselves from Wessex under their earl or alderman—and other great districts in the east of England, raised the standard of revolt against the young West Saxon king, and chose as their sovereign Edwy's brother, Edgar. Edwy was unable to resist, and an assembly or Witenagemot composed of West Saxons and Mercians agreed to separate England into two kingdoms; Wessex and the south remaining as Edwy's share, and the counties north of the Thames acknowledging Edgar as king. For a brief season the

unity of England was thus broken. Edgar at once recalled Dunstan, and with the approval of the Witenagemot of Mercia and the Engles, appointed him bishop of Worcester, and shortly after bishop of London.

In the southern kingdom, Odo the archbishop continued his bitter opposition to the marriage of Edwy, and finally with an armed band arrested the queen Elgiva and conveyed her to Ireland. It is to be feared she was also branded in the face; but whether this barbarity was perpetrated or not, the transaction certainly presents Odo in the light rather of a fierce Viking warrior than of a Christian prelate. It is also a striking proof of the great pow which the church had now obtained in the land, and of the growing disposition of its more active spirits to meddle energetically in secular affairs. The boy-king, fearing to lose the crown of his diminished kingdom, at length submitted to the archbishop's decree, and consented to a divorce. A horrible story is related by the chronicler Osbern, the precentor of Canterbury, who wrote a Life of St. Dunstan about a century and a half after Edwy's death, of more terrible cruelty being inflicted on the hapless divorced queen. She attempted, he says, to rejoin her husband; but was seized by her relentless enemies at Gloucester, and the muscles and sinews of her lower limbs cruelly severed, causing her death a few days later in terrible agony. The real truth concerning this pitiful story and the previous cruelty said to have been inflicted upon Elgiva, can perhaps never be now positively known; but there is certainly nothing on record which can connect Dunstan with the awful crin save that men knew he was opposed to h marriage with king Edwy.* Nothing known of his character that would le us to regard him as either cruel or rele less; indeed Osbern the chronicler, t Canterbury precentor in the time Lanfranc, who tells the dark story, relat as an example of the forgiving and kind nature of Dunstan, a curious anecdote the saint's vision, in which he saw t soul of the dead Edwy tormented fiends. Moved by exceeding pity, t saint wrestled with God in prayer un the dead king, who had driven him fro Glastonbury into exile, was delivered fro his ghostly enemies. This curious a striking legend is repeated by Eadmer Canterbury, the biographer of the saint

* The branding by Odo's orders appears nea certain; no writer has seriously questioned it. regard to the other horrible mutilation, it is fi related by Osbern. Obviously he wrote from m tradition; still it is *monkish* tradition, and a reas is added which lends too much probability to t story. The divorced queen had just eluded h guardians; and she was, it is said, now ha strung that she might not be able to escape the again! We cannot forget that if the account falsified, it is so falsified by ecclesiastics the selves, and subsequent writers repeated and glori in the deed as meritorious. This is not only alm as revolting, but shows a feeling that makes t fact itself more probable. In regard, however, personal responsibility for the tragedy, not o can Dunstan have hardly had anything to do w it, but it is doubtful if Odo was even alive wh it was enacted. It is remarkable that in his of Odo, Osbern says it was done by "men of servants of God"; while in that of Dunstan calls them simply "the people of the nort This rather seems to point to a deed of lynch- by the Mercian church-party, excited no do by the church's denunciations, and perhaps the example of the previous barbarity un Odo himself, and doubtless with the idea t they were saving the state from an immin danger.

selm, who has also given us a life of hbishop Dunstan.

The death of the young king in 959 ome statements seem to imply his rder—put an end to the unhappy state division in England, and Edgar, Edwy's ther, who had previously been chosen g of Mercia and the Engles, being eived as sovereign in Wessex, ruled in over a united England. The general ognition of Edgar as king of England k place in 959. With his accession nstan's influence in church and state rmously increased.

The question of the succession to the macy for a short time was doubtful. Odo l died when Edwy was still reigning in south, and Edwy had nominated to archbishopric Elfsige, a kinsman of own, a man of great learning, but a lent and injudicious partisan. This sige is reported to have treated the nory of Odo with studied disrespect ing his short reign at Canterbury. He it, as was the general custom, to Rome receive the pall, but never returned; as he crossed the Alps in deep snow caught the cold which put an end to life. Edwy's short and disastrous er was not closed when the news came s nominee's sudden death abroad, and helm, bishop of Wells, was appointed e arch-see; but before the translation completed, Edwy expired, and Dun- s friend, Edgar, was on the throne. hear no more of Byrthelm, who ined in his old diocese; and Dunstan t once appointed primate, and received all without opposition from the hands pe John XII. at Rome in 960, the after Edgar's accession. In 961 he consecrated several bishops, who had been his pupils or friends, to vacant sees; conspicuous among these were Ethelwold, the head of the Abingdon school, who became bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, a Dane, the nephew and favourite of Odo, a Benedictine monk of the famous monastery of Fleury on the Loire, who was made bishop of Worcester, afterwards becoming archbishop of York.

From the date of Edgar's accession Dunstan was the minister of the reign, the first of the many great ecclesiastical statesmen who have played such a prominent part in the history of England, and a visible token of the growing power and influence of the church, if also somewhat of its greater secularisation in aims and ideas. Nothing in the church or state was apparently done without the great archbishop's sanction. His hand appears in everything, and the peace and glory which the land enjoyed during the sixteen years of Edgar's rule were in a large measure owing to the wisdom and foresight of the statesman archbishop. "The rule of the realm was in the hands at once of Dunstan and of Edgar, and king and primate were almost blended together in the thoughts of Englishmen. So far, indeed, as their work could be distinguished, there was a curious inversion of parts. The king was seen devoting himself to the task of building up again the church, of diffusing monasticism, of fashioning his realm in accordance with a religious ideal." * No wonder that we find king Edgar lauded by monastic chroniclers. In the English Chronicle we read, "He upreared God's glory wide,

* Green: "Conquest of England."

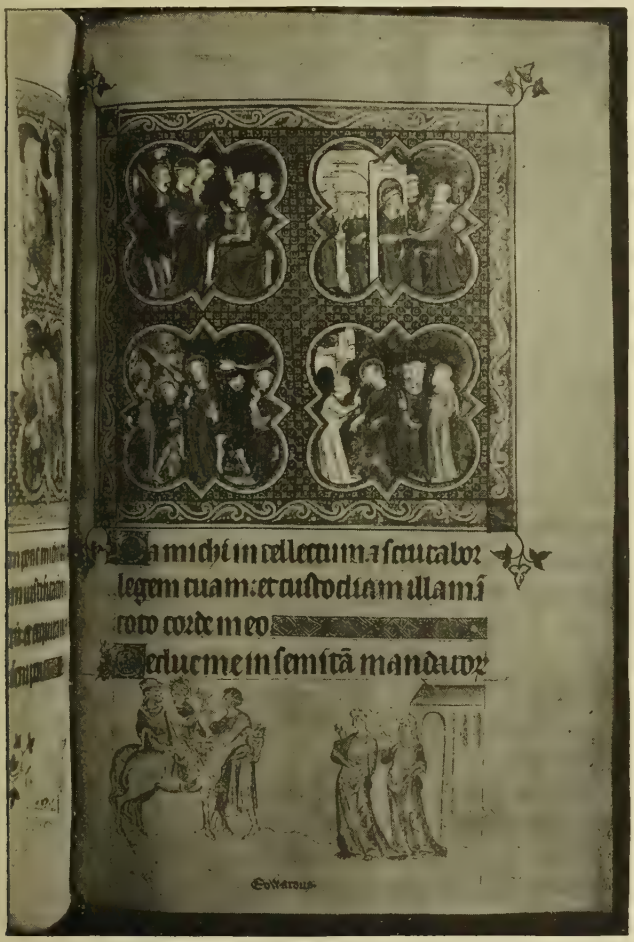
and loved God's law; he was wide throughout nations greatly honoured, because he honoured God's name earnestly." There appears, however, no doubt of the king's great licentiousness, of which various instances are related; and the penances by which they were visited have been by some recent writers contrasted with the treatment meted out to the ill-fated Edwy. On the other hand, the king's justice became celebrated even beyond his own dominions.

The characteristic of this remarkable reign of sixteen years was peace. For over a hundred and fifty years, with rare intervals, the land had been the scene of fierce warfare between Englishman and Dane; but the period of Edgar's rule, when Dunstan was the close friend, the minister, and almost sole adviser of the crown, is remembered as a period of almost unbroken quiet. The archbishop seems during much of this period to have principally busied himself with state matters, leaving religious administration and legislative and church work largely to the king. But indeed, during Edgar's reign, the king and the primate, his minister, worked hand in hand in church and state.

The strong wave of feeling in favour of a re-invigorated monasticism which in the tenth century, especially in its second half, swept over Europe, evidently strongly affected king Edgar. Tradition ascribes to him the foundation of forty monasteries. This number is probably exaggerated, but that Edgar was intensely in earnest in his desire to promote the interests of monasticism is absolutely certain; and in the coming days of its vast power and influence, monasticism looked back to the reign of Edgar as the beginning of unbroken life in England. In his e youth it was said that Edgar had b moved by the sight of the ruined religi houses in different parts of the king to make a vow of restitution; it is not improbable, and would have b quite according to the ideas of that that his zeal may have been actu quickened by the personal profligacy which allusion is made above, and wh may have been sincerely repented of. prelates such as Oskytel, archbishop of Y the near kinsman of Odo; the half-myth Thurkytel, abbot of Bedford, whom Cr land afterwards claimed as founder; Et wold, the disciple of Dunstan, bishop Winchester; and Oswald, nephew of O bishop of Worcester, and later archbis of York, were all of one mind, all inten anxious to breathe a fresh life into church, and all convinced that the o sure road to the real reformation in and practice they so longed to see through the introduction of the gr ascetic rule of St. Benedict into all great centres of church life in Engla

They met with a considerable mea of success in the southern and midland tricts. Many monasteries became ho of Benedictines, trained by men who lived at Fleury, or Cluny, or in o famous reformed religious houses abr In the vast and Dane-ravaged arch-dio of York, however, comparatively little really effected, and it is doubtful i Benedictine rule was ever firmly e lished in the north till after the No Conquest. The minster at York was occupied by monks. But from the c drals and other more prominent cent

rch life generally, the work of expul- of clerks, especially of married clerks, t on rapidly under king Edgar and his erful Benedictine-loving counsellors.



THE MURDER OF KING EDWARD THE MARTYR.
*(From a 14th-century Psalter, formerly belonging to Queen Mary. British Museum.)**

Ciously enough, Dunstan, who is arly credited with being the principal ment in this work of expulsion, must have brought with it much ng and hardship, was the least active ese severe measures. While we hear of clerks being banished from the monasteries of Mercia, of sweeping measures adopted in Winchester (Wessex), of new Benedictine foundations at Romsey, Exeter, in the great Fen abbeys, and in other places; in Canterbury, where

* The murder is depicted at the bottom of the page. The four illustrations at the top represent scenes in the Passion. The text is Psalm cxix. 34, 35.

Dunstan reigned as archbishop for some twenty-seven years, the clerks never seem to have been expelled to give place to monks, nor do we hear of the establishment of any Benedictine house in Kent. Clerks, indeed, remained at Canterbury till the time of archbishop Elfric, and it seems as if the great ecclesiastic was even in advance of his age in striving to inculcate the highest ideal of monastic life, while recognising that it might be too high for some, and desiring to deal gently with individual cases as he found them. Yet there is no doubt but that Dunstan himself was a monk. In the famous drawing * in the well-known manuscript in the Bodleian library, which with some probability is ascribed to his own hand, he appears at the feet of Christ in the dress of a monk. That he sympathised with the policy which substituted monks for clerks is also well-nigh certain, although he did not appear by any means to be prominent in the movement in which his own dearest friends and disciples were the leaders.

Dunstan and his school, of whom the bishops of Winchester and Worcester—the latter of whom was also archbishop of York—were the most conspicuous, succeeded in their efforts to infuse a new and nobler spirit into the Church of England. Education was enormously advanced among the clergy, and as a consequence of this new desire for knowledge among the teachers and spiritual guiders of the people, literature received a new and vigorous impulse. From the days of Dunstan we date the rise of the second old-English literature, the first, of course, dating from Alfred. It was a literature of poetry and prose; but the bulk of it sisted in popular prose. The school of tonbury, which Dunstan guided and ins for so many years, and its daughter-s of Abingdon, under Dunstan's pupil E wold, afterwards the bishop of Winch who was so active in forcing the cler give place to monks, were the two educational centres.

This great impulse given to educ and literature was Dunstan's noblest most enduring work. He left the Ch of England largely officered by monks clerks, and quickened with a new desir intellectual knowledge. The reproa ignorance—apparently a self-satisfied i ance—was wiped away by his restles of self-sacrifice and brave, patient indu The new monasticism, introduced r by Dunstan's favourite disciples tha their master, but with which he sy thised, and the establishment of w he quietly assisted and helped durin seventeen years of almost supreme po supplied a new and nobler ideal to church. There is no doubt that the ch Dunstan found in Wessex and M England was sadly lax in morality, indulgent, and quite unfit in those ro rude times to guide and lead men. Benedictine monk of the school of Fl Cluny, and other similar famous ho with his rigid rule, his stern asceti his devoted self-denial, inspired wi new spirit that great church to whic England of king Edgar looked for guid and direction.

King Edgar died in 975, and with death of Edgar the work of the archb as a statesman was well-nigh done.

* Reproduced on p. 441.

e we see him at Glastonbury laying
oyal master and friend to rest. He
ed Edgar by his father Edmund's side.
for Dunstan himself, he survived his
nd and sovereign for thirteen years.
troublous times followed the year
ch witnessed the death of Edgar the
ceful. Edgar left two sons. In his
he designated the elder boy, Edward,
his successor, but the jealousy of the
tions of the younger Ethelred, who
the son of his later marriage with
ida, excited fresh commotions. Dun-
supported the legal heir, Edward,
anointed and crowned him king.
or three strife-filled years followed,
then the boy Edward was murdered
). William of Malmesbury, the
onicler, who wrote shortly after the
man Conquest, tells the well-known
irable story. Edward was returning
e alone from the chase, when his
mother Elfrida, the widowed queen
dgar, caused him to be stabbed by a
nt while he was drinking from the
which she had handed to him. In
t of the deadly wound, the boy-king
ed his horse forward to join his
anions; but one foot slipping, he
dragged by the other through the
ng paths of the wood, till his death
nade known to his followers by the
s of blood.

ere was but little secrecy affected on
art of those who had arranged the
murder. Edward was hurried to
ave at Wareham, no stately funeral
ng the tragic passing away of a king
ngland. The queen-mother and
owerful kinsmen, in the name of
hild Ethelred, the brother of the
murdered Edward, with some colour of legality, seized upon the government of the realm. Within a year, however, that strong sense of justice and of reverence for the Lord's anointed which in all ages has more or less influenced the English people, awoke, and surrounded the memory of the dead boy, who on the threshold of a life which promised so fairly was so cruelly done to death, with the halo which belongs to a martyr, by which lofty title to honour—curiously misplaced in this case—Edgar's hapless eldest son, Edward, has ever been known in history. The remains of Edward "the Martyr," in obedience to a national cry of sorrow and remorse, were translated from their first humble resting-place at Wareham, and re-interred with kingly pomp in Alfred's royal abbey of Shaftesbury.

At one more imposing ceremony the well-known and honoured figure of the great archbishop was seen. In the solemn coronation of the boy Ethelred he officiated, and crowned the child of his old friend Edgar the Peaceful at Kingston, delivering to him a solemn charge—the *promissio Regis*, a reminder to be read in coming years of his duty to his people. It was laid upon the altar of Christ. This singular document is still with us. It begins: "This writing is written letter by letter after the writing that archbishop Dunstan delivered to our lord at Kingston on the day that they hallowed him king." It is short and to the point, and contains in a very few words the duty of a king to his subjects, closing with a reminder, perhaps suggested by the sight of the new men surrounding the child's throne; "The duty of a hallowed king is . . . . that

he have old and wise and sober men for counsellors, and set righteous men for stewards, for whatsoever they do unrighteously by his fault, he must render account of it all in the judgment-day."

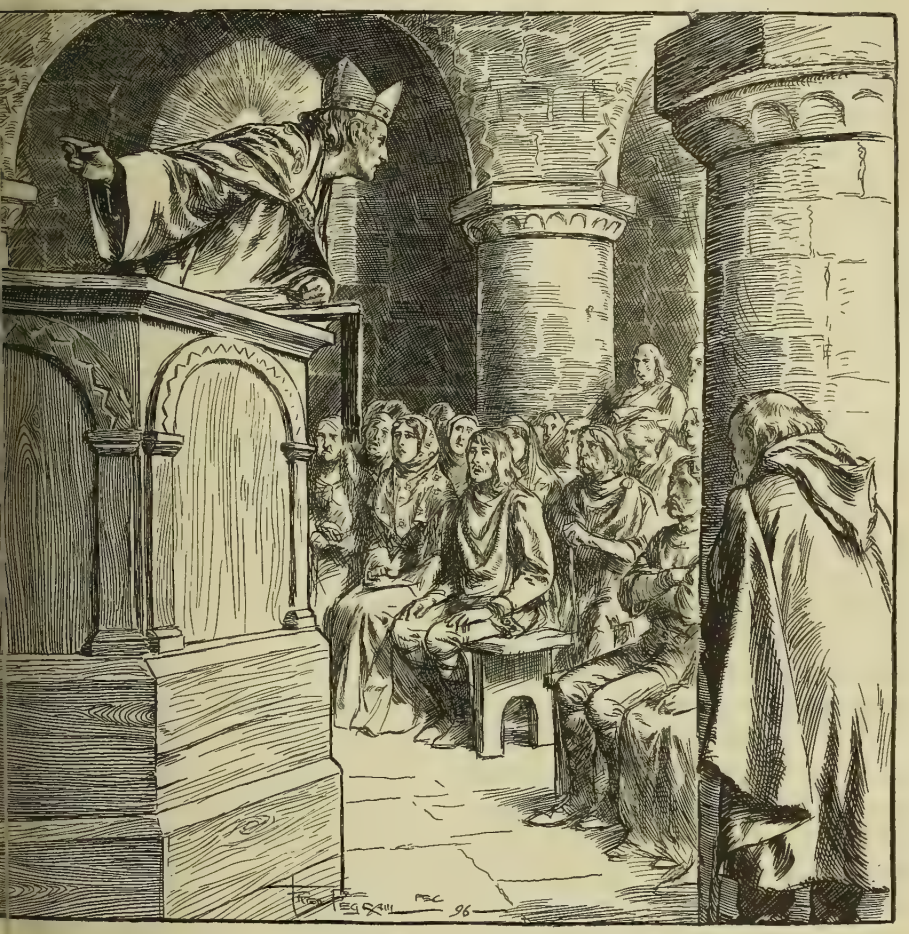
The story of Dunstan on the great stage of English politics ends with the coronation of Ethelred at Kingston. With great wisdom and dignity, the statesman-prelate recognised the situation, and seeing that other rulers had arisen who knew him not, and certainly did not love him, quietly stepped aside, and retiring to his own Canterbury, in comparative retirement spent the remaining years of a life which had worked for England so many and such beneficent works in church and state.

The picture of Dunstan's daily occupations at Canterbury after his retirement from the court, is drawn by the earliest of his biographers, writing within a few years of his death. "His chief employment was on the divine service, prayer and psalmody, and holy vigils; now and then he resumed the employments of his youth, exercising his old skill in handicraft in the making of musical instruments, like the organs which were kept at Malmesbury, or the bells that were known at Canterbury as his own work; the early hours of the morning he gave to the very needful task of correcting the faulty manuscripts of the library. The great domains of his church afforded him abundance of public work; it was his delight to make peace between man and man, to receive and assist the widows and fatherless, pilgrims and strangers of all sorts. He was an admirable steward of the church's wealth, a founder and endower of new churches, and indefatigable i work of instruction, gathering young old, men and women, clerk, monk and man, to listen to his teaching." * "T —in the words of the Saxon monk, wh personally known the saint and statesm "all this English land was filled with hi doctrine, shining before God and men the sun and moon. When he was mi to pay to Christ the Lord the due ho service, and the celebration of the with such entireness of devotion he labo in singing, that he seemed to be spe face to face with the Lord, even if before he had been vexed with the qu of the people; like St. Martin, he eye and hand intent on heaven, letting his spirit rest from prayer."

"The idea of the sketch is that of a and faithful servant. There is no grotesque about the man as he appe the pages of the eye-witness, nothi the tyrannical ascetic, as historians generally depicted him. It is the cr ing of a laborious life, of a man who ha great power and has used it for his cou and, now that other rulers have arisen do not know or love him, falls back o studies of his youth, and spends hi years in the promotion of pious and le works." We can then without any stretch of imagination see the white-h old bishop sitting with the children household, his counsellors and guest the fire in winter, and telling the ones the story of his childhood as he the elders the story of St. Edmund and martyr, which had been told when a boy by the king's armour-bea

* Bishop Stubbs: Introduction to "Memor

We must assign to Dunstan himself st of the marvellous tales of his earliest grapher (the Saxon priest who had wn him face to face), such as the child's heard it. The several temptations of the Devil are also probably of Dunstan's telling —and possibly the various warnings that came to him at different times, of the



DUNSTAN'S LAST SERMON.

a at his first visit to Glastonbury; his of the mystic dove at Etheldreda's irst patroness and friend) death; the rious music of his harp as it hung t the wall, and the noble words d formed themselves in his mind as he death of his friends. All these stories bear the impress of the same mind, a mind slightly morbid and very sensitive, but pure and devout, void of grossness and grotesqueness. They seem to be stories for the children, told by one who had a strong

belief in dreams, and to be magnified and made important in the repetition, chiefly on account of the greatness of the narrator." *

The end to the quiet, beautiful life led during the last years of Dunstan's eventful career, came at last. No special illness seems to have carried him off—it was rather gradual decay. He was only sixty-four years of age, but the life had been a restless life of toil, and until the last few years, of grave anxiety and constant excitement. The close was sudden. The archbishop died, as most true men would choose to die, in harness, working to the last. His biographers with greater or less length dwell on the story of the end. As was naturally to be expected in a tenth or eleventh century story of such a one as Dunstan, his chroniclers tell us of some marvels accompanying the saint's death. But these can easily be separated from what is evidently a simple and true recital.

It was on Ascension Day, 988, that the signs of the rapidly-approaching end first showed themselves; but although evidently weak and suffering, he went through all his accustomed duties in his great Canterbury church—consecrating and distributing the blessed elements as usual. Thrice on that solemn day he ascended the pulpit and spoke to the people with his old passionate fervour and eloquence, dwelling on the mystic event the holy festival of the Ascension commemorated, and pressing home to the listening people the power of the precious blood, and telling them that no sinner, however terrible, however numerous his sins, need despair of forgiveness if he only had the Mediator to plead for him—

* Bishop Stubbs: "Memorials of St. Dunstan."

"preaching," said the evidently faithf
dition, "as he had never preached b
"*Evangelizavit, qualiter numquam*
*evangelizavit*," says Adelard, writin
some twenty years after the event.

He never appeared again in publi
serving, however, his full conscio
and power of speech to the last. C
morning of the Sabbath followin
Ascension Day, when he celebrate
preached his last remarkable se
after the matin hymns were finish
bade the holy congregation of the br
come to him. Again commendin
spirit, he received from the heavenly
the viaticum of the sacrament of
which had been celebrated in his pre
and giving thanks to God for it, he
to sing: "The merciful and gracious
hath so done his marvellous work
they ought to be had in rememb
He hath given meat unto them tha
Him." And with these words i
mouth, rendering his spirit into his M
hands, he rested in peace. "Oh, too
whom the Lord found thus watching

On the Sunday he was buried i
church that he loved so well. His gra
apparently in the undercroft, benea
choir, deep in the ground, at his
the matin altar. In after years the
was burnt and rebuilt, and the b
Dunstan was removed. The coffi
taining the sacred remains was o
and the vestments with which the
was clothed were found to be de
He was clothed anew and laid in a w
coffin enclosed in a leaden one and b
with iron, and was re-interred in a
tomb on the south side of the high

* Adelard: "Vita Sancti Dunstani,"

n the last year of the reign of king nry VII. (1508), archbishop Warham, ne five centuries after Dunstan's death, hing to verify the tradition that the nted remains had been deposited in nterbury and not at Glastonbury, as monks of that famous house loved to ert, caused the tomb to be opened. In letter of Warham to the abbot of stonbury, dated in June, 1508, after cribing the small wood chest, upright a tomb, and girt with iron, situd on the south side of the high altar, which the body of Dunstan was said to lying, the archbishop writes: "On its ng opened, we found within it a certain den cist, and underneath, inside, a gle small piece of lead a foot long, on ich was engraved, 'Hic requiescit Sanc- Dunstanus, Archiepiscopus.' There, hin the same cist were found pieces of en, very white, redolent, as it were, with odour of balsam; these being unrolled, discovered the skull of the said saint, ire, and the different bones of his body, h many other similar relics." It was 520 years from the date of his death t Warham looked on the mouldering cs of Dunstan. In the longer report he "Scrutinium" made by the archiop Warham and the lord prior of aterbury, the remains of Dunstan are ously termed "illud sanctissimum anum Spiritus Sancti indutum pontidibus, tum pro magna parte consumptis." e small piece of lead above referred to n the inscription "Hic requiescit," etc., epresented as resting on the breast of saint's body.

ound the memory of Dunstan many legends quickly gathered. He was soon credited with having performed many miracles. He was spoken of not merely as a worker of supernatural acts, but the reputation clave to him of having been, too, a seer and a prophet. As remarked by the learned historian we have already so frequently quoted, he was canonised in popular regard almost from the day he died, and was certainly the favourite saint of the Church of England for more than a century and a half; and when, after that long period, he gave place in popular regard to another saint and national hero, the new object of veneration was no less a personage than Thomas à Becket, who won his unexampled and enduring place in the hearts of the people less from his reputation for sanctity, than because he had been the champion of the church against a king who was credited with the wish to trample under foot its sacred privileges. A'Becket owed his enormous popularity to the fact that he died defending a church which the people loved. That the memory of Dunstan maintained its place in the hearts of the English so long, and then only yielded it to so great a memory as that of the martyr archbishop, is a singularly high testimony to the surpassing merits of the man; for, as it has been well said, "popular worship has not been usually wasted on the memory of selfish ascetics."

Of that strange and mistaken worship of saints which the mediæval church fostered with a touching care, the cult of Dunstan is a memorable instance. It is undeniable that the greatest thinkers, the profoundest theologians, the most pious as well as the most learned, for many ages

assumed that the departed spirits of the blessed possessed a special access to the presence of the Most High, and that their prayers were listened to with a peculiar favour by God and His Christ. A long and remarkable supplication of the holy Anselm is still extant, in which that true scholar and saint implores St. Dunstan's intercession at the throne of grace. He addresses the blessed saint in glory as "Dulcis ad invocandum, benignus ad exaudiendum pius ad subveniendum." "Most readily," whispers Anselm in the course of this strange sad prayer, "will the Judge Himself bestow whatever a loved and cherished friendship like yours shall ask of Him." We possess prayers of various dates offered to, and hymns sung in honour of, this loved Englishman, as a specimen of this passionate adulation. One hymn, written early in the eleventh century, begins thus :

> "Ave Dunstane, præsulum,
> Sidus decusque splendidum
> Lux vera gentis Anglicæ,
> Et ad Deum dux prævie."

One of the two earliest lives of Dunstan—that by Adelard, written certainly within twenty years of the saint's death—is drawn up in the form of "lessons" to be read in the services of the great monastery at Canterbury. This "devotional" work on Dunstan was rapidly multiplied, and was the source from which the breviary lessons for St. Dunstan's day were mainly taken. So general and widespread was the worship of the beloved Anglo-Saxon saint, that we find in the various missals used in the services of the mediæval Church of England, special masses arranged to be said or sung on St. Dunstan's anniversary. These became, in fact, a of the ordinary ritual for that day, only in his own archiepiscopal seat of terbury, but in all the great church the land. The mass on St. Dunstan's "Missa Sancti Dunstani Episcop Confessoris," slightly varied in the diff uses, appears in the missals of Salis York, and Hereford, and is found in c of different dates until, comparat speaking, quite late times, the brevi which contained them bearing such as Rouen, A.D. 1492 ; Rouen, A.D. 1 Paris, A.D. 1533.

The materials for the picture of th and work of this eminent servant o Church of England are, taking into sideration the circumstances, fairly rich possess five distinct Lives of Dunstan. first was by a nameless Saxon priest, w the learned Mabillon the Benedictin lieves was Byrhtferth, a pupil of Abb Fleury, one of the most eminent En scholars of the time. He wrote twelve or thirteen years after the bishop's death, and had been an witness of some of the events belongi Dunstan's later life. Much of wha relates, he tells us, was based on wha heard from Dunstan's own mouth. "Life" is much richer in what ma termed events belonging to the privat home life of the saint than to his p and official career. On the latter it i difficult to comprehend the compar reticence of Dunstan, who was livin retirement—in an honourable retire it is true—but none the less in a ki state disgrace. Those ministers and visers who surrounded the young were no friends to the old minister

ST. DUNSTAN AT THE FEET OF CHRIST. (*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

[The writing, "Dunstanum memet," etc., was probably written by Dunstan himself; but whether the picture was drawn by him is more doubtful.]

was once all-powerful. The picture presented by this earliest biographer is thus most valuable as regards his inner life and more personal recollections.

The second Life of Dunstan is that of Adelard, and is dated only a very few years later than the first biography. In the few years which had now elapsed—some twenty—since the saint's death, the legends of the marvellous had grown luxuriantly round the memory of Dunstan. Here we find related most of the more startling marvels that are commonly associated with his name. Passing by those grotesque and well-known stories of his conflict with the Evil One, it will be interesting to quote one of these stories of the marvellous told by Adelard, to which the monks in after days listened with attention and pleasure. It was on the night preceding that last feast of the Ascension, two days before the saint's death, that Alfgar, afterwards bishop of Elmham, saw in a vision a number of cherubim and seraphim filling the minster in which the holy Dunstan was officiating. The heavenly band drew near the saint. "Are you ready, Dunstan," asked one of the angel visitors, "to join our heavenly choir on the festal day of Christ's enthronisation?" To which the archbishop replied, "I cannot come, for this is the day on which Christ ascended to the heavens, and I must speak to His people and communicate with them in the sacrament." Then said the heavenly one, "Be ready on the Sabbath (two days later) to come with us, for you will have to sing with us for ever and for ever, 'Holy, holy, holy!'"

The third "Life" was not written until after the Norman Conquest. Its author was Osbern, precentor of the cathedral or Christ Church, Canterbury, in the of archbishop Lanfranc. A good de what is told in the two earlier recor repeated, but with a still larger admi of the marvellous. We find in Osb memoir not a few of those legends o saint which from their grotesque char have caught the attention of later more sceptical generations, and have and unjustly disfigured his great me —such legends as how Dunstan seize Devil by the nose, how he saw the sc his enemy, King Edwy, carried o devils. The story of the dreadful m tion of the hapless queen Elgiva is also by this comparatively late biogra

Among these stories of the po saint, part of which no doubt have foundation, there are of course bea gems—such as the dream of the who once in sore trouble visited Dun tomb in the dead of the night, and wards in his chamber saw a vision palace of exquisite beauty; to reach had to pass through a flood of waters; entering the fair house he had been g at from afar, he found it brilliantly lig with a light brighter than the sun; w the house were many saints assem each wearing a strangely joyous expre "I kept thinking," said the dream the dream, "about the brilliancy of dazzling light, and at last it occurred that the marvellous radiance proc from the bodies of the assembled s On inquiring who these all were, I le they were the company of the Dunstan, who had only a little time been with them and had celebrate divine sacrament, and had bidden wait till he returned." To the high e

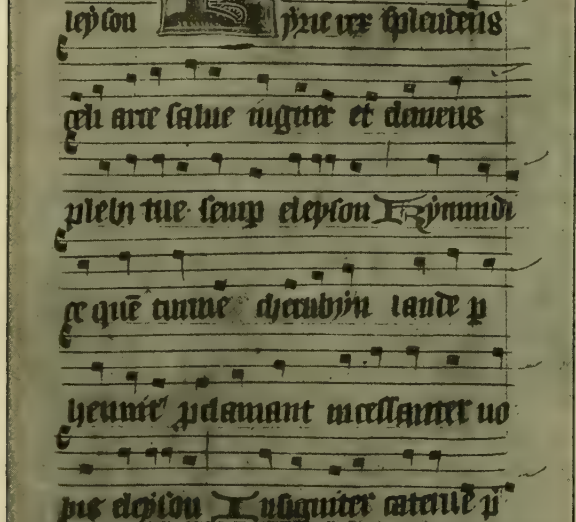
n in which Dunstan, the *Saxon* saint, s held in the Church of England even in *orman* days, such recitals as the above, curring, as they do, in the work of the ecentor of the Norman Lanfranc's cathe-l, bear clear testimony.

The fourth and fifth "Lives," composed spectively by Eadmer, the biographer of nselm, and William of Malmesbury, give but few fresh details of the great church-n once so loved in England.

Strangely enough, we possess no writ-gs whatever which can be with any rtainty ascribed to Dunstan himself; thing has survived—not even a letter. would seem that this great ecclesiastic, ofound scholar, devoted and able acher, cunning craftsman, trained musi-n, consummate statesman, able and quent preacher, was no writer. The clesiastical laws, which will be dwelt on presently, are of considerable im-rtance, and throw a strong, clear ht upon the state of the church under nstan's rule; but while these bear the ident impress of his mind, and, no ubt, were his exclusive work, they do t bear his name, but are termed "Canons de in king Edgar's reign." The well-own hymn, "Kyrie Rex Splendens," ich, according to the "Salisbury use," appointed to be sung at his festival after e "officium," is traditionally said to have en dictated by Dunstan. Eadmer in life of the saint, tells how one nday at mass the archbishop fell asleep, d as he slept, heard a solemn service in aven; awaking, he dictated to his vants the hymn in question, the words which he had heard in his dream.

That Dunstan was one of the greatest and most remarkable of the Anglo-Saxon churchmen, is conceded even by those whose estimate of his character is very different from that painted by the present writer. For centuries the monk-historians were in the habit of painting Dunstan as one of the noblest and purest figures in the story of the Church of England; as one who in a singular degree had won the special favour of the Most High; as one who on earth had been permitted to exercise powers not usually granted to the ordinary sons of men, and who, after death, was privileged to approach the throne of God laden with the blessed burden of prayers and supplications which had been offered by men still engaged in the battle of life. In the great reaction which followed the downfall of the monastic orders, the motto, "*incende quod adorâsti*" ("Burn what thou hast been adoring"), has been in countless cases only too faithfully followed. The perhaps rather "indiscriminate mediæval adoration" of the great statesman and church reformer, has been changed into "the most hateful detraction"; and the student of English church history has been taught, alike in the manuals of his child-days, as in the graver and more scientific histories of his country, rather to loathe than to revere the memory of Dunstan. This popular view, expounded to a former generation at great length by scholars like Sharon Turner, has been stereotyped in quite late times by the bitter and caustic words even of writers of the first rank, such as Milman, the learned and eloquent dean of St. Paul's, and Hallam, the justly esteemed historian of the Middle Ages. The words of the former deserve to be quoted as supplying a good summary

of this popular view :—" Dunstan's life was a crusade—a cruel, unrelenting, yet but partially successful crusade against the



MS. OF THE HYMN, " KYRIE REX SPLENDENS."
(*From a Latin Antiphonary according to the "Salisbury use."* * *Early 15th century. British Museum.*)

married clergy, which, in truth, comprehended the whole secular (non-monastic) clergy of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Dunstan was, as it were, in a narrower sphere, among a ruder people, a phetic type and harbinger of Hildeb (Pope Gregory VII.). Like Hildebr in the spirit not of a sovereign, but of an hearted monk, he trampled royal power under his The scene at the corona of king Edwy, excepting horrible cruelties of whic was the prelude, and w belong to a more barba race, might seem to pre mankind for the humiliatio the emperor Henry IV. Canossa." * Hallam for the same low estimate.

Modern research has versed the judgment so v mently expressed by Eng writers of the post-Refor tion period. Dean Hook, in Life of Dunstan, though some hesitation, declines to dorse the old popular v Green, by ignoring the st pieces of accusation, shows cheaply he estimated th and sketches Dunstan as on the great " makers of Englar Freeman, with no uncer voice, unhesitatingly adopts ancient and monastic estin of the statesman-archbis and in a remarkable paragr thus gives his view : " Duns a name known to too many readers as the subject of one of the silliest of n astic legends, stands forth " (he is speal of the glorious reign of Edgar) " as

* The lines of the stave are in red.

* Milman : " Latin Christianity."

ding man in church and state. As the nister of Edred and Edgar, as the hoiada or Seneca who watched over the ll harmless childhood of the second helred, Dunstan is entitled to lasting d honourable renown." Dr. Stubbs ishop of Oxford), in his edition of the cient lives of Dunstan,* thus comments on the sweeping charges brought by Milman, quoted above: "For this invective, there is not in the writing of contemporaries, or in any authentic remains of Dunstan's legislation, the shadow of a foundation. What Dunstan did at Edwy's coronation he did by the order of the assembled Witan of the kingdom. The cruelties which are said to have followed are asserted on the authority of Osbern and Eadmer, the earlier of whom wrote nearly a century and a half after the death of Edwy, and depend on no other testimony. If ever they took place at all, they took place during Dunstan's exile. The charge of persecuting the married clergy is equally baseless."

* It is mainly to this edition of the ancient Lives Dunstan, by Bishop Stubbs, of Oxford, and the sterly introduction prefixed to them, that the dent is most indebted for the true estimate of great churchman. Various direct references made above to these "Memorials," published he great series issued under the direction of the ster of the Rolls; and the writer of this history tefully records his thanks for the light thus own by the eminent Oxford scholar upon a most ortant, but little known period of the history ur Church.

TRADITIONAL SITE OF DUNSTAN'S TOMB,
BY THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE HIGH ALTAR, IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

(*The diaper work on the right is supposed to mark the spot.*)

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH AT THE END OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

The "Canons" of Dunstan concerning Priests—Churches—Lay People—Archbishop Ethelgar—Si Elfric—Alphege—The "Laws of Ethelred"—Decrees of the Council of Enham—Captu Alphege by the Danes—His Martyrdom—The Homilies of Elfric—Their Importance—Doc of Radbertus concerning the Real Presence—The Controversy—Elfric—His Paschal Homily its Teaching—Probable Indebtedness to it of Hooker—Elfric's Epistle still clearer—El Doctrine traceable to the School of York and its great Teachers—Use of Latin in the Chur Translations—Marriage—Sunday Observance—Ordination of Bishops—of Priests—Marria Trial by Ordeal.

THE discipline and practice of the Church of England in the times of Odo and Dunstan, when Edgar and the princes of the illustrious line of Alfred were reigning, show that no little attention was paid to order and duty in the church. We get some insight into the inner life of the clergy, and we gather some knowledge of what was expected from them, from the "Canons" of Dunstan. The exact date of this interesting and curious document is uncertain. Its title, "Canons made in king Edgar's reign," only tells us that it must have been put out during the time of Dunstan's great influence as the minister and principal adviser of the crown. The "canons" are mostly concerned with the life and duties of the clergy;* but there are certain things specially enjoined upon the Christian laity.

The clergy, who are addressed as "God's servants," are charged diligently to perform their service and ministry to God, and to intercede for all Christian folk. They are enjoined to be faithful and obedient to their superiors in the church, and this faithfulness and truth is also to be shown in their relations to the state. Loyalty to their *earthly* lords is a par their duty. Every year they are to n in synod. There they are to m reports as to the conduct of the pe under their charge, as to their behav to their spiritual guides, as to t bearing towards the church; particul to note any man in their peculiar dis who had fallen into any mortal crime. curious direction appears in the matte their attendance at their yearly sy The clergy are to carry with them t vestments and service books for di ministration, and to bring their ink parchment for writing down any instruct they might receive there. This last sh that at least all clergy were expected t able to write freely and with ease. T were to carry no lawsuits between other before secular courts. Their order must supply judges in such mat Particularly were they warned aga haughtiness towards other men. "Le noble-born priest despise one of less n birth, for all men were of one orig This direction tells us that a fair portion at least of the clergy belonge the class of nobles and thanes in t days, and reminds us that the servic the church was by no means desp

* Compare Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops—Dunstan."

ong the higher ranks of the Anglo-
ons: no slight indication, in such war-
ing days, of the power and influence
the church.

The priest in Dunstan's administration
st avoid field sports. "He must be no
ter or hawker"; he was to avoid games
chance; "he must be no player of
, but must divert himself with a book,
becometh his order." Again and again
find study and reading enjoined upon
clergy of the tenth and eleventh
turies. Strangely enough, the priest
the church presided over by Dunstan
ever warned against marriage. Indeed,
nstan himself seems to have behaved
extreme gentleness in this, one of the
ning questions of the time. Only a
et reminder appears, urging the priest
t to love too much the company of
nen, but to love his lawful wife—that
is church." The clergy are to guard
nselves against over-drinking, and to
h the same to other men: drunken-
evidently seems to have been a
tting sin among the people. They
to be the teachers of the people.
ial directions are given respecting the
lars they were to receive. Manual
were not to be neglected in their
ols. Dunstan himself we know was
nean artificer in gold and silver, and
also an artist. This working with the
ls as well as with the brain is again
t upon, in the exhortation that the
t was diligently to instruct the youth,
to dispose them to trades.

ery stringent are the injunctions re-
ing the reverent use of the churches.
e were to be rigidly kept for divine
stration and for pure services, and for
no other purpose. Mass was to be celebrated only in the church. The only exception was in the case of extreme sickness, and even then mass was never to be celebrated without a hallowed altar. The greatest care, too, was to be taken in the solemn ritual. No priest was ever to celebrate mass without a book being before his eyes, "lest he mistake," and to preserve this extreme accuracy, every priest was to take great care to have a good book—at least, a true one. Fasting was directed before partaking of the housel, or sacrament, except in the event of extreme sickness. The housel, or sacrament, was to be always in readiness; it was to be kept with diligence and purity, and if it became stale, was to be burnt in a clear fire, and the ashes were to be put under the altar. Vestments were to be worn whenever the priest celebrated mass. The chalice in which the housel, or sacrament, was hallowed was to be of metal-molten, never of wood. All things near the altar or belonging to the church were to be very cleanly and decently ordered. A light was always to be burning in the church when mass was being sung. The hours of service were to be notified by ringing the bells of the church; and lastly, no mass-priest or minister-priest was ever to come within the church door or into his stall without a stole.

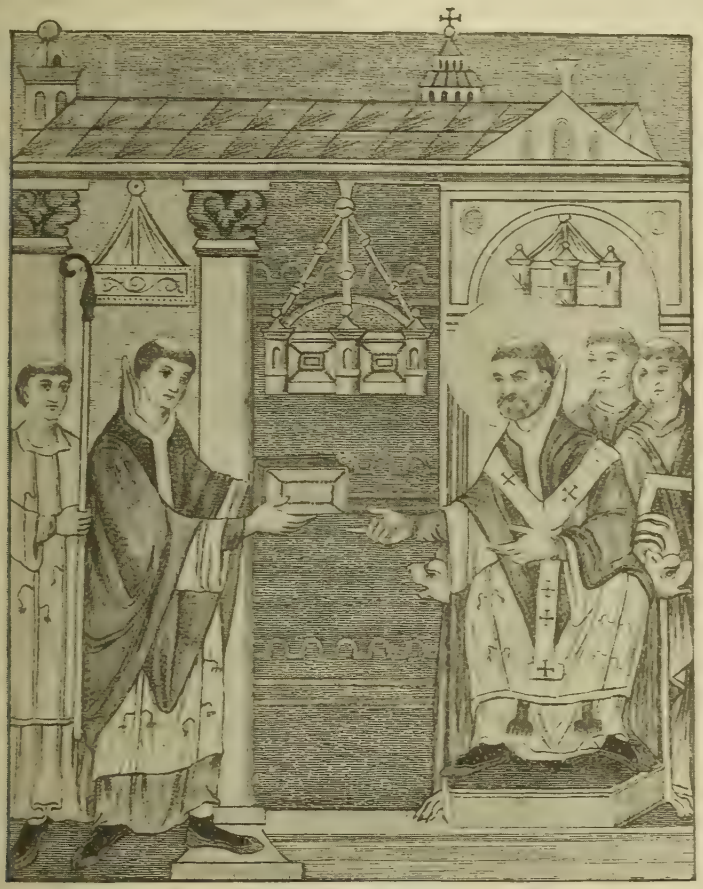
Dunstan's "canons" were in their variety of practical detail far-reaching; they also insisted upon a uniform ritual, and even upon a uniform way of reading in church—no doubt to avoid irreverence or carelessness in these most important particulars. "All the priests must use the same practice in relation to the service of the church,

and keep an equal pace in the church service through the course of the year." Alms were to be collected and "distributed as both to render God propitious and to dispose the people to alms-deeds." Baptism was to be regularly administered; it was to be given as soon as it was desired, and never delayed beyond thirty-seven nights. And no one was to remain too long unbishoped—that is, unconfirmed.

The injunctions or advice to *lay people* contained in these "canons" of Dunstan were, as might be expected, less numerous, and of a more general nature. Not a few of them evidently belonged to a people in whose families, more or less, pagan rites were familiarly practised and pagan traditions were honoured. With the Danish settlements under Guthrun, and other Vikings in the days of Alfred, and later, this strong pagan element in the country is easy to account for. Every Christian man, for instance, was diligently to win his child to Christianity and to teach him the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. Every man was to be expert in saying the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, as he desired to lie in holy ground or to be judged worthy of the housel (the sacrament). On holy-days men were to give up heathenish songs and diabolical sports. On Sundays they were to abstain from markets and the county courts. On festival and fast days oaths and the ordeal were to be forborne. Temperance was especially urged upon all entering within the walls of a church. No man was to expect to be buried in church unless he were known in his lifetime to have pleased God. They were to remember to be just in tithing and other matters. A curious charge appears, evidently directed against some heathen Da rite, that no Christian was to blood. In the direction that no wo was to come near the altar when was being sung, the influence of monkish training of Dunstan app Such a bias was rarely seen in Duns policy after he had risen to a pos of supreme authority. We also fin these "canons" directions as to reve burial of the dead.

The story of Ethelgar, Dunstan's cessor in the primacy of the Churc England, well illustrates the policy spirit of the great archbishop, who done so much to rekindle life and vi in the church during the reign of E and his immediate predecessors. Eth received his education at Glastonb where Dunstan had so long presided. became a Benedictine monk in the known educational house of Abing under Ethelwold, the famous and au disciple of Dunstan. This Ethelwold, it be remembered, was subsequently bi of Winchester, and was notorious as leader in the Church of England of violent proceedings which were, later eject the married clerks from the relig houses and minster churches, and to place them with Benedictine monks. these severe and often cruel acts Et wold went far beyond the example, perhaps the wishes of Dunstan. Ethe was a favourite pupil of Ethelwold, appointed him abbot of Newminster Winchester. But he also never app to have sympathised with the s measures of his master, Ethelwold, when in the year 980 he was, through D stan's influence, appointed to the bisho

Selsey, during his eight years of rule in South Wessex diocese, he allowed the ular clergy of the Selsey cathedral urch to remain undisturbed in their advance and foster true monasticism in her bosom, and with it the cause of education; but his wise and gentle conduct in not displacing the Selsey clerks showed



BP PRESENTING A BOOK OF PRAYER TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. AUGUSTINE, SHOWING THE DRESS OF ABBOT AND ARCHBISHOP, FROM A 10TH CENTURY MS.*

*(From Strutt's Dress and Habits of the English People.)*

s. His appointment to the see of erbury showed that the wise, con- tory policy of Dunstan was by many sed to be the dominant policy of the ch. As a Benedictine monk, there d be no question as to his desire to that as primate he had no intention of changing the quiet policy of Dunstan in the matter of the clerks and secular clergy

* This MS., now in the British Museum, was formerly in the possession of the monastery of St. Augustine.

of Canterbury, and in other places where the authority and influence of the archbishop was dominant. But Ethelgar, unfortunately, died within a year of his translation to the arch-see.

His successor in the primacy was another pupil of Glastonbury, who through Dunstan's influence had been preferred to the abbot's chair of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and later, through the same influence, in the year 985 had been chosen bishop of the small see of Ramsbury, a Wessex bishopric founded by archbishop Plegmund, in the days of Alfred. Siric was a great scholar, and collected a precious library, which he bequeathed to the metropolitan cathedral. Once more we find the archbishop one of the advisers of the crown: not perhaps a very wise one, for to Siric's advice is credited Ethelred's fatal policy of continually purchasing a temporary peace from the Viking invaders. The first of the many of these shameful ransoms, through Siric's advice was paid after the great defeat of the Anglo-Saxon forces at Maldon, so graphically painted in the poem we find in the Saxon Chronicle. He seems, from the scant notice of the Worcester Chronicle, to have been a foe to the secular clergy, and to have introduced monks into Canterbury. He died, however, after a brief episcopate of some four or five years, leaving a reputation of being a great scholar and patron of learning; but something more was needed for one filling his great office in those troublous days of Ethelred the Unready.

In the story of the Church of England, Siric the scholar will be ever remembered owing to his having adopted and sanctioned the famous *Homilies* of Elfric, as authoritative pieces of theology. The i diate reason of their public adoption b archbishop seems to have been as fo In the "canons" of Dunstan, promul some years previously, directions were to the English clergy that a sermon s be preached every Sunday. The ex difficulty of providing this sermon evid pressed hardly upon many of the A Saxon priests. To lighten this bu Siric allowed a collection of homili which he gave the full weight of his episcopal sanction, to be read instead prescribed sermon in all the church the land. The homilies in question composed by Elfric, a very learned of Abingdon, a pupil of the note bishop Ethelwold of Winchester, who under Ethelwold became a distinguished teacher and write Winchester. To these homilies and writings of Elfric, and their extreme portance in the history of the Chur England, we shall presently refer particularly.

Siric was followed at Canterbur Elfric the grammarian, the author o Homilies, who at the time of his ele was bishop of Ramsbury. The poli Siric in replacing the secular clergy steadily continued by Elfric. Durin episcopate (994 to 1006), some twelve the terror of the Danish invasion br over England—an ever-darkening Assuming with the latest scholarly w the identity of Elfric the grammarian Elfric the archbishop of Canterbur chief title to honour is his pr scholarship. "In him we see the t

* Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbi Freeman: "The Norman Conquest."

religious and educational populariser. aids the raw teacher with an English nmar of Latin. He helps the unlearned st by providing for him eighty English ilies as a course of teaching for the . He assists bishop Wulfsine and arch-op Wulfstan by furnishing them with oral letters to their clergy. His homilies e so greedily read, that his admirers ged from him some English lives of saints; and the prayer of a friend, elweard, drew him into editing and ing an English version of the Bible, ch, omitting some parts, as he judged, dify ing for the times, he carried on from esis to the Book of Judges." * The on Chronicle thus quaintly writes of : "In this year, 995, archbishop Sigaric , and Elfric, bishop of Wiltshire, was en on Easter day at Amesbury by Ægelred (Ethelred) and by all his in. This Elfric was a very wise man, at there was no sager man in England, when he came thither he was received hose men in orders, who were most ceptable to him, that was, by clerks." ied in 1006, and was buried in his e monastic school of Abingdon.

Eric's successor, Elfheah, generally on in ecclesiastical history as Alphege, ies one of the more prominent places te roll of great archbishops. Elfric a scholar and a theologian of the st class, and his writings have in-ed the teaching of the Church of nd in a way probably quite un-ed of by him or his contemporaries; a statesman or a churchman he was atively little heard of in this age

* Green: "Conquest of England."

of war and sorrow. Not so the man who followed him in the chair of St. Augustine. Alphege was no recluse scholar. It was in the gloomiest period of Ethelred's unhappy reign that Elfric died. The vengeance of Sweyn for the massacre of St. Brice's day had reduced the whole country to the extreme of misery. Every shire in Wessex was scarred with flame and desolation. It was under such circumstances that Alphege (the Benedictine monk of Deerhurst, the bishop of Winchester) was called to preside over the English church.

"His virtues were those which at that time were specially admired and esteemed. He was inflexible and stern, abundant in alms-deeds, and a rebuker of the rich; severe to others but severer to himself, the reality of his asceticism being testified by his very appearance. It was told of him that in winter he would rise at midnight, and, issuing unseen from his house, would kneel, exposed to the chill night air, while praying barefoot without his coat. Flesh he never touched, except on extraordinary occasions; his body was so attenuated that it is said when he held up his hand the light was seen through it. The people, in despair, not knowing where to look for human help, and feeling that they deserved the Divine malediction, hailed the election of Alphege to the see of Canterbury with one burst of applause. He was translated from Winchester; on his departure from which see, all Hampshire escorted him to the borders of the county, and his entrance to Canterbury was like the entrance of a victorious general." *

During this period of disaster and

* Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops."

suffering there is no doubt that the church exerted a great and beneficent influence over the lives of men. "The nation was deeply religious; the church was deeply national." Side by side, in the great popular assemblies, sat the bishops and the aldermen, and the legislation of king Ethelred, framed in the intervals of quiet, shows how deep and far-reaching was the influence of the church in the early years of the eleventh century.

After the elevation of Alphege to the archbishopric there were several intervals of comparative quiet—notably during the years 1008 and 1009. Some of the important legislation, generally known as "the laws of Ethelred," belongs certainly to this period, and throws considerable light upon the state of public feeling at this time, and reminds us how powerfully the church under such a ruler as Alphege influenced men's minds. "The whole of one of the statutes or collections of these laws, reads like an act of penitence on the part of a repentant nation, awakened by misfortune to a sense of national sins. Heathenism is to be cast out, an ordinance which shows what had been the effect of the Danish invasions. . . . Punishments were to be mild; death especially is to be sparingly inflicted. Christian and innocent men are not to be sold out of the land. . . . All church dues are to be regularly paid, and all festivals to be regularly kept, especially the festival of the newest English saint, the martyred king Edward (king Ethelred's brother). The whole is wound up with a pious and patriotic resolve of real and impressive solemnity. The nation pledges itself to fidelity to God and the king. It will worship one God, and be true to one lord. It will manfully and with one a defend life and law, and will pray earn to God Almighty for His help." *

Somewhat later are the decrees w we possess of the undated Counc Enham. Many of the above enactm are repeated; and while a spirit of e siasticism runs through them, it is noble ecclesiasticism which, while en vouring to enforce a pure and pat rule of life, believes that only unde guidance of the church is such a ru life likely to be carried out. The ea and self-denying archbishop Alphege evidently one, if not the principal, o wise and patriotic men who dictated legislation.

The death of Alphege was a fitting to the life of this remarkable man. In year 1011, in the month of Septembe the course of their destructive raids—r which, as the years of Ethelred's fatal r drew towards their close, became more more terrible—a Viking army appe before Canterbury. After twenty day siege the city was betrayed, and the D entered the unhappy city as conque We have four accounts of this mou episode, which among many dread ev of these unhappy days stands out wi sad prominence, owing to the exalted and the high character of the prin sufferer. The earlier accounts are s as to any general massacre, or as to horrible barbarities dwelt on with passion by Florence of Worcester an Osbern, the precentor of Canterbury u the Norman Lanfranc. The Chronicles a picture only of plunder and captivity

* Freeman: "Norman Conquest."

us how, when the Danes had searched city thoroughly, they went to their s with their booty and their captives,

ALPHEGE BROUGHT BEFORE THE DANES.

gst whom was the archbishop Al-e. But harrowing details of the hter and burning of the citizens, of l en being tossed on spears, and of horrors not, alas! unknown in those le Danish wars, are dwelt upon in detail by the writers Florence and Osbern. It is possible that some exaggeration may mar these accounts, written about a hundred years after the event, but terrible suffering and many deaths were without doubt the result of such a capture by the Viking invaders. A great ransom was demanded by the Danes as the price of the release of the archbishop. This at first

he promised to pay, and the Danes, in expectation of receiving it, kept him in close captivity in their ships. His friends were willing and anxious to pay the ransom demanded, offering to sell the church plate throughout the province to make up the required sum. But Alphege refused to allow any such sacrifice to be made for him. "Nothing," he said, "should be paid for him. He had sinned in promising a ransom. The treasures belonging to the church should never be given to the pagans to free him."

Seven months of captivity passed. The Vikings were encamped at Greenwich, on the banks of the Thames. The archbishop was threatened that if in eight days the stipulated ransom was not forthcoming, his life would be forfeited. On the vigil of Easter, 1012, the Danes held a great feast, and caused the archbishop to be brought into the hall where they were feasting. They loudly called on him to pay the ransom. Alphege firmly refused. "They might deal," he said, "with him as they pleased." "Silver and gold," runs the story, repeating the archbishop's brave words, "have I none; what I have will I freely give you—the knowledge of the one true God." The table of the revellers was strewn with great bones of oxen, the relics of their feast, and the savage Vikings were inflamed with wine. Someone threw at the pale, austere man who defied them, one of these ox-bones. The example of the half-drunk Viking was followed by a shower of bones and other missiles from the rest. The old man fell on the floor grievously hurt and writhing in great agony, but he was not dead. A Dane who stood by, named Thrym, a Christian owing his conversion to Alphege, was moved pity when he looked on the poor bat form lying on the ground in the mid the savage group of enemies, and s that the archbishop was wounded to d resolved to put him out of his lifting up his heavy battle-axe, with blow he clave in twain the archbis skull.

When the effects of the wild ca were passed, even the fierce Viking remorse for their cruel deed. Durin seven months' captivity among t Alphege had done many a kindly ac and had won some, like Thrym the Vi who had struck the merciful death- to his Master's side. Without ransom body of the murdered archbishop delivered up to his friends. It was bro with great ceremony, as the body martyr, to London, and with all ho was interred in the minster church o Paul. After ten years the remains o martyred archbishop were taken St. Paul's to the Danish king's royal b richly adorned and gilded, and, escorte the chief members of Canute's court, conveyed to Canterbury, where wit solemnity they were laid by the side o illustrious predecessor, Dunstan. H ceived at once from the people of Eng the title and honours of a martyr, and sequent writers have naturally surrou his name with a halo of legendary mir The claim of Alphege to the martyr's was rejected by his Norman succ Lanfranc; but posterity generally end the decision of the gentler and loving Anselm, who supported the cla the English saint to be ranked amon "noble army," on the ground that Al

in the cause of Christian forbearance charity, declining to accept his life at price of the plunder of his church and ple.

et us now consider more in detail teaching of the "Homilies of Elfric." y are specially important because re-enting the *doctrine* of the Church of land—the strong Anglo-Saxon church, rmed and revivified by the influence of stan and his powerful and earnest ol. Important also because, *formally tioned* by the archbishop of Canter-, Siric, these homilies must be ed upon as authoritative expositions of rine. They represented also, with-doubt, the teaching of the greatest lars and theologians of the age of riemagne and his imperial successor; far on in our momentous story, we see how powerfully they influenced opinions of the great English divines, he time of the Reformation in the enth century.

l is not the historian's province to ulate any opinion on grave doctrinal ctions. Thus, it is not his province to ounce the views promulgated by hasius Radbertus, monk and abbot of monastery of old Corbey, in Picardy, subsequently endorsed and amplified e Norman Lanfranc and the Roman l, erroneous and novel; nor to set t in detail the refutation of these dis-t views by the great Frankish scholars d divines, endorsed by archbishops i and Elfric and the Anglo-Saxon h as right and just, and as repre-ng primitive Catholic orthodoxy. But i the proper work of any historian of the Church of England to set forth plainly and without comment what a great church like the Anglo-Saxon church of Dunstan, Ethelwolf of Winchester, and Elfric the grammarian taught as authoritative doctrine; and to set it forth, as far as possible, in the simple words sanctioned by men who presided over that church and her fortunes.

In the Catholic church, for the first eight centuries, while the deepest reverence for the Body of Christ received in the Eucharist was general, no special attention was directed to the momentous question how far the reception of that Body was spiritual and heavenly, or carnal and natural. "This sacrament — the Eucharist — from the earliest times had withdrawn into the most profound mystery; it had been guarded with the most solemn reverence, shrouded in the most impressive ceremonial. It had become, as it were, the holy of holies of the religion, in which the presence of the Godhead was only the more solemn from the surrounding darkness. That presence had as yet been unapproached by profane and searching controversy, had been undefiled by canon, neither agitated before council, nor determined by pope. During all these centuries no language had been thought too strong to express the overpowering awe and reverence of the worshippers. . . . . Christ's real presence was in some indescribable manner in the Eucharist; but, under the notion of the real presence, might meet conceptions the most dissimilar, ranging from the most subtle spiritualism to the most gross materialism . . . ." It was the naked theory of Paschasius Radbertus, put out about

844, "which startled some of the more reflective minds." *

Somewhere about the year 826 this Paschasius Radbertus, a learned monk and teacher, and afterwards abbot of the religious house of old Corbey, in Picardy, was asked by a former pupil who was presiding over the daughter-house of new Corbey in Westphalia, to compile a treatise on the Eucharist for the instruction of the young scholars under his direction. The learned Benedictine, Mabillon, represents Radbertus' chief principles to be: (1) Christ's true body and blood are in the Eucharist; (2) the substance of bread and wine exist no longer after consecration; (3) the Body is no other than the one which was born of the Virgin Mary. From these propositions the monk of Corbey deduced the following consequences: that Christ is truly immolated in a mystery every day; that the Eucharist is both truth and figure; that it is not liable to digestion and other incidents of ordinary food. He does not use the famous word "transubstantiation." The first inventor of that name was a bishop Stephen,† who lived about a century before the fourth Council of Lateran, which first dogmatically established that doctrine in 1215.

Radbertus' theory certainly differed from much that springs from the later Romish conception, by not allowing the possibility of eating Christ's body by wicked men; but he followed that Romish doctrine out into its grossest consequences

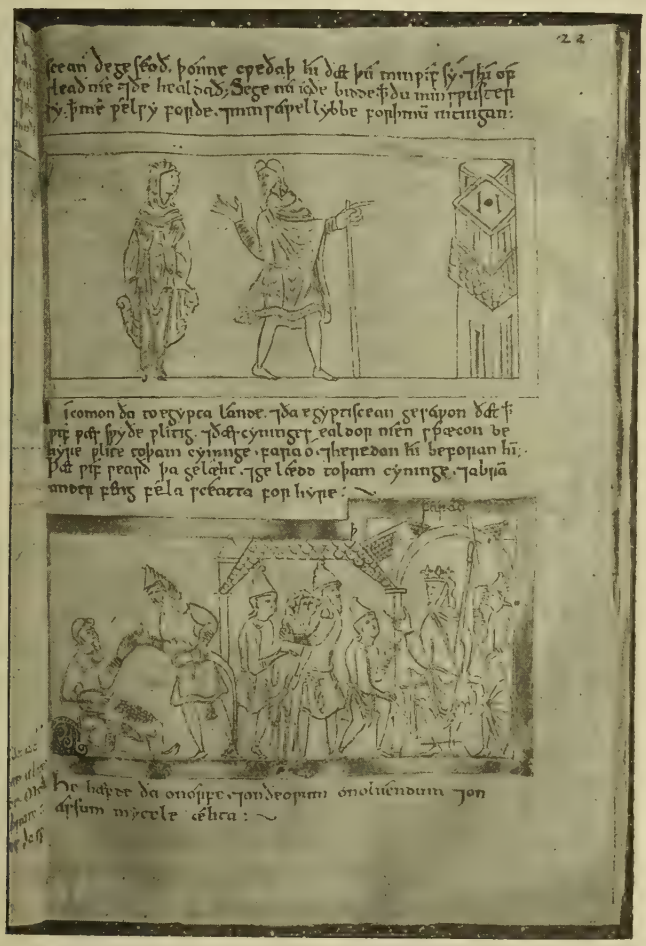
* Milman: "Latin Christianity," book vi., chap. ii.

† Stephen was Bishop of Augustodunum (Autun). The expression occurs in his book "De Sacramento Altaris," written about the year 1100, or a little later.

—the miracles of the Host bleedin
suming a human form, that of a chil
This treatise of Radbertus on s
portant a subject attracted consid
attention, and was presented to the F
ish sovereign, Charles le Chauve
propositions were soon hotly disput
some of the most learned and ac
theologians of the age. Johannes S
Erigena, prominent among Eur
scholars, addressed an attack upon
Charles le Chauve, and Ratramn, an
learned monk of Corbey, being comm
by the king to examine the work,
strongly against it. Among its e
and most determined opponents wa
distinguished archbishop of Mainz,
banus Maurus, whom Baronius spea
as "profoundly learned," as the "bri
star of Germany," and whom Bellar
in similar laudatory terms does not
tate to style a man "equally an exa
of piety and erudition." This st
Eucharistic controversy, which had
far-reaching consequences, was first a
ing the minds of contemporary theolo
in the days of Ethelwolf, Alfred's f
and during the times of the great A
The chronology of the controversy m
stated roughly as follows:—Radb
presented his treatise to the Fra
king about A.D. 844; the archbish
Mainz wrote his famous treatise agai
some time before his death in
Johannes Scotus Erigena controver
about the middle or latter end o
ninth century; Ratramn probably d
the latter half of the same century;
Elfric put forth his treatise about 99

Elfric, the famous Anglo-Saxon
and theologian, was no mythic perso

though considerable difference of opinion
xists as to his later position in the church,
e know sufficient respecting his early and



PAGE FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT TRANSLATION OF ELFRIC, CONTAINING GEN. XII. 6—12, AND ILLUSTRATING THE STORY OF ABRAHAM AND HIS WIFE IN EGYPT.

(*Late 10th or early 11th century. British Museum.*)

nddle life, in which period of his career
nst, if not all, of his important writings
ve composed and put out, to base our
sertions respecting his careful theo-
ogical training, and to establish our certain

conclusions as to the English school of thought in which he was brought up. He was a scholar of the celebrated school of Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, the favourite pupil of Dunstan at Glastonbury. Elfric alludes to his veneration for the stern old man Ethelwold, who, besides his great learning, was notorious for his abhorrence

of marriage among the clergy. After Ethelwold's days Alphege the martyr, archbishop of Canterbury, before he was translated to Canterbury, was bishop of Winchester, and by him Elfric was appointed abbot of the newly-founded monastery of Cerne, in Dorsetshire. It was in this period of his busy life that Elfric composed those "Homilies" and those two well-known Epistles, which exercised so undreamed-of an influence, centuries later, over the theology of the English Church. Amongst other writings of this great scholar and teacher was a Latin grammar, compiled in English, from which useful and popular work he obtained the title by which he is often called, "the Grammarian." He also wrote a "Life of Ethelwold," his old master, and a body of monastic discipline, etc.

It is subsequent to his holding the abbacy of Cerne that difference of opinion exists as to Elfric's further career. In this history we follow, concerning that career, the opinions adopted by the two responsible writers * who have given us the latest fruits of the long-protracted discussions on the subject. From the abbey of Cerne he was preferred to the little bishopric of Romsey, and from Romsey, on the death of his friend and patron, archbishop Siric, was translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury. This was in 995. He held the arch-see for about ten years, dying in 1005. Other writers, among whom must be reckoned Mr. Soames, the scholarly historian of the theological writings of this important period, identify Elfric the grammarian with Elfric the archbishop of York. Save that the after-life of so tinguished a scholar and writer is a subj of interest to the historical student, question whether Elfric the grammar was archbishop of Canterbury, or of Yo or whether he closed his useful life abbot of a distant and little known mon tery, is of no importance whatever in theological point of view, and does not the least affect the value of his fam theological pieces, or touch their author These were written evidently by a sim monk and priest, who had perhaps attai to the rank of abbot; but they were *for ally sanctioned* by the scholarly archbish of Canterbury, Siric, as authoritat documents to be used publicly in Church of England. All other questi belong to a later period of Elfric's life

The "Homilies" and the two "Epistle as they are usually termed, are by far most important of the works of Elf There are two volumes of these treati or sermons, prepared for popular use; th consist of discourses on subjects chie Scriptural; much of them largely deriv from writings of well-known fathers of church, such as Augustine, Jerome, Be Gregory. Each volume contains fo homilies. These were transmitted to Si archbishop of Canterbury, for his conside tion and approval, and an elaborate dication of the first volume of th homilies to archbishop Siric is prefix It is somewhat long, but we give one two interesting extracts. "In the name the Lord, I, Elfric, a scholar of the be volent and venerable prelate, Ethelw (of Winchester), send greeting to master in the Lord, archbishop Siric . . We have in this book given fo

* Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops." Prof. Freeman: "Norman Conquest."

courses [he is speaking of the first ume alone], thinking this sufficient for faithful throughout the year if they be d through to them in the church by d's ministers. We have in hand indeed ther book" [alluding to the second ume], and he advises "that one be read ough in one year in God's church, the other in the year following, that e not tedious to the auditors." He ds up by saying, "I earnestly entreat r benignity, most benevolent father c, to deign to correct by your ustry any blemishes or mischievous esy or misty errors which you may over."

o these homilies, when collected, Siric learned archbishop of Canterbury gave full weight of his sanction, and *desired n to be read in all the churches of the d.* They would probably have been otten now, however, but for the norable one termed the "Paschal nily," which has attracted in all times t attention, as showing what was the oritative doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon rch on the question which has exercised any earnest and devout minds, respect- the nature of the Presence in the harist. This Paschal Homily was used largely adopted by the great Refor- on teachers in the sixteenth century; from its importance in the doctrinal ory of the Church of England, we have ed well to give here some considerable acts from it. Great use was made, he learned composer, of the treatise he same subject already written by amn, the monk of Corbey, at the est of king Charles le Chauve of ce, a little more than a century before.

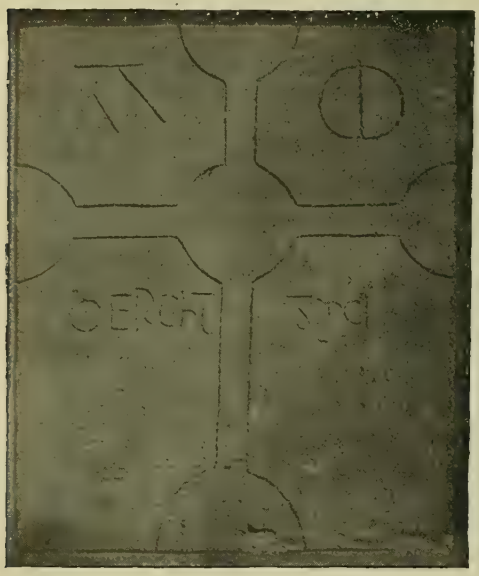
The more important passages in the homily are the following:—

"Certain men have often inquired, and yet frequently inquire, how the bread which is prepared from corn, and baked by the heat of fire, can be changed to Christ's body; or the wine which is wrung from many berries, can by any blessing be changed to the Lord's blood? Now we say to such men that some things are said of Christ typically, some literally. . . . He is called bread typically, and lamb and lion, and whatever else: . . . But yet, according to true nature, Christ is neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why, then, is the holy housel [the sacrament] called Christ's body, or his blood, if it is not truly that which it is called? . . . Without, they appear bread and wine, both in aspect and in taste, but they are truly, after the hallowing, Christ's body and his blood, through a ghostly mystery. . . . If we behold the holy housel [the sacrament] in a bodily sense, then we see that it is a corrupt and changeable creature; but if we distinguish the ghostly might therein, then understand we that there is life in it, and that it gives immortality to those who partake of it with belief.

"Great is the difference between the invisible might of the holy housel (the sacrament) and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and it is, by the power of the divine word, truly Christ's body and his blood; not, however, bodily, but spiritually.

"Great is the difference between the body in which Christ suffered, and the body which is hallowed for housel [sacrament]. The body, verily, in which Christ

suffered was born of Mary's flesh, with blood and with bones, with skin and with sinews, with human limbs quickened by a rational soul; and his ghostly body, which we call housel [sacrament], is gathered of many corns; without blood and bone, limbless and soulless, and there is therefore nothing therein to be understood bodily,



TOMBSTONE OF A NUN, 10TH CENTURY. FROM A NUNNERY AT HARTLEPOOL (DURHAM CATHEDRAL).

(*From photo by C. P. MacCarthy, Esq.*)

but all is to be understood spiritually. . . . Verily Christ's body, which suffered death and from death arose, will henceforth never die, but is eternal and impassible. The housel [sacrament] is temporary, not eternal—corruptible. . . . This mystery is a pledge and symbol; Christ's body is truth. This pledge we hold mystically, until we come to the truth, and then will this pledge be ended. But it is, as we before said, Christ's body and his blood, not bodily, spiritually. Ye are not to inquire ho is done, but to hold in your belief th is so done."

The concluding words of the a quotation from Elfric's "Paschal Hom no doubt suggested the well-known graph which closes Hooker's mas summary of the Church of England's ception of the doctrine of the sacra of the Lord's Supper; which, alth written by him some three centuries is still prized among us by learned sober-minded scholars of our church, a the whole the truest view of the doctrine which we possess. "What elements are in themselves it skilleth it is enough that to me which take they are the body and blood of Christ promise and witness hereof sufficeth word he knoweth which way to accom Why should any cogitation possess mind of the faithful communicant but 'O my God, thou art true; O my thou art happy.'" *

"We may perhaps in all this [wo Elfric] see the remaining influence of great Theodore of Tarsus (archbisho Canterbury 668–690); for in the Ea church, though a change was unques ably acknowledged after the consecr of the bread and wine, it was hel be of a mystical and sacramental na conformably to the teaching of great doctors, Basil, Chrysostom, Theodoret." †

Of Elfric's extant writings the Pa

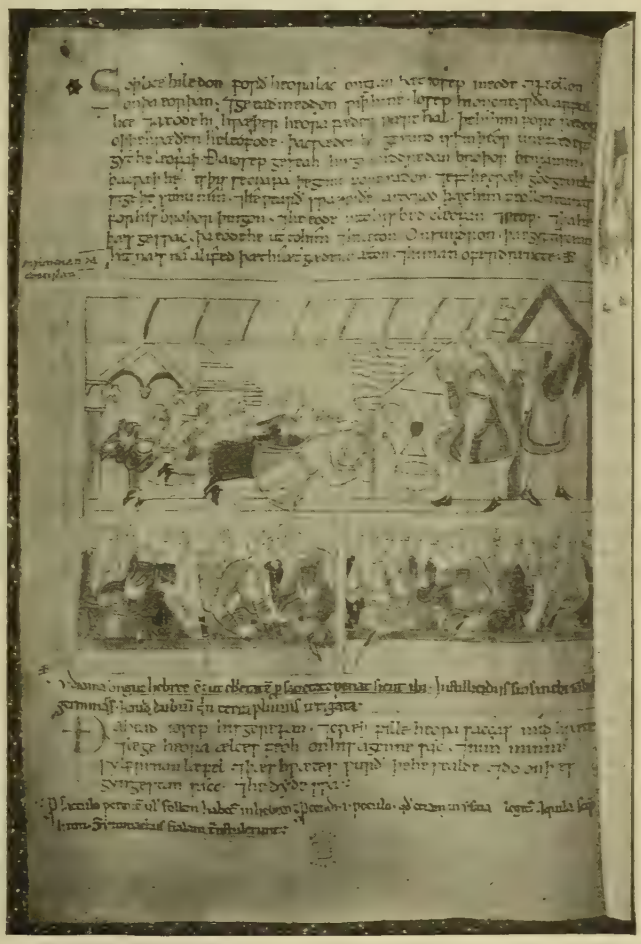
* "Ecclesiastical Polity," book v., chap. lxv

† Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbisho Elfric.

mily is the most often quoted as ex-
essive of the mind of the Anglo-Saxon
urch of Dunstan and his immediate
cessors, because it is an
*thoritative* document, for-
lly sanctioned by arch-
hop Siric, and desired by
n to be read in all the
urches of the land; but
possess even stronger,
d if possible clearer ex-
sitions of his, of the
mentous and anxiously
puted doctrine. The fol-
ing passage occurs in
"Epistle," addressed to
shop Wulfsine (of Sher-
rne), composed at that
elate's desire, and prob-
y used by him as an
scopal charge to his
rgy. It is known generally
"Epistola de Canonibus,"
d is a general account of
h canonical regulations
the writer thought most
terial for the guidance
the clergy. In the
rse of this epistle occur
following words:—

That housel [sacrament]
Christ's body, not bodily,
ghostly. Not the body
ch he suffered in, but
body of which he spake
en he blessed bread and
e to housel a night be-
his suffering, and said by the blessed
nd, 'This is my body,' and again by
holy wine, 'This is my blood, which is
d for many in forgiveness of sins.'"

Another important and most interesting passage of Elfric deserves to be quoted. It occurs in what is called Elfric's second



PAGE FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT TRANSLATION OF ELFRIC, CONTAINING GEN. XLIII. 25—XLIV. 2, ILLUSTRATING THE STORY OF JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN IN EGYPT.

(*Late 10th or early 11th century.*)

"epistle," which scholars believe was addressed to archbishop Wulfstan of York, and is entitled, "De secunda epistola quando dividitur Chrisma." "The

Lord which hallowed housel before his suffering, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood; he halloweth daily, by the hands of the priest, bread to his body, and wine to his blood, in ghostly mystery; . . . and yet that lively bread is not, however, bodily the self-same body that Christ suffered in. Nor is that holy wine the Saviour's blood which was shed for us in corporeal reality. But in ghostly meaning both that bread is truly his body, and that wine also his blood, even as the heavenly bread which we call manna, that fed forty years God's people, and the clear water which did then run from the stone in the wilderness was truly his blood, as Paul wrote in one of his epistles: 'All our fathers ate in the wilderness the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink: they drank of that ghostly stone, and that stone was Christ.' The apostle hath said, as you now have heard, that they all did eat the same ghostly meat, and they all did drink the same ghostly drink. And he saith, not bodily but ghostly. And Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when that the people of Israel ate that meat, and drank of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Christ, though he so said.* It was the same mystery in the old law, and they did ghostly signify that ghostly housel of our Saviour's body which we consecrate now."

Some writers, acknowledging the weight of Elfric's authoritative testimony, h suggested that the great homilist, althou a witness who cannot be set aside of doctrine of the church of Dunstan and school, must not be taken as a faith expositor of the faith of the Anglo-Sax church before the times of Dunstan. reply to such suggestions, which have b gravely advanced, it must be remembe that the *first* determined opponents of views and doctrine of Paschasius Radbert so clearly and decisively combated by El in his homilies and epistles, were great profound Frankish scholars, among wh we find the universally honoured names Johannes Scotus Erigena, and the gr archbishop of Mainz, Rabanus Maurus. was *their* teaching which Elfric, in t question of the doctrine of the presence the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, clos followed. Johannes Scotus Erigena a archbishop Rabanus Maurus were eit pupils or followers of *Alcuin*, Char magne's friend and adviser in all matters education. And Alcuin was trained in t school of *York*, the principal theologi school of the Anglo-Saxon church bef the days of Alfred. Nor was Alcuin o a pupil of the York school; he beca its master—its most famous mast Johannes Scotus Erigena and archbish Rabanus Maurus, loved pupils or disciples Alcuin, followed by Elfric in their teachi therefore *represented the cherished tra tions of York*, that most illustrious sch of Anglo-Saxon theology, renowned only in England, but throughout length and breadth of the whole west Catholic Church. The teaching of El was thus no novelty, devised in the d of Dunstan and his school, but was su

* The word translated "*ghostly*," from the Anglo-Saxon of the above quoted passages in Elfric's epistles, it will be remembered, is rendered in our version of St. Paul's Epistles "*spiritual*," and the word *stone*, in our version of the New Testament is rendered *rock*.

erited from the greatest days of the glo-Saxon church, from men like archhop Egbert of York, who was Bede's ciple, and archbishop Albert, Egbert's pil and illustrious successor.

While, however, the Eucharistic doc-ne of that powerful and influential rch of Dunstan and his school, based it was on the traditions of Alcuin and great school of York, has strongly nmended itself in later ages to the hers of the Reformation of the sixteenth ntury, who revised the formularies which clare the present teaching of the Church England, there were some usages and ctrines in that Anglo-Saxon church ich have since been condemned as mis-ken; as resting neither upon Scriptural sis, nor even upon the known practice the primitive church.*

The liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon church s in *Latin*. Much has been urged in our of prayer and praise, ascending to throne of God *in one language*—from minsters of Canterbury and Paris, Cologne and Rome. That the church so many and such varying nation-lies should use in their solemn ser-es one tongue, one form of words, been justly pressed as a triumphant ever-present witness to the Unity western Christendom. The universal of the Latin tongue—the tongue of me—was also no doubt an indirect but erful assistance to the gradually in-sing pretensions of the bishops of that great see to a universal, though perhaps at first an undefined authority over all the churches of the west. And it is true that after the vigorous measures taken by king Alfred, and more especially after the widely extended facilities for education provided in the reforms of Dunstan and his school, Latin, which, king Alfred tells us, was a dead and almost unknown language among the ecclesiastics of his time, was by the majority of the clergy fairly well known. Still, outside the clergy and the monks, the large majority of the people were totally ignorant of the tongue.

To remedy this, men like Elfric provided Anglo-Saxon versions of the Lord's prayer, the creeds, and other important theological pieces; versions, paraphrases, and in some cases abridgments of many of the books of the Old Testament; and even homilies, in the native dialect, to be read in the place of sermons in public worship. "The teachers should tell the lay people the meaning of the prayers and creeds, that they may know *what* they are praying to God for, and *how* they should believe in God." And thus the danger, which arose from the fact of the liturgy being in a comparatively speaking unknown tongue, was among the Anglo-Saxons in some respects minimised and guarded against, by certain safeguards, which in later ages were too often unfortunately neglected.

Elfric's translation of parts of the Old Testament from the Latin, has already been noticed. It does not appear that any complete vernacular translation of the Scripture existed in the Anglo-Saxon church. The Bible was evidently considered as a Latin book, and texts were

*Notably the strange doctrine alluded to in lfric's official writings, which asserted that the a was profitable both to the living and the

generally cited in that language, and then reproduced in the native idiom. The four Gospels, however, had been translated into Anglo-Saxon, perhaps as early as the eighth century. Elfric's work included the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and some parts of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Esther, and Maccabees. The Latin version of St. Jerome was, no doubt, the version current in the church of Dunstan and his pupils.

A strict observance of Sunday was one of the notable characteristic features of the Anglo-Saxon church of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. To this rigid observance of Sunday by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, no doubt, is owing that reverent regard for the Christian Sabbath, which peculiarly distinguishes the England of the twentieth century. Against desecration of that holy day we find not a few legislative enactments among the laws promulgated at different times by the kings of the line of Alfred. Among the various acts pronounced unlawful for the Sunday were washing of clothes, the working at any craft, baking bread, even trimming the hair. All household cares which are not necessarily of daily occurrence were forbidden. Any transgressor of these restrictions, it was declared, God would treat as an outlaw, denying him His blessing.

Besides the Lord's Day, certain conciliar authority in the time of the Anglo-Saxon kings of the tenth century enjoined the celebration of certain festivals hallowed in the church from immemorial antiquity. These included the holiday seasons of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas ; two days in honour of the Blessed Virgin, one day in honour of Saints Peter and Paul, Michael the Archangel, John the Baptis Saints Martin and Andrew ; and to the were added days to be kept in honour martyrs and confessors peculiarly Englis such as Gregory and Augustine, Edmur the Martyr the East Saxon king, Dunst and Alphege, the archbishops. A day w even set apart in honour of king Edward t Martyr, Ethelred the Unready's brothe who would really seem to have possess but scanty claim to the veneration of t English people.

Certain great fasts occurring four tim each year were observed by Christi people with considerable rigour. T rule was that every person above twel years of age was required to abstain fro food until nones, or three o'clock in t afternoon.

The greatest care was taken in t election and consecration of bishops. C the death of a prelate, the princip inhabitants of a diocese, *both lay a clerical*, elected a successor. The origin nomination might seem, however, to ha rested with the crown. Having be chosen, the bishop-elect was examin by the prelates of the province as to t soundness of his belief. To his metr politan, and to no other, the newly-a pointed bishop swore canonical obedien No obedience to the Roman see is allud to in the earliest pontificals. The metr politans—the archbishops—however, c tainly received a pall from Rome ; a no doubt this acknowledgment of t recognised precedence of Rome in t case of the reception of the pall by t archbishop, eventually led to far m important concessions in the direction

nowledging the supremacy of Rome, r the Norman Conquest.

The Anglo-Saxon kings claimed, and ally exercised, the supreme direction of gious matters within their dominions.

A WITENAGEMOT (*p.* 466).

made use of lofty titles, in later ages opriated by the popes. The great Edgar, no doubt with the full appro- n of Dunstan, styled himself "the of Christ;" and Edward the Con- wrote himself down as "vicar of the eme King," and as such maintained that his duty called him to rule the church of God.

Originally, each of the separate king- doms may be roughly said to have con- stituted a single see. In Kent we find Canterbury and Rochester in subordination to Canterbury. In Wessex the seat of the bishop was Dorchester in Oxfordshire; in Essex it was London; in Mercia it was Lichfield; in Northumbria it was York and Lindisfarne; in East Anglia it was Dunwich; in Sussex it was Selsey. These

vast bishoprics were, as time went on, as we have already noticed, largely divided and multiplied. Thus, Wessex was divided into several sees — Winchester, Sherburne, Romsey, Wilton, Wells, etc. ; Mercia was divided into the dioceses of Sidnacester, Leicester, Hereford, Worcester, and Lichfield. In East Anglia the see of Elmham was added, and eventually it seems to have superseded Dunwich. In Northumbria several sees were carved out of the vast dioceses of York and Lindisfarne ; among them were Hexham and Ripon. But the Danish conquest in the ninth century swept away these ecclesiastical divisions, and York for a long period alone remained the seat of a see. In 995 Durham became the seat of the bishop of the northern part of Northumbria. At the time of the Norman conquest in 1066, there were in England, in all, two archbishops and thirteen bishops, Wilton and Sherburne having merged in Salisbury, and the two sees of Devonshire and Cornwall in Exeter. This list only roughly sketches out the main divisions of sees. Temporary arrangements from time to time seem to have been made. Some of them have been already detailed.

The archbishops and bishops sat in the great national council, the Witenagemot, and certain of the abbots were also associated with them. "An English prelate's right to occupy a legislative seat in the great council of the nation has descended to him from a long line of predecessors, and is thus founded on the most venerable of national prescriptions. It is no privilege derived from that Norman policy which converted episcopal endowments into baronies. It is far more ancient than the Conqueror's time, b rooted amidst the very foundations of monarchy." *

Great care and pains were exerc only to admit properly prepared person ordination. We have before noticed it is evident among the priests of Anglo-Saxon church—we are speci speaking of the church after the tim Alfred—there were numbered not a men of the higher ranks in society, an is probable that the sacred profession much sought after. Each candidate ordination was required to spend a mo under the bishop's examination and inst tion. During this time he was evide not the bishop's guest, for a curious reg tion required the candidate to take car provide himself with sufficient provisio food and fodder, "that he be not trou about any of these things while he under examination."

That some real learning was require the candidate, beyond mere techn knowledge of the fasts and feasts, baptism and the mass, is evident ; for read "that if he come to the bishop the instruction of a teacher, then he is nearer ordination." This would seem indicate that a training at some recogn school, such as was Glastonbury, Abing and later, Winchester, was expected desired. All candidates were require give evidence as to the soundness of belief ; to show a knowledge of the monies connected with, as well as signification of the various parts of divine service ; they were especially on to show what they understood

* Soames : "Anglo-Saxon Church," chap

ptism, and how they comprehended the nification of the mass.

After ordination, the priest was dis- ıraged from wandering from church to ırch. "No priest was *of his own accord* leave the church to which he was lained." Any interference within the trict of brother priests was forbidden. nong the duties expected of him, the ıcation of youth is specially mentioned. this points to the fact that every effort s made to ensure a strict discipline, and provide at all events a fairly learned dy of men to minister in the churches d minsters. The reproaches of Alfred pecting the deplorable ignorance of the rgy of his time, had evidently sunk ep into the hearts of leading clergymen. Among the priests of the Anglo-Saxon ırch of the tenth and eleventh centuries, ibacy was recommended with great nestness; but, except in the case of stern ciplinarians and rigid ascetics like Ethel- ld of Winchester, was evidently not rnly enforced. Gentle interpretation of ule which was evidently felt to be too ch for human nature in general, seems have been certainly the policy of Dun- n. There is no doubt that all the lead- ecclesiastics pressed the celibate state he true ideal for the priesthood. Their nsels, however, were certainly disre- ded by a large proportion of the rank file of the clergy. Elfric, for instance, of the greatest and most popular of glo-Saxon teachers, in one of his writ- does not hesitate to speak of clerical riages as "proofs of folly," and alludes wise mass-priests who lived in clean- e," by which strong expression he ns celibacy. The "holy church," he tells us, "loveth such." But such words seem to imply that they were rather in the minority, and Dunstan's wise policy, as we have seen, seems to have aimed at holding up an unmistakable ideal, while yet recognising that inability to attain it must be recognised and tenderly dealt with.

As in the present Roman custom, the church of Dunstan and Elfric used a gradation of inferior ministers, and pronounced ecclesiastical orders to be the following seven:—*ostiary* (doorkeeper), *reader*, *exorcist*, *acolyte*, *sub-deacon*, *deacon*, *priest*. The deacon, however, with the priest, alone baptised, and administered the Eucharist.

*Marriage* among the Anglo-Saxons was a very solemn ceremony, and not lightly to be dissolved. The mass-priest was to pronounce a solemn blessing at the nuptial rite, unless one or both the parties had been married before, in which event—although the church did not forbid the second marriage—the priest's blessing was withheld. Marriage was forbidden within four degrees of consanguinity. Men were forbidden to marry a divorced woman. Divorce, by the Council of Hertford, was forbidden save "fornicationis causâ," and then the man was bound, "as he valued the name of a Christian," to live single ever afterwards. The ascetic tendency of the ecclesiasticism of that age is shown by the fact that all second marriages, *in any event*, were discouraged by the church.

Trial by *ordeal* was not uncommon in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It undoubtedly came from the pagan ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons. The word "ordeal" is apparently a northern word signifying

judgment. In the Anglo-Saxon laws the ordeal signifies not the trial, but the heated iron or other instrument used in the trial. The old pagan custom was continued under Christian forms, and the solemn trial was usually conducted in the church. The red-hot iron taken in the hand was the most common form which was used in this strange, half-pagan, half-Christian custom. It is generally supposed to have continued in practice until the third year of the reign of king Henry III.

The most usual of the forms of ordeal—the carrying of red-hot iron—was conducted as follows. On the day of his trial, the accused received the Eucharist and declared his innocence upon oath. The iron having been heated in the church—in the presence of witnesses—the accused, with his hand, removed the red-hot iron from a supporter. He then carried for about three feet, and threw it do His hand was at once bound and sea up. On the third day the bandage removed. It has been suggested that skin was in most cases prepared for momentary contact with the glowing me Other forms of trial by ordeal, such walking over red-hot ploughshares, being cast into water bound with a ro were less common. These ordeals w forbidden on Sundays and saints' days

The Roman Church ever discoura the trial by ordeal, and it was no do owing to such discouragement that strange custom was discontinued.

* Compare generally upon this chapter—Soa "Bampton Lectures," vii.; also Soames' "L Church," chap. xi.; and his "Anglo-Saxon Churc chap. iv.; and the appendices to these works.

SAXON LADIES OF THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES.

(*From a MS. in the British Museum. Strutt's "Habits and Dress of the People of England."*)

# EXCURSUS A.

## CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF BRITAIN IN THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES.

*Gildas* is the earliest prose historian of Britain hom anything remains. The genuineness of 'Historia" and "Epistola"—really a single , for the "Epistola" is but a very short duction to the larger "Historia"—may be looked upon as established. He is usually en of as Gildas the Wise, and was born, rding to the usually received dates, about A.D. some assert in Wales, and to have written his ry A.D. 556–560, and to have died A.D. 570. her tradition gives the place of his birth in hclyde (Cumberland), and relates how he was son of one of the native British princes of h Britain, and the brother of the famous , Aneurin. He is generally supposed to have in Armorica (in Gaul), and to have been d in the cathedral of Vannes. Gildas is iated with David and Cadoc or Cathmael, as British missionary leaders who principally enced the formation of the ritual and doctrines e church in Ireland, in the period following eath of St. Patrick and the first period of the ersion of the Irish people.

*Nennius.*—Personally, little is known of this early writer. Tradition relates that he was a of the Welsh Bangor, and that he escaped the great massacre of the monks of that us monastery, A.D. 613. It is clear that his ilation in its earliest form was probably of eventh century—a century following the date ned to the work of Gildas. There is an nt Irish version of his history.

*The Venerable Bede* was born A.D. 673 in humbria, probably in the village of Jarrow, on River Tyne; at the age of seven years was d under the tutelage of the abbot Benedict Yearmouth. When, in A.D. 682, the "House aul," at Jarrow, was founded, Bede accom- d Ceolfrid, its first abbot, and never quitted holy house; he died there A.D. 735. His ins, until the reign of Henry VIII., in a eous shrine of gold and silver incrusted with , were preserved in Durham Cathedral. The nd work of this great saint and scholar has given with some detail in the text.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (of this some unt is given on p. 403). Some of the early contemporary "entries" were also quoted as illustrations of the Northmen's conquest.

(5) The Bardic Poems, under the names of Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch-Hên, are ascribed to the seventh century.

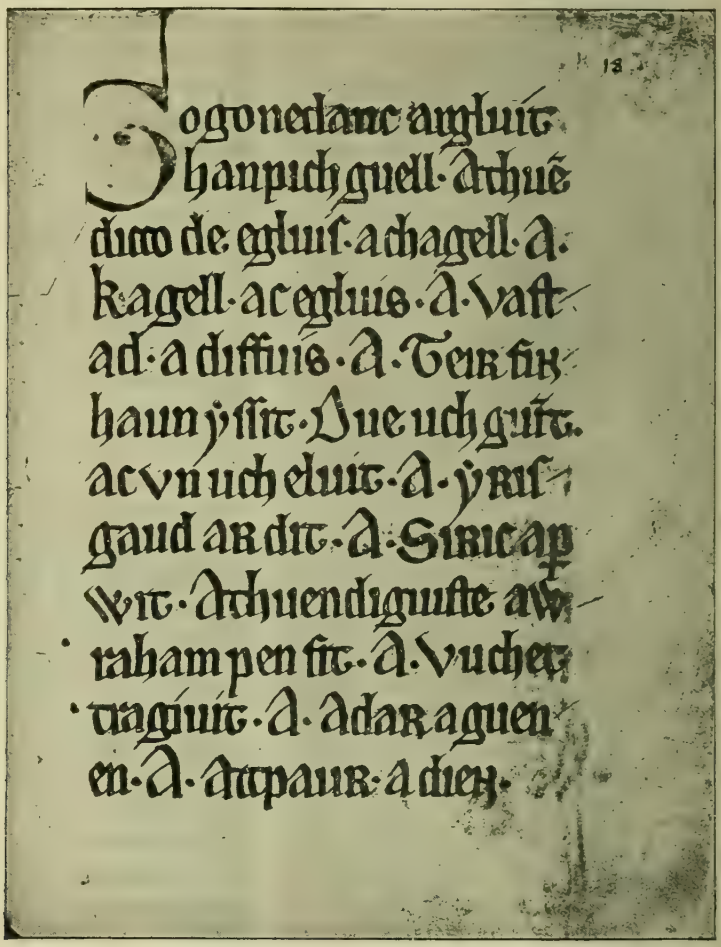
For many years these ancient Bardic poems, which have been quoted as illustrative of Christian belief in Britain during the period of the invasion of the Northmen, have been carefully examined with a view to testing whether or no they were really the work of writers who lived at the time, or in the times immediately succeeding the great conquest of the North-folk of the sixth century.

More than half a century ago the Anglo-Saxon historian, Sharon Turner, was firmly convinced that a large proportion of these ancient poems belonged to that far-back age when the disasters, of which they sung, were actually happening. His dissertation is an important contribution to the subject, and to many of the arguments therein advanced, those who doubt the genuineness of the poems and would ascribe them to a later date, have never even attempted to reply. Since his days serious historians like Dr. Guest and Mr. Green have used certain of these "songs" as authentic documents, important as throwing light upon an eventful period which possesses very little contemporary history. The eminent French scholar in Celtic literature, M. Villemarqué, is equally convinced of the trustworthiness of much contained in these curious and interesting remains.

But the most important work on these remains of sixth and seventh century folk-lore, is the text and translation of these ancient Bardic poems in the "Four Ancient Books of Wales." Dr. Skene, the late Historiographer Royal of Scotland, a leading Celtic scholar of our day, in an introduction to this great work, after a searching examination of these poems, pronounces that through the clearly historical poems there runs a date which is indicated in the poem itself, which is nearly the same in all, and is comprised in the first sixty years of the seventh or in the later years of the immediately preceding century, and decides that they were written by men, contemporaries of the heroes whose deeds were sung in the songs.

Dr. Skene sums up his estimate by placing these historic poems in the seventh century. He considers that they refer mainly to the story of the resistance of the Britons to the invasions of the Engle (or Angle) tribes in the northern districts of the island; and he thinks that through the clash and jar of contending races a body of popular poets grew up, and that the events of the never-ending war were reflected in national lays in which the deeds of the British warriors were celebrated; these popular lays, treating of events which happened all through the sixth, and through of the seventh century, being finally brought shape and assuming a consistent form in the seventh century.

The most ancient known text of these poe



PAGE FROM THE BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN.
(*By permission of W. K. M. Wynne, Esq., Penarth.*)

found in a well-known MS., viz., in the B Book of Carmarthen, written in the reig king Henry II., A.D. 1154–1189; in the boo Aneurin, written in the latter part of the thirte century; in the book of Taliesin, a MS. of beginning of the fourteenth century; and in

l Book of Hergest, written at different times he fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

'he poems generally appear, in so far as the ography and verbal forms are concerned, in garb of the period when the MS. was tran- bed. Referring to this, Dr. Skene observes, at the scribes of those times had not the spirit he antiquaries of the present, which leads them preserve the exact spelling and form of any ient document they may print. When such uments were handed down orally, those who ted them did not do so in the older forms of earlier period, but in the language of their own. reciters and the hearers both wished to under- d the historic and national lays they were ing with; and the reciter no more thought it essary, in transcribing them from older MSS., preserve their more ancient form, than he did eciting them orally to preserve any other form he language than the one in which he heard n repeated. In Welsh MSS. there had been at rvals great and artificial changes in the ortho- phy, and the scribe was no doubt wedded to orthographic system of the day." *

he *internal* evidence of the genuineness and t antiquity of these poems is very strong. may very briefly instance the following liarities.

he position occupied by the hero-king Arthur hese British lays is a peculiar one. Out of large body of poems there are only five which tion him at all; and in these the hero-king is commemorated as environed with that sur- ing glory with which his figure appears to us he well-known cycle of poems of the twelfth thirteenth centuries, of which the central idea he Arthurian romance. Arthur is simply tioned by our bards with respect, but not with der, as one of the national champions, but by neans the principal and favourite hero of the le.

gain, had these poems been put out under the oured names of the seventh century bards, in twelfth or thirteenth centuries, would the badour, or the trouvère of the brilliant court Henry II., and somewhat later of the court of ry III., have chosen as the subject of their ns and lays such a theme as the comparatively nown war celebrated in the long Gododin ns, the scene of which lay in the north of Britain, and the modern Lowlands of Scotland, or have sung of such forgotten chiefs as Caeawg, Mynyddawg, Urien, and Cyndylan?

Once more, the spirit which lives all along the pages of these sad poems is a spirit of utter melancholy and hopeless mourning. Such a tone would be utterly inconceivable in a poet or song- man of a later age. It could only belong to the age which suffered from the woes depicted in the poem or the lay. The heroic lives and splendid deeds of daring of gallant chieftains—whose names, with one or two exceptions, were utterly unknown when the poets who lived subsequent to, or in a period shortly preceding, the Norman Conquest, wrote—are commemorated. But it is of the death of these noble heroes, and of the utter defeat of their followers that the Bardic poet sings. No single victory ode lights up this sombre collection of minstrelsy. Then, too, the faults and errors of the vanquished people are freely dealt with, with an unsparing hand. Their want of discipline and order, owing largely to the curse of excessive indulgence in the fatal mead-drink, is again and again noticed in terms of the sharpest censure, mingled with the most hopeless regret. All the softer and more winning features of life are wanting in these saddest of songs. No tales of love and courtship, such as the poets of the twelfth and following centuries delight in, are found here. The poems are, for the most part, battle songs, but the battles, one and all, are disastrous scenes of utter ruin and hopeless rout. They seem exactly to reproduce what evidently took place during the years of the awful conquest of Britain by the North-folk.

There is nothing in these ancient British poems which can fairly leave the critic to suppose that they are the work of a later age; nothing to disturb the deliberate impression of those eminent scholars and writers above quoted, that many of the ancient poems contained in the four MSS. in question, "The Four Ancient Books of Wales," are what they profess to be—remnants of folk- songs inspired by the crushing national disasters which followed the invasions of the Northmen in the sixth and seventh centuries, and which re- sulted in the complete subjugation of Britain by the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

The poems of a later date contained in these MSS. are for the most part clearly indicated by the subject matter, and generally by unmistakable references to more recent times.

* "The Four Ancient Books of Wales," chapter xi.

# EXCURSUS B.

## ON THE WORD "MASS."

We are constantly using the word "mass." So Elfric, in his epistle delivered at the distribution of chrism, begins thus: "O, ye mass-priests, brethren." Some confusion of thought is connected with the famous expression. Anciently the word "missa," English "mass," was often used in a plural form. We not unfrequently in old writers come upon the expression, "Missarum solemnia"; this seems to have meant no more than *Prayer publicly sent forth, or sent up to God.* "Missarum solemnia" may be, then, fairly translated, "The solemn offices of religion." As a general name of every part of the divine service, we find the term "missa" (mass), even used for the *lessons* from Scripture. In the rule of St. Benedict, for instance, it is used for the prayers which are commonly called *collects*.

An entire service was also termed "missa"—for instance, "missa nocturna" signifies *the morning prayers and psalmody before day*; the same term, "missa," is also used for *evening prayers*; the "missa catechumenorum" is the expression for the *service of the catechumens*, which includes the sermon and the whole ante-communion service. Again, the "missa fidelium" means *the communion service*—peculiar to communicants only. The derivation and primitive signification of the word "missa" or "missæ" (mass), is much disputed. The favourite derivation is from the words, "Ite missa est," the formula which, from ancient times, was used in the Latin church at the end of the service for *the dismission of the people*. This is the opinion of great ritualists like Isidore and Rabanus Maurus, and is repeated by the learned Benedictine Mabillon. Another and interesting derivation, though not supported by like ancient authority, is that "missa" or "missæ" simply meant, in the first instance, "any public prayer *sent up* to God." Except in rare instances, the term "missa" was not used in the Greek church. It may be said to belong exclusively to *Latin* Christianity. As time went on the term "missa" (mass) came only to mean one special service, that of the communion. Thus this particular service monopolised a name which once had been common to other services.

It was the later practice in the church—later because it certainly does not seem to have been in vogue for the first six centuries—of celebrating "private masses," which has invested the word "mass" with new associations not belon originally to the expression. Private masses of two kinds. The *first* was for the most pa private commemoration by the priest, and n communion. The *second* arose from the persua that the representation of the memorials of precious death of Christ is acceptable to God the sake of that atoning death, and so draws d His favour upon the whole church, as well as u those who partake in the celebration. This no of drawing down God's favour upon the wh church came gradually to include the spirit departed friends, as being still a part of communion of saints. Nor was this all. instance, if a soldier went to battle, ma might be said for his success or his safety. a man were sick, masses might be said for recovery.

At one time, in the Reformation of the sixte century, Luther and Melancthon and the Ger states appear to have been willing to retain name and the service of the "mass," if only t might have abolished "private masses." Pri masses were certainly celebrated in the churc Dunstan and his school. The Anglo-Saxon were an intensely religious people, and the fra work of their society was religious. Cl associations, guilds, or sodalities, as they w termed, were common in the nation. These c were founded for mutual protection and assista in trouble, but a religious colour was indel stamped upon these associations owing to existence among them of the custom to prov soul-shot, as it was called, on the death of ev member of the association or guild, in order t the soul of the departed brother might enjoy full benefit of the mass of the church. Masses, were constantly said for the souls of the surviv members of the guild. This guild idea—wh included "masses" for the living and the dea was gradually adopted by religious houses, certai soon after the Norman conquest, probably at earlier date. Several of such houses would j together in these prayer unions, and when brother of one of these houses included in s a prayer-guild died, masses would be celebra for the soul of the departed in each of confederated communities.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE DANISH SUPREMACY.

nnection of Secular and Ecclesiastical Story—Renewal of the Danish Invasion—Changes in England which favoured It—Ethelred the Unready—Marries Emma the Norman, and thus Introduces Norman Influence into England—Swein's Great Invasion—Wessex Accepts Swein as King—His Death and Recall of Ethelred—Edmund Ironside—Divides the Kingdom with Canute—Death of the Ironside, and Accession of Canute to the Kingdom of all England—His Character—His Reign a Victory for Christianity—End of the Conflict with Paganism—Earl Godwin and His Sons—Canute's Sons Harold and Harthacanute—Canute's Earnest Religious Character—His Ecclesiastical "Cabinet" of State—"Letter to the People"—Memorial to Edmund Ironside—Canute's Influence upon the Church.

HE reader of this History may perhaps sometimes feel surprised that now and again the purely ecclesiastical ry should be apparently interrupted by at may seem to him only secular matters. t we are travelling during this period over comparatively little known district of tory, when names of kings and bishops ggest but little to the reader, and in themves possess little or no meaning. To ve passed from Alfred and his archbishop gmund to the work of Dunstan, without short sketch of the great kings who ervened between these two periods, uld have been at once confusing and sleading. At an earlier stage, to have nted the desolation which the great king raids brought upon the church and te of England, without telling who and what these Vikings were, and what a stern spirit of hatred to Christ and His religion inspired their fierce war-bands, would have given but a maimed and distorted narrative at best, and have presented a totally inadequate view of the work of noble and religious Alfred. So here, to have written about Canute and his times, and the powerful influence which English Christianity had upon the great northern monarch who so strangely came to sit upon the throne of Alfred, and so ably took up his work among us, would have been a hopeless and confusing task, without gathering up the threads of the history which tell us how it came to pass that the northern Viking entered into the inheritance he ruled so well. Later in our story, again, to introduce the last Saxon

monarch, known in history as the "Confessor," Norman in spirit rather than English, and relate the great change in church and state begun by him and carried out by his kinsman the Norman William, whom men call the Conqueror, without dwelling a little upon the origin and character of these wonderful Normans, who exercised such a wide-spread influence on the continent of Europe, and who in England changed the theology and the practice, though not interfering with the unbroken continuity of our church, would be both misleading and not a little confusing.

Such are the reasons which determine any seeming "breaks" in the purely ecclesiastical story, and render it necessary in these far-back periods to introduce a thin thread—for it is little more—of the secular history of that time into the narrative. They will necessarily become more rare, as we advance into periods more generally known, in which names of kings and great ministers of state become to most readers something more than shadows. From the eleventh century downwards there are also no more startling "comings" of strange peoples among us, to change by their advent the whole current of our history, sacred as well as civil, as was the case in the earlier days of the story of England and her church.

King Ethelred the second, son of Edgar, after the short reign of his brother, Edmund the Martyr (murdered at Corfe), began to reign in 978. As we have related, Dunstan, finding no favour in the eyes of the young king and his advisers, quietly retired to his arch-see, and for ten years busied himself exclusively in ecclesiasti matters, dying in 988, and leaving behi him a name and fame perhaps unequall in the long and honoured line of t primates of the English Church. But the day when his strong, wise hand w removed from the helm of English gove ment, may be said to have begun tl terrible and long-drawn-out fresh dra of Danish raids and wars, which ended the submission of all England to a Dan king.

In the north of Europe various eve had been taking place, which led to t gradual consolidation of the Danish pow A great northern monarchy had in t days of Ethelred taken the place of t many petty jarls and Vikings, whose w ships had been the terror of England the days of Alfred. It was towards t close of the ninth century that a migh Viking chief, Gorm the Old, had weld into one a number of Danish families tribes, and in a half mythical city call Lethra in Zeeland, set up his new kingdo For many years the famous chieftain m with varying success and failure, till 934 the emperor of Germany, Henry t Fowler, routed his invading army of pirat and shortly after his defeat we hear Gorm's death. Two great mounds, mar ing the place of sepulture of the dread Viking and his wife, queen Thyra, preser still the memory of his exploits near t town of Weile. His son Harold Blaatar or Blue Tooth, succeeded to the authori of Gorm, and the chroniclers of that a of confusion and bloody wars again a again tell us of his deeds and valour. F a long period this Harold was the princip figure in the north.

The deadly conflict between Paganism nd Christianity still occupied the foremost ace in the disputes and endless fighting hich occupied these Northmen even at ome, when their fleets and armies were ot engaged in foreign invasion. Harold lue Tooth in later life was persuaded of e truth of Christianity, forsook the old eathen sanctuary of Lethra, and earnestly sied himself in turning his people from eir old northern gods to the faith of sus. Not so his son, the subsequently mous Swein, who all his life was a natical supporter of Woden and Thor. The gan son rebelled against the Christian ther; and in the end the forces of eathendom triumphed, and Harold Blue ooth died of his wounds at Jomsborg, a eat Viking city at the mouth of the river der. Swein succeeded Harold as king, t was soon, in the varying fortunes of e endless wars and jealousies of the rth, driven from the throne. He then came a wandering Viking chief—the rror of the seas. Wealthy England, pecially during the reign of Ethelred, s the scene of his perpetually recurring ids; and for many years he led the e of a successful sea-pirate. In the year oo the fortunes of the Viking changed. ein was recalled to Denmark, and for e next fourteen years, with short in-vals, continued his wars with England—longer, however, as a mere sea-rover, t as king of the great Danish nation.

A considerable change had gradually en coming upon English life since e days of Alfred, and in no small gree assisted the designs of the Danish aders in the days of Ethelred (978–16). The old free-man was disappearing, giving place to the man who did suit and service to a master, to whom he looked for protection and guidance. No doubt this change in the position of the old free cultivators of the soil was largely owing to the state of perpetual unrest and danger to home and hearth brought about by the long-continued wars and raids of the Vikings. Every man needed some powerful protector in those rough and stormy days.

But there was another cause which only too largely helped forward the Danish invaders. For the long period of thirty-eight years England was ruled by the only incompetent sovereign of the house of Alfred. Ethelred, the second of the name, surnamed "the Unready" or rather the "counsel-lacking" king (for that is the real meaning of the well-known epithet), was a bad man and a bad king. He was not "unready" or shiftless by any means, as the modern signification of the term would suggest, but restless and even energetic; only with an energy irregulated and misapplied—an energy which, as it has been well said, began enterprises and rarely ended them. He never seems to have had the good fortune in his long reign of meeting with any man of commanding genius, or with any true patriot. His advisers were unworthy favourites, who too often played him and their country false. In that age much depended on the ability and character of the ruler of a country; one great king like Alfred was often able to raise it to great prosperity, while an incompetent and weak sovereign like Ethelred could bring it to ruin and degradation.

During the earlier years of Ethelred's

unhappy reign, the Danish attacks took the form of mere piratical raids, resembling closely the old Viking method of harassing a land, and bringing in their train untold misery and ruin; but being local and temporary, making no great impression upon the nation generally. Gradually, as the reign of Ethelred advanced, however, the invaders grew more in earnest; the raid often ended in a permanent settlement, until the Viking hero, who for so many years had harassed the land and plundered the people, again determined to make of England an enduring conquest.*

For many of these earlier years, another figure appears by the side of Swein, and one equally terrible to the hapless English folk, the hero of many of the famous Northern sagas—Olaf Tryggvasson. In the somewhat confused chronicles and sagas which tell the story of this unhappy age, these two mighty Vikings—both sons of kings, both claimants to the chief thrones of the north (Swein to that of Denmark, Olaf to that of Norway), both exiles from their country, and in the end both kings again of their respective peoples — are found associated in their piratical work, now engaged together in the plundering expeditions; now again fighting alone on their own account; but for a long period they were the two most conspicuous figures among the dreaded northern Vikings. Then, in the many-coloured story of their lives, comes in the strange deadly combat between the two religions. Olaf became a Christian; Swein remained ever a deadly foe to t religion of Jesus. In the year 995 bo the great sea rovers had recovered or w their crowns, but for a time the dead enmity which had succeeded to the o friendship of king Olaf and king Swei gave harassed England some respite f a season.

The wild life of one of these migh Vikings—Olaf—came to a fitting close 1000. The two old friends met togeth in deadly conflict. The scene of the fa battle was their own loved Northern ocea and the fight was long famous in t North. The words of the old saga a worth quoting, as they give us a viv picture of the man who so long was terror to our English forefathers:—"Ki Olaf stood on the *Serpent's* quarter-de high above the rest. He had a gild shield, and a helm inlaid with gold; ov his armour he wore a short red coat, a was easy to be distinguished from oth men. . . . . He asked, Who is t chief of the many ships coming upon They answered it was king Swein with t Danish host." The fight was long a stubborn; the great ships of Swein press closer and closer. "So thick," says t saga, "flew spears and arrows into t *Serpent*, king Olaf's ship, that the me shields could scarce contain them." Ola men fell fast. His fleet was far o numbered. At last the little group fighting men about the king were all sla Then king Olaf, tossing his shield over head, leaped into the sea, and so perishe

The disastrous reign of Ethelred w on. Though for some eight or nine ye king Swein, occupied with home affai ceased to harass England, other Viki

* See generally for this period, Green: "Conquest of England," chapters viii., ix., and Freeman's "Norman Conquest," chapters v., vi.

hiefs at short intervals kept coming, and ith fire and sword desolating various istricts in England. It was in the year

SWEIN DEMANDING RANSOM.

002 that Ethelred entered into that lemn alliance with the Norman settlers Gaul, which was fraught with such omentous consequences to our land in ter days. The duke of the Normans, ichard the Good, gave him his sister Emma as his second wife. From his first marriage his brave but ill-fated son and successor, Edmund Ironside, sprang; from his second, with the Norman princess, the saint-king Edward the Confessor.

This second marriage of Ethelred the Unready with the beautiful Norman princess was one of the momentous marriages of

the world, and has affected the entire history of western Christendom. Queen Emma inherited the well-known beauty of the princesses of her house, while the great talents, the surpassing ambition, the indomitable will of the more prominent of the children of Rollo were also characteristic features of this famous "Lady of the English." With her arrival in England, and influence over her husband, Ethelred the Unready, began the settlement of Normans in England, their gradual admission to English offices, their possession of English estates, and that friendship and close connection between Normandy and England which, a little more than half a century after the landing of Emma as queen on the English shores, rendered possible the Norman Conquest. The year 1002 thus witnessed the dawn of the new state of things in England. From that year onward Anglo-Saxon England was no longer the great solitary power which stood and acted alone in all important questions, ecclesiastical and civil, which agitated western Christendom. Slowly and gradually at first, but surely, Norman thought and Continental ways of working were introduced into the hitherto lonely island.

How ceaselessly queen Emma worked for this end, is shown by her strange second marriage with the bitter and triumphant foe of her first English husband. Her second alliance with Canute, the Danish king, enabled her, after the death of Ethelred, still to exercise the same, or even an extended influence, over English affairs. Indeed, from the day of her marriage with Ethelred in 1002, the Norman never loosed his hold on England. The grip was never relaxed through the reign of Ethelred and Emma, and tha of Canute the Dane and Emma, an during the rule of queen Emma's two son Harold Harefoot and Harthacanute. became stronger than ever in the cours of the long life of Harthacanute's successo Emma's son, Edward the Confesso who had been trained and brought u in Norman Rouen, who passed awa but nine short months before the fat field of Hastings, A.D. 1066. Thus th shadow of Norman influence passed ove Anglo-Saxon England in the year 1002 and the shadow ever deepened, until h great-nephew William the Conquere made the Norman and Anglo-Saxon on people.

The same year in which he brough home his Norman bride, king Ethelre planned and carried out the hideou massacre known by the name of the mas day on which the deed was carried ou —St. Brice. Allowing for considerabl exaggeration on the part of later writer enough is certainly known of that fat day to stamp the memory of Ethelre and his advisers for ever with undyin shame. It was, of course, no gener massacre of the Danes in England, f that would have included a large propo tion of the dwellers in the north an east of the island. The slain on S Brice's day were probably the Danes the more recent invasions who had settle in different parts of England, and whos safety among a hostile people had bee guaranteed on the faith of some recentl concluded treaty of peace. Among th slain was Gunhild, a sister of king Swei That the Danes were ruthless enemies i war-times, and treacherous guests in peac

s certain; but the massacre deliberately planned by Ethelred and his ministers, nd carried out, with a certain measure f success, on St. Brice's day, was at once ruel and senseless, and its immediate ffect was to inflame the Danish people vith a new spirit of hatred, and to inspire hem with a determination to avenge the loody and shameful deed.

The story of the next ten years of Ethelred's reign, 1002 to 1012–13, is a reary recital of Danish wars and raids, ome of the more formidable invasions eing under the command of king Swein imself. The defenders of England, on ea and land, were by no means supine, nd many a stubborn battle was fought; ut treachery and want of national union eem again and again to have crippled nd marred the many gallant attempts n the part of the English to drive out heir formidable antagonists. We read, oo, of constant efforts on the part of Ethelred to buy off the invaders with rge sums of money; each ransom, howver, so paid, only served to purchase a hort peace, and really encouraged the irates to make fresh efforts against so ealthy a nation.

The last invasion of king Swein in 013, which resulted in his permanent onquest of well-nigh the whole land, was onducted on a larger scale than any of he preceding attacks. The chroniclers vell on the splendour of the Danish eet, which brought, it is said, the whole rce of Denmark to the shores of the oomed island. We read of the magnifince of the stately Viking craft, of the rds and dragons floating on the tops of he masts, of the carved work in gold and silver and amber, which adorned the great war-ships of king Swein. The ravages committed by his host after they landed are painted in lurid colours. "He wrought," says the chronicler, "the most evil that any host might do." Farms and fields were ravaged, towns were burned, churches were plundered, men were slaughtered with a cruel slaughter. The south as well as the north of the island was ruthlessly harried. At Bath, after this destructive campaign, the Witan of Wessex formally acknowledged Swein as king, deposing Ethelred, who fled to his wife's relations in Normandy; and Swein was generally acknowledged king of England.

In one short month after the flight of Ethelred, a sudden change came over the strange scene of conquest and ruin. At the beginning of 1014 all England lay at the feet of Swein, who, in the south as in the north, was recognised as king in place of the fugitive Ethelred; in the February of the same year, about the feast of Candlemas, the mighty pagan conqueror lay dead in his tent at Gainsborough, in the midst of his victorious army. Our Latin chronicler, Florence of Worcester, usually discreet and seemingly truthful, preserves the legend of his strange and terrible death. Swein, the pagan champion, had a special hatred for the memory of St. Edmund, the East Anglian king, martyred by the Danish Vikings Ivar and Hubbo in 870. He demanded a great ransom from the famous monastery of St. Edmundsbury, in whose famous minster rested the revered body of the saint-king, threatening (a threat he was only too likely to carry out); if the huge ransom was not forthcoming, to burn

the church and religious house, and the town which clustered round the sanctuary, and to torture to death the hapless dwellers in the sacred walls. The story goes

[*Photo: F. R. Turner, Tewkesbury.*
SAXON WORK IN DEERHURST CHURCH.

on to tell how king Swein, riding from his Gainsborough camp at the head of his army—a march which had the minster of St. Edmund as its goal—saw of a sudden a vision of king Edmund, in full war panoply, coming against him. "Help, comrades!" cried the awe-stricken Vikin warrior; "I see St. Edmund coming wit a spear to slay me." And, falling fro his horse, he died that same night i great agony. The framework this strange legend is evident based on authentic history. Swe clearly did die as he was about t plunder and to destroy the shrin of St. Edmund and the great rel gious house which had arise around the sanctuary; and th special reverence which his so Canute afterwards showed to S Edmund, suggests that the Dane did, in some way, connect th death of the Danish conquere with the vengeance of the out raged English saint.

The consequences of the deat of Swein were memorable. Th sudden removal of the might conqueror from the scene, seem to have fired the hearts of th English people with new hope The disheartened Witan, whic had so lately dethroned Ethelre and recognised the Dane as king at once recalled its own discredite sovereign. The words of the in vitation recorded in the Chronicl are evidently copied from th original document. They ar singular, and throw a strong ligh upon the feeling of Englan towards Ethelred; sorrow and indignatio at his past misrule alternating with loyalt and devotion to the descendant of Cerdi and the head of the beloved house o Alfred. "No lord," ran the documen inviting him back to his kingdom, "coul

dearer to them than their lord birth, if only he rule them more nteously than he did before."

Ethelred quickly returned, and at once rched against the dispirited Danish t, still encamped at Gainsborough, ere their king, Swein, had died under h strange circumstances. Canute his was elected at once king in his father's m; but the Danes evidently offered a half-hearted resistance to Ethelred's e, for very soon we read of the formidable army of the once dreaded Swein embarking in the stately fleet, and sailing away to Denmark. This happened in 4, and for a brief season England was from the Danish invaders; but the end of long and terrible drama at hand. Ethelred was sickening with the ady which put an end is unhappy reign, which lasted so many years. his side was Edmund, named Ironside, his st son, a worthy representative of the great line Alfred. The relations, ever, between the father his gallant son were evily strained, and when ite, Swein's son and cessor, returned in the lwing year, 1015, the resistance to the invading army of the young Danish was fitful and uncertain. The splendid ntry and military skill of Edmund Ironvere sorely hampered by the indecision, aps by the jealousy, of Ethelred and inisters. Canute and his host were rapidly gaining ground in various parts of England, when the news of Ethelred's death, in 1016, in some respects changed the position of affairs.

It was during the last years of Ethelred that we first hear of London taking its position as the leading city of England. From its unrivalled position it had gradually become the centre of the rapidly-growing English commerce, and its steady loyalty to the Saxon king during the Danish wars had given it a new and commanding position in the kingdom. In London, then, in the year 1016, Edmund Ironside was chosen king by the Witan there assembled, and received the crown of Alfred. It was but a sad inheritance. Almost at the same moment his formidable rival Canute the Dane was elected king by another Witan assembled at Southampton; and in the power of this doughty descendant of the Vikings lay, alas! most of England. During the next seven months

*Photo: F. R. Turner, Tewkesbury.*

SAXON WINDOW IN DEERHURST CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

a most astonishing spectacle was presented. With an energy and skill which have been fairly termed almost superhuman, Edmund Ironside, by appealing to the patriotism of England, so long and so cruelly harried, gathered together in succession five considerable armies, and fought with the conquering Dane five pitched battles; with varying success, but, on the whole, the balance of victory remaining with the noble English king. In the sixth, however, of these deadly encounters, at Assandun, probably in Essex (Ashington), the most hotly disputed of all, there is no doubt but that the Ironside was defeated. Assandun was the grave of most of his devoted patriot friends.

Though, however, the victory was Canute's, it was evidently no decisive success; for soon after the battle the Englishman and the Dane met together on the Isle of Olney in the Severn, hard by the ancient church and religious house of Deerhurst. Part of the Saxon church, in which no doubt the Ironside worshipped, and not unlikely his great rival Canute also, after the celebrated Olney pact, is with us still. Then and thus was England again divided between its native Cerdic-descended prince and a Dane; nor was the division very unlike that made between Alfred and Guthrun. Edmund Ironside kept England south of the Thames, with East Anglia, Essex, and London; Canute taking the rest of the island. Apparently it was arranged that each prince was to succeed to the dominion of the other —certainly if he died childless.

But the pact of Olney, after all, proved useless. Before that fateful year closed, the gallant English king was dead. Alfred and his hero race, with the exceptio Ethelred, were but short-lived; and excitement and ceaseless labours and fi ing of the past months had worn out was probably a feeble constitution. ancient minster of Glastonbury rece the remains of Edmund Ironside, w were brought from his faithful city London and laid beside the grave o grandfather, Dunstan's friend, Edgar Peaceful. "In later times, through the rebuilding of that wonderful pile, memory of the hero still lived. Be the high altar, in his own chapel canonised saint, rested the body of E the Peaceful. Before the altar lay supposed remains of the legendary Ar and his yet more legendary queen. N and south slept two champions of Engl alike in name and glory. On the n side lay Edmund the Magnificent, on the brother heroes of Brunanburgh, conqueror of Scot and Cumbrian Northman, the deliverer of English c from the heathen yoke. To the south his namesake and descendant, as glor in defeat as in victory, the more equal rival of the mighty Canute, the who raised England from the lowest d of degradation, the guardian whose and heart never failed her—Edmund Ironside." *

The death of king Ethelred, foll to the grave a few months later b hero-son Edmund Ironside, left En at the mercy of Canute and his D But no period of terror or oppressio might have been expected, succeeded. Danish conqueror was no ordinary

* Freeman: "The Norman Conquest," ch

hough the son of a long line of pirate
fs, the Viking spirit in king Canute
cely outlived his youth. His father,
g Swein, was a pagan of the old type,
hated Christianity, who evidently re-
ded the extirpation of the Christian reli-
n as the great mission of the Northern
ples, and, indeed, died in endeavouring
carry out what he looked on as his
ined work; for it will be remembered
he met his death as he was on his
to destroy one of the principal sanc-
ies of Christian England, the abbey
religious house of St. Edmundsbury.
ute, on the other hand, when once
ly seated on the English throne, was
inguished as an earnest and devoted
istian sovereign.

lthough absolute master of England,
Danish king was determined to base
rule upon the formal acceptation of
English people, and at a great Witan
mbled in London he was acknowledged
he lawful sovereign of the island. A
severities, evidently necessary for the
e of the country, marked the begin-
of the Danish conqueror's reign.
ain men whose fidelity he had reason
ispect, were put to death or outlawed.
natural heirs of the house of Alfred
e two children of Edmund Ironside—
lespatched to his half-brother Olaf,
of Sweden, intending, apparently,
Olaf should quietly kill them; but
though dreading Canute's power, ab-
d the suggested crime, and sent them
e far distant kingdom of Hungary,
e they grew up under the care of the
king Stephen. One of the children,
the name of Edgar Atheling, played
er years a somewhat distinguished
part in the story of England. The other possible claimants to the English crown were also children—Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred the Unready. They were in safe exile at the court of their kinsman, the Duke of the Normans, at Rouen. Edward, afterwards famous as Edward the Confessor, became in later days king of England. Canute further strengthened his claim to the throne, and secured the friendship of his powerful Norman neighbours, by marrying the widow of king Ethelred, Emma, the daughter of the Norman duke Richard Sans Peur.

At an early period of his great reign, king Canute—who had been formally crowned king of England in London—at a Witan held at Oxford, renewed and ratified the laws of Edgar, the well-loved English king. This act marked his firm resolve to rule his kingdom exclusively after the English fashion. The mighty Danish fleet and army he had brought with him to combat Edmund Ironside, he sent back to Denmark, only retaining forty ships, as a nucleus for an English fleet, and a small force of some 3,000 Danish warriors, known as his house-carls, for a permanent body-guard, who served as the nucleus of a standing English army.

Throughout his reign of nineteen years, Canute's conduct and policy were that of a wise and patriotic Englishman rather than of a Danish conqueror. He took up and developed the work of the great kings of the house of Alfred, and the country under his wise rule made enormous strides in wealth and power. The student of his reign is surprised to find how little trace of a conquest is discoverable in the

Danish conqueror's English kingdom. After the death of his native rival Edward Ironside, the true nobility of Canute's character appeared. The Danish king elected to live in England, to make England his home, the seat of his wide

DANISH STIRRUP FOUND IN THE THAMES NEAR BATTERSEA. (*British Museum.*)

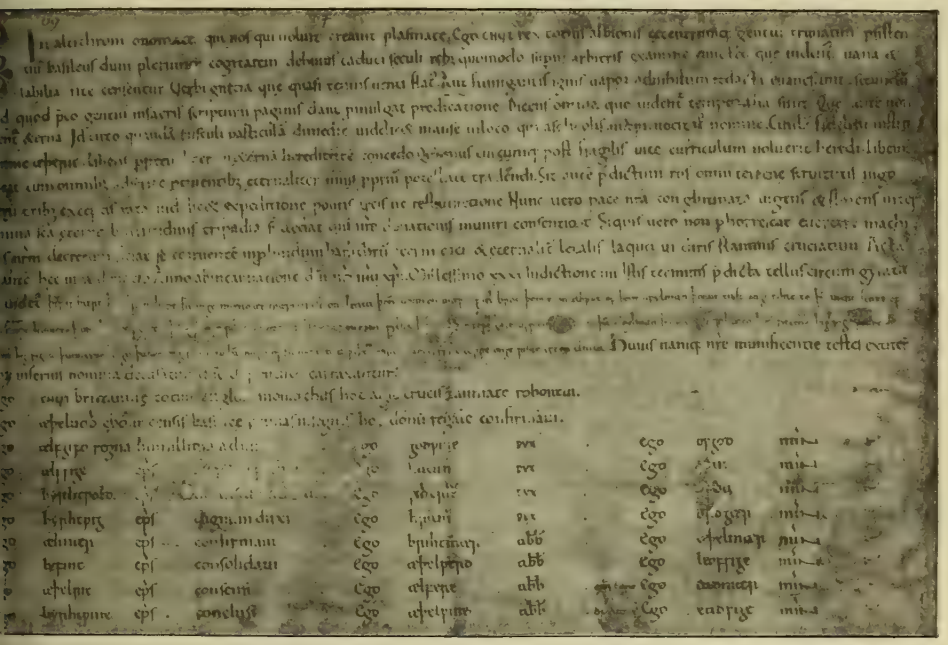
dominions, and at the same time determined to become an Englishman to all intents and purposes. He would have men forget here that he was a Dane.

It would seem, at first, that the undisputed accession of a great Danish king to the throne of England marked the complete success of the long struggle of the pagan Northman to win the country, and to stamp out, at least here, the religion of the Crucified, so hated by the Viking spirit. But instead of destroying Christianity in the north, the triu of Canute really strengthened it, as shall see, in lands where hitherto pa ism still prevailed. Had the Dane England a century before, when Al was waging his life and death stru with the Viking Guthrun, Eng Christianity would indeed have bee some danger of extermination ; but was possible a hundred years before, impossible when Canute became sole in England. The long-drawn-out Da wars, the wise government of the k of the house of Alfred, had awakene national feeling which nothing could u Still more, the work of the Church England had succeeded in welding one great nation the various kingd and peoples whose jealousies and divis had once so materially assisted the Vik raids and settlements. Under the of ministers like archbishop Duns the Jute of Kent, the West Saxon on Severn and the Avon, the East Saxo London and Bury, the Engle of Lich and York, were closely knit togeth they had the same interests, the s hopes, the same training. All this clearly seen by the wise Danish Canute, and he quickly became an Eng man among Englishmen, a Chris among a Christian people.

Then, too, in his broad Danish domi the old period of wandering was ove the Scandinavian peoples themse Their own revolutions had transfo the petty realms of the north also great monarchies. The result of long and destructive raids upon Frankish peoples, had been the esta ment of a powerful and settled dom

the north of France, under the name the Norman duchy. Thus the result the Danish conquest of England was to establish a Scandinavian kingdom the island, but rather to strengthen Anglo-Saxon Christian power, and to ke it paramount in the north; not to

the north of Europe. Thus the apparent victors in the long and bloody strife were really the vanquished. The Danish kingdom of Canute in England, and the mighty Danish realm in Normandy, became the most prominent and successful Christian nations of Europe.



CHARTER OF CNUT (CANUTE) A.D. 1031.

*Witnessed by Aethelnoth, Archbishop of York; Ælfgifu (Emma), the Queen; Earl Godwine, and many Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and Thanes.* (*British Museum.*)

roy Christianity in England, but er to destroy paganism in the whole he northern or Viking kingdoms. er Canute we find English bishops English missionaries active and cessful in spreading Christianity over length and breadth of the northern n. His victory and complete success ned the long and terrible pagan ts to root out the religion of Jesus in

The nineteen years of Canute's reign were years of an almost unbroken quiet. Within the English border no record has reached us of any disturbance. One Scottish invasion, and one English invasion of Wales, make up all the story of wars within the limits of the island. The result of the border warfare was, however, important. Malcolm, the Scottish king, agreed to recognise the supremacy of the

English sovereign, and as part of the political arrangement with Canute, the northern half of the old realm of Northumbria, including Lothian, became henceforth part of the Scottish realm, and Edinburgh was chosen as the usual royal Scottish residence. In the north, in the kingdoms claimed by Canute, we hear of several short wars and insurrections; but during most of his reign the English king was the acknowledged master of Denmark and Norway, and for the later years of his life absolute peace reigned in those turbulent countries.

The administration of England was little altered from the arrangements sanctioned by the kings of the house of Alfred. Four great governments divided the realm. These answered to the four most powerful and permanent among the ancient kingdoms—Northumberland, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex. Their governors were known as earls, a title which now supplanted the more ancient name of aldermen. But these great officials were evidently more really subject to Canute than to any of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors. Before the times of the Danish king, Wessex and the south had been more immediately under the direct government of the kings themselves than the other three great divisions. Alfred and his children belonged to the old royal house of Wessex; hence the retention of Wessex under the more direct rule of the princes of their ancient house. After he had become the acknowledged king of all England, Canute conferred the earldom of Wessex on his best beloved minister and adviser, the famous Godwin.

The long and almost unbroken peace during the nineteen years of the reig the great Dane, the universal respect consideration which England, as the ce and most important division of the empire of Canute, enjoyed, gave an e ordinary and rapid development to En commerce. For the first time for than a hundred years, the Viking ra were no longer dreaded. We hear of growing importance and increasing w of many of the older cities, such as Ch and Gloucester, York and Lincoln; the needs of this rapidly-expanding merce were the occasion of the founda or at least of the extension of comparati new centres, such as Oxford and Bri The greatness and wealth of London ready alluded to, become more notice as the reign advanced. The riches importance of London in the early pa the eleventh century can partly be ga from the proportion which the city of a Danegelt levied in the first yea Canute's reign. The amount imp upon the whole of England was seve two thousand pounds, and of this London paid ten thousand five hun pounds, about one-seventh of the e amount.

The name of Godwin has been tioned as the favourite minister and ad of the Danish reign. A thane of Saxon blood, tradition ascribes his entirely to royal favour, and repre him as springing originally from a hu origin. This remarkable man, who the sovereign occupied the most promi position in England during the reig Canute and his sons and of Edward Confessor, has been well styled as one never a king himself, was the maker

ısman, the father of kings. Very early Canute's reign we find this Godwin cupying high office. His valour in war, ıdence in counsel, diligence in business, commanding eloquence and winning nner, won him the friendship and con- ence of the far-seeing Danish conqueror, o advanced him rapidly from post to st till he became the chief minister of reign and earl of Wessex, the wealthiest d most influential division of the king- m. Through the favour of the monarch, l Godwin obtained the hand of Gytha, sister of the Danish earl Ulf, the sband of Canute's sister Estrith. Gytha s descended from one of the more nous heroes of the north, Thorgils, whom dition speaks of as the grandson of a ır. The children of Godwin and Gytha yed the most distinguished parts in the ry of England before the Norman Con- est, and Harold, the most celebrated of s band of Godwin's heroic sons, will ever memorable in the annals of our ıntry as the last of the Anglo-Saxon ıgs.

When Canute died in A.D. 1035, the great thern empire he had built up at once to pieces. Sweden and Norway were ided again, and England once more sed for a time to be one nation. ither of Canute's sons inherited their ıer's conspicuous ability. The elder , Harold Harefoot, so named from his arkable swiftness in running—the son Canute and his first wife, to whom he was er legitimately married—became king Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia. thacanute succeeded to Denmark, and, ugh the influence of earl Godwin, for a time retained Wessex. Swein, the brother of Harold Harefoot, succeeded to the crown of Norway.

Harthacanute's affections seem to have been altogether given to his northern realm of Denmark, and no persuasion on the part of earl Godwin and his Wessex subjects could persuade him to show himself in England. Popular feeling at last brought about a bloodless revolution, and after some two years we read the following entry in the "Abingdon" and "Worcester" Chronicles, which tell the story of the quiet revolt :—"They chose Harold (Harefoot) to be king over all (England), and forsook Harthacanute, for that he was too long in Denmark."

The election of Harold Harefoot was the formal act of the Witan of Wessex; but he seems to have attracted neither love nor devotion, and some of the accounts of his short, uneventful reign represent him as a careless, godless king. One dark story certainly disfigures his reign. Alfred, the son of Ethelred and Emma, made an attempt to invade England. He was taken prisoner, and barbarously tortured and put to death. Godwin was accused of instigating this cruel act, but afterwards was formally acquitted of any share in the deed by the Witan of England. Harold Harefoot died at Oxford after a short reign, in 1040.

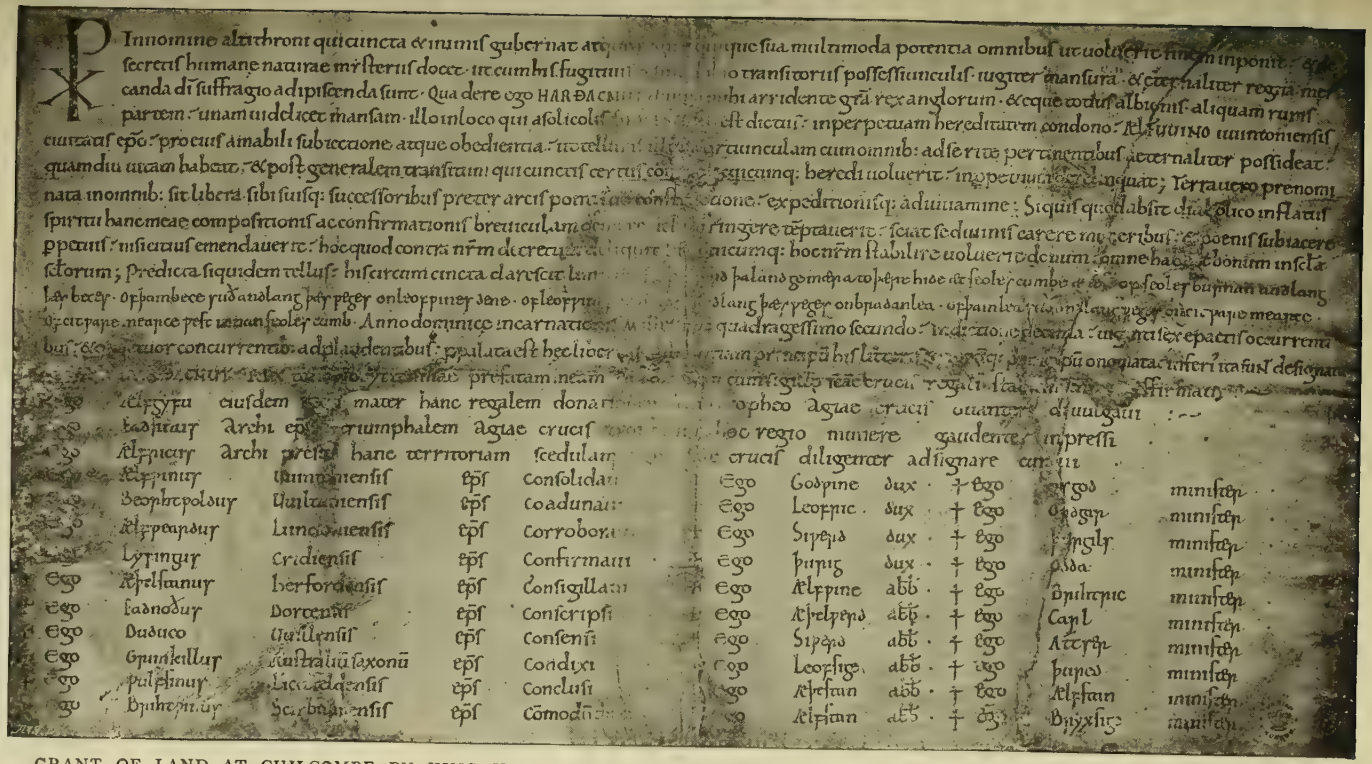
His brother Harthacanute, king of Denmark, who was far from acquiescing in his deposition from the Wessex throne, when the news of his brother Harold's death reached him, was busy preparing for an invasion of England in order to secure his rights. On his half-brother's

death he was chosen at once to succeed him. But his short reign was absolutely eventless; it has been well described as that of one worthless youth following another equally worthless. His first act was an act of senseless brutality towards the dead body of his half-brother Harold. The body was exhumed, decapitated, and then tossed into the Thames. The remains were subsequently brought up by a fisherman, and re-interred, tradition says, by some of the Danish inhabitants of London, in their cemetery, situated outside London, surrounding the site of the present St. Clement Dane's church. The few events recorded in Harthacanute's reign represent him as a cruel, revengeful, self-indulgent tyrant. His failing health and the fact of his being childless induced him to send for his half-brother Edward from Rouen, with a view to the future succession to the crown. We hear of Edward living, during the short period which remained of Harthacanute's reign, in great honour at his brother's court.

The end came more quickly than was expected. The young Danish king died in a way—as has been quaintly described—most befitting a prince whose chief recorded merit was that he provided his courtiers with four meals a day. The king was at Lambeth, in the house of Osgod Clapa, one of the most influential men of the day, on the occasion of Osgod's daughter Githa's marriage to Tofig, the proud and powerful Danish thane who was standard-bearer to the king. In the course of the state banquet, as Harthacanute rose to propose the bride's health, he fell to the ground in a fit, accompanied with frightful struggles. The Chronicles tersely relate the tragic scene thus "This year (A.D. 1042) died Harthacan as he at his drink stood." He was bu in the old minster in the royal city Winchester. The Chronicles tell of immediate succession of his half-brot Edward thus:—"Before the king buried, all folk chose Edward as king London."

Thus within seven years the four child of Canute had passed away—Harold H foot, Swein (who had died shortly befo Harthacanute, and Gunhild, their sis All died childless save Gunhild, the of the German Henry III., whose o child became a nun; and thus once m the crown of England rested on the br of an heir of the West Saxon house Cerdic, a direct descendant of Alfr for Edward, the new king of Engla known in history as the "Confess was the son of the Saxon king Ethel and Emma, the Norman princess. W Edward the Confessor (A.D. 10 commences a new era in the story England.

During the twenty-six years of the r of the Danish line in England—in reigns of Canute and his two sons— great churchman arose in Engla Neither Lyfing, who crowned Can nor his successor in the arch-see Canterbury, Ethelnoth the Good, w in any sense distinguished for gr ability or originality. Plain, hon God-fearing men—especially the la Ethelnoth—they did their duty qui and unostentatiously, carrying on great traditions of the school of Duns Their chief title to honour was the q



GRANT OF LAND AT CHILCOMBE BY KING HARTHACNUT (HARTHACANUTE) TO ÆLFWINE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, A.D. 1042.

*Witnessed by Ælfgyfu (Emma), the Mother of the King; Eadsin (Eadsige), Archbishop of Canterbury; Ælfric, Archbishop of York; Ælfwine, Bishop of Winchester; Beorhtwold of Wilton, Ælfweard of London, Lyfing of Crediton, Æthelstan of Hereford, Eadnoth of Dorchester, Duduco of Wells, Grimkill of the South Saxons, Wulfsin of Lichfield, Brihtwine of Sherborne, Earl Godwine, Earl Leofric, Earl Siward, Abbots, and Thanes.* (*British Museum.*)

influence for good they undoubtedly exercised over the great Danish conqueror Canute.

The character of Canute is one of the most interesting in early English history. The descendant of a line of pirate kings and chieftains, we find him in the early years of his eventful career at the head of a great fleet and army of Vikings, carrying out the dread traditions of his race only too faithfully, plundering, burning, destroying ruthlessly. Then, no sooner had he obtained all and more than all his ambition could ever have allowed him to dream of, when seated firmly on the throne of England, backed up with all the mighty power of the north, the Viking warrior changed at once into the wise and patriotic prince, second to none of those great men of the house of Alfred who had succeeded in making a united and prosperous England.

And what was perhaps strangest of all, we find the Viking chief quietly putting aside the pagan traditions of his race, and during the nineteen years of his beneficent reign adopting the maxims of the Christian faith, and living up to them in the reality of his private life, as well as in the open publicity of his state life. That wise statesmanship which induced Canute to become an Englishman—in all the best sense of the word—among Englishmen, might perhaps have led him to adopt the religion as well as the manners and customs and laws of the people over whom he found himself called to rule; but no mere statecraft would have evoked the writings we possess from his hand, or supplied the motives of the intensely religious acts which illustrate the career of the great Danish king of England. No studen his life can for one moment doubt he became an earnest Christian f conviction.

Nor can we hesitate to assert tha was the spirit of the Church of Engl which so powerfully influenced the h of Canute, and brought about the g change in his character. The churc Dunstan, Canute found, was a real living power in the land he came quic to love so well, and his acute genius not slow to perceive what was its w and influence among the people of E land. The king of Denmark compare with the paganism of the north, and, cognising its power and influence for go adopted it as his own religion, and ever swept away the long-cherished Vik idea of destroying Christianity and s stituting paganism in its place.

The relations between the Church England and the state, in the days of great kings of the house of Alfred, Canute, and of Edward the Confes who may be looked upon as Canu immediate successor, were close and i mate. The period in question to wh we allude extends from the middle the ninth century to the middle of eleventh century—some 200 years. have already had several occasions to m tion the constant presence in the Wi or great council of the nation, of archbishops, bishops, and certain abbot important houses. The archbishop, in not a few cases the bishop, was chosen adviser of the king; and in case of archbishop Dunstan, he was *minister* of a great reign like that

gar, stretching over many years. In-
ed, that most able prelate (Dunstan) had
sitively identified with the office of
mate the position of standing counsellor
the realm, in other words, of the king's
ef minister.

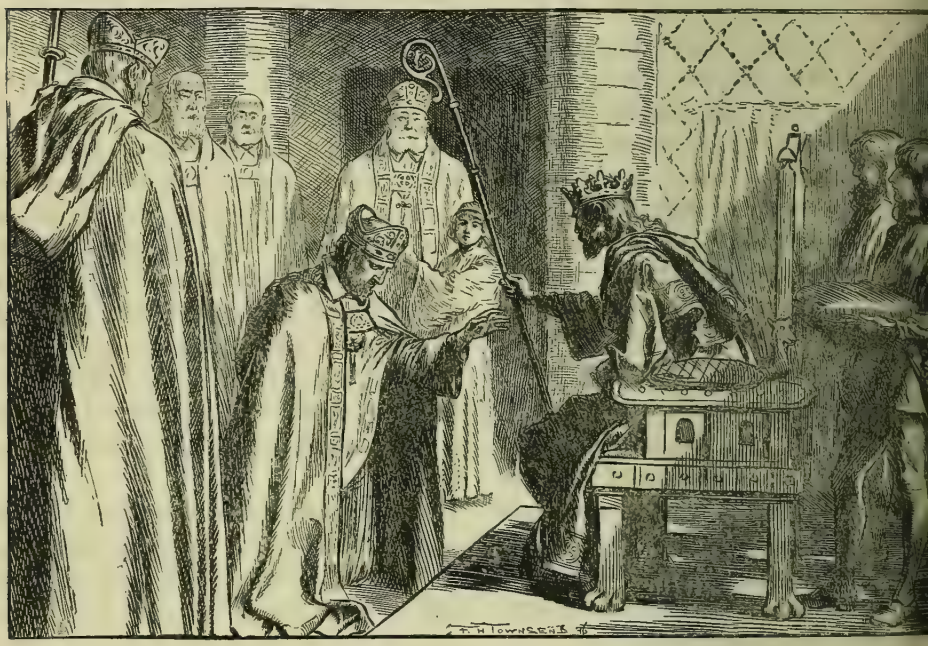
This extraordinary position of power in
state, after Dunstan's disappearance
m public affairs, seems to have been
ch modified; and we do not find, as
ule, the primate again occupying the
sition of chief minister. Under Canute
did not occupy the position filled by
nstan, but the more natural one of a
al counsellor whenever the privileges
the Church or the relation of the Church
the liberties of the people were in ques-
n. But at the same time (in the days
Canute) a new and close connection be-
een the church and state grew up in the
abinet" of the king himself, and which
d great ultimate consequences—conse-
ences stretching, in fact, over centuries.
staff of secretaries was formed for carry-
out all the details of government,
anged, in the first instance, by the king
d his lay-advisers. These secretaries
re ecclesiastics. Their number has been
en as twelve, and among them were
be found certain foreigners, no doubt
sted with foreign affairs; but usually
majority were Englishmen, men of
rked ability, whose reward, in most
es, in the long run, was an episcopal
We notice this especially in the
gns of Canute and Edward the Con-
or. Under the Conqueror the clerks
the king's chapel or chancery are even
re prominent in the administration of
blic affairs, and we find these more
quently becoming bishops. Hence the
marked political character of the English
episcopate, and its close connection with
the sovereign. This peculiar state of
things went on from Canute's days to
the Reformation.

The power of the sovereign in the
appointment of bishops is clear. In
earlier times these appointments were
spoken of somewhat vaguely: now as the
result of the choice of the clergy and the
people, now as proceeding from the abso-
lute will of the sovereign. Under Canute
and his successors, however, the will of
the king was notified in a more imperious
manner; and by them the practice of in-
vestiture by the ring and crozier seems to
have been introduced. No mention *ever*
appears of any interference on the part
of the Pope. His part in these episcopal
appointments was strictly confined to the
bestowal of a pall upon the archbishops,
and this dignity was of course bestowed
*after* the appointment had been definitely
made.

When a prelate of commanding intellect
and vigour lived, his influence was para-
mount in the church; but in times when
such a great personality was not at its
head, the king exercised the chief influ-
ence; and when the monarch was, as we
find usually to have been the case in the
house of Alfred, at once able and religious,
his will and mind were stamped upon the
laws and regulations and general admini-
stration of the church. These command-
ing influences of the bishop and the king
seem to have alternated. In early days, the
mind and will of Theodore of Canterbury,
Aldhelm of Sherborne, Wilfrid and
Egbert in York, and in the later days
of Dunstan of Canterbury, was stamped

upon the church of their times; and the effect of their influence was felt long after they had passed away. Sovereigns, like Alfred and Canute, in their day, however, towered high above any ecclesiastic, and their influence in the contemporary Church of England was absolutely paramount in its turn.*

Church of England." Something m was required in a king before he co exercise this strange spiritual power, potent in its after-effects on our gr church, than merely acute and far-see statesmanship, which saw in the churc great and matchless power of usefuln To exercise such spiritual power, he m



INVESTITURE OF A SAXON BISHOP.

It seems incredible that a child of the pagan Vikings like Canute, himself in early life a Viking chief, should ever have come to rank among the more prominent religious Anglo-Saxon kings, who helped by their life and work to "make the

* See generally Bishop Stubbs: "Constitutional History," chap. vi. and chap. xix., etc. Freeman: "Norman Conquest," chap. viii. and appendix i. (vol. ii.), etc. Green: "Conquest of England," chap. vii. and chap. ix.

have been an intense believer in t religion of which the church was t earthly exponent. Such an one w Alfred, and, in a degree, perhaps, such one was Canute also. No one who h studied contemporary documents, such the "Encomium of Emma," or the str ing letter of king Canute to his peo and the church after his Roman pilgri age, or has pondered over Canute's qu

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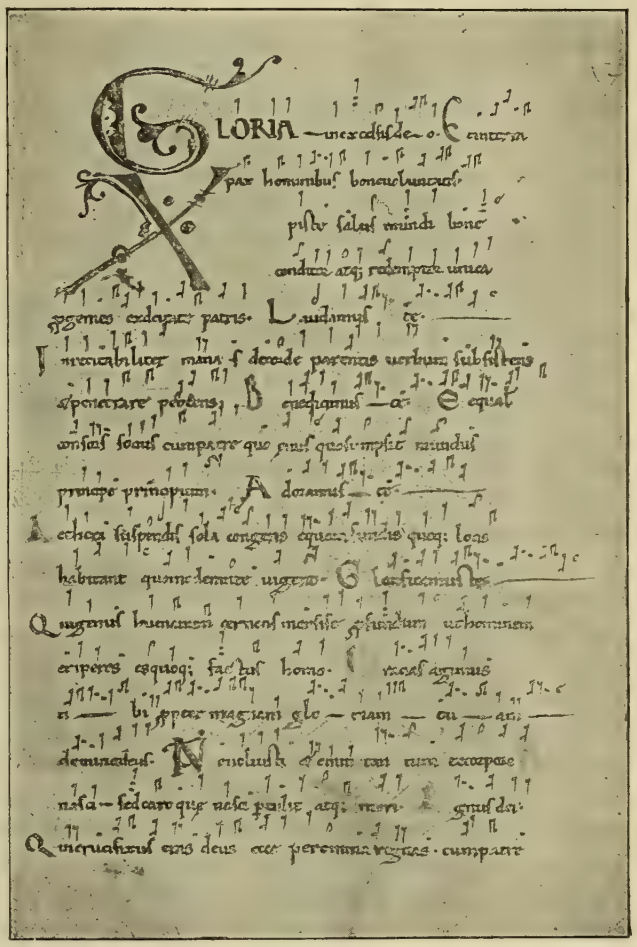
ILLUMINATION FROM AN 8TH CENTURY PSALTER OF ST AUGUSTINE
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

hurch work at St. Edmundsbury, on the loody hill of Assandun, or at Canterbury, Ely, and Romsey, or in his native Denmark, can for a moment oubt the intense reality of he Christianity of our Viking-descended king. A ew details will be specially nteresting not only as rowing light upon that mer life of one of our oblest Christian princes, ho must be ever regarded s one of the "makers" of ur church, but as picturing vidly something of public urch life, with its errors nd its earnestness, in the rly years of the eleventh entury.

"The Encomium of mma," twice queen of ngland as successively the ife of Ethelred and of nute, and mother of two ngs, Harthacanute and dward the Confessor, as a ntemporary writing is of reat importance, although e writer was often prejuced in his statements. In is curious and interesting mposition the writer thus scribes Canute's conduct St. Omer in the course his Roman pilgrimage. It ves a good idea of the great king's mer life when he was at the height of s power.

"Entering the monasteries, where he was ceived with great honour, he (Canute) walked humbly, fixing his eyes upon the ground with wonderful reverence, and pouring out—if I may say so—rivers of tears, he implored the aid of the saints. But when the moment had arrived when he was to present his gifts upon the altar, how often did he impress the pavement with his kisses, how often did he strike



PAGE FROM A BOOK OF LATIN HYMNS IN MUSICAL NOTATION WITHOUT LINES, TENTH CENTURY. (*British Museum.*)

his venerable breast! What sighs, what prayers, that he might not be found unworthy of the mercy of the Supreme! At length his attendants stretched forth his munificent oblation, which the king himself placed on the altar. But why do I say *the* altar, when I remember that I myself saw him go round every part of the monasteries, and pass no altar, however small, on which he did not leave a present, and which he did not salute? Then came the poor, and they were all separately relieved. These and other bounties of the Lord Canute, O St. Omer and St. Bertin, I myself beheld in your monasteries; for which do you pray that such a king may live in the heavenly habitations, as your servants the canons and the monks are daily petitioning."

About the year 1027 Canute went on this pilgrimage to Rome. Subsequently he addressed a letter to the metropolitan Ethelnoth, and others whom he named, and to the whole nation of the English. Such a pilgrimage was an ordinary and favourite piece of devotion in those days, but evidently with Canute it was something more. His whole soul was stirred within him at the sight of the sacred shrines and their deathless memories. He pours out his whole heart in this celebrated letter to the nation, which has been well compared to that of an absent father writing to his children, whose love he felt he possessed and deserved. The letter begins thus: "Canute, King of all England and of Denmark, Norway, etc., to Ethelnoth metropolitan, and Alfric, archbishop of York, and to all the bishops and prelates and to the whole nation of the English—greeting. I notify to you that I have lately taken a journey to Rome pray for the forgiveness of my sins, and the welfare of my dominions . . . I n return most humble thanks to my G Almighty for suffering me in my lifeti to visit the sanctuary of the apostles Peter and St. Paul, and all others tha could find either within or without city of Rome, and these in person I rev entially worshipped according to desire. This I have performed chie because I learnt from wise men that Peter the apostle has received from G great power in binding and in loosing, a that he carries the keys of the kingdom Heaven, and therefore I esteemed it ve profitable to seek his special patrona with the Lord."

It is clear from this passage that in t Anglo-Saxon church were taught some the unscriptural doctrines especially co demned by the Reformation teachers of t sixteenth century: notably the invocati of saints such as St. Peter, whose spec patronage—a curious way of putting —Canute desired with the Lord. Af dwelling at some length upon his recepti by the chiefs of continental Christendo the Pope and the emperor, and after scribing the honours and presents w which he was loaded by these potentat and how he had obtained from them pri leges and exemption from dues for fut English pilgrims as well as for traders a merchants, the king goes on to speak himself in the following striking words peculiarly striking when it is remembe *who* was the writer, what had b his early training and the immemo traditions of his wild, fierce race; h enormous, too, was his present power

e undisputed king of England and the rth :—

"I have vowed," wrote Canute, "to end my life in all respects, and to rule e kingdoms and the people subject to me h justice and clemency; . . . and through the intemperance of youth or gligence, I have hitherto exceeded the unds of justice in any of my acts, I end by God's aid to make an entire ange for the better. I therefore adjure d command my counsellors to whom I ve entrusted the affairs of my kingdom, t they suffer no injustice to prevail, her through fear of me or from favour any powerful person." He then proded to charge all sheriffs and magistrates their allegiance to treat high and low, h and poor, with absolute impartiality, d that neither for regard to royal our, or for respect of the great, or for sake of money, was this rigid imtiality ever to be departed from.

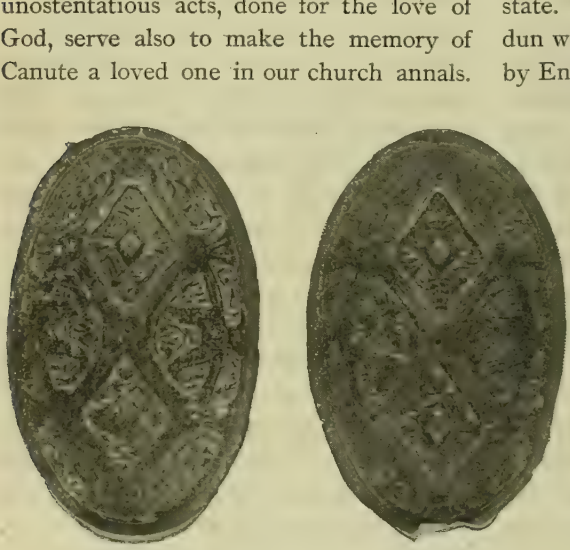
A long passage follows, promising the ssings of peace with all surrounding ions, so that England in the future uld have nothing to fear from war or tilities from any quarter. What a proe from the great descendant of the kings! But the promise was faithfully t, and England long enjoyed the ssings of the profound peace Canute ke of, to which for so many long years land had been a stranger. The part of the "Letter to the Eng- Nation" was occupied with a strict nction to the bishops and governors the kingdom to take care that all rch dues were punctually paid—"all s belonging to God, tithes, the pence to St. Peter at Rome, the first-fruits payable to every one's parish church." Canute's "Letter to the English Nation" was a writing in some respects worthy of being ascribed to Alfred, or in later days to a sovereign like St. Louis of France.*

The laws of king Canute repeat in religious matters much of the legislation of the kings of the house of Alfred; and the same devout spirit which lived in every line of the remarkable "Letter to the Nation" we have just been dwelling on, inspired much of the laws, and even seems to have dictated some of the very language in which they are written down. They open with the precept charging men to fear God and honour the king. "First above all things are men ever to love and worship one God, and with one mind to hold one Christendom, and with right truthfulness to love king Canute." The laws themselves, as we have said, repeat much of the legislation of Canute's great predecessors, and deal with the reformation of manners, the administration of justice, the strict discharge of all ecclesiastical duties on the side of the priests, and the strict payment of all ecclesiastical dues on the part of the laymen. Again the observance of the Lord's day is earnestly pressed. On that day no popular assembly is to be held; there is to be no market, no hunting. *Heathen superstitions* are all to be given up—a strange insertion in the law-code of one who was in his youth a pirate chief, and the descendant of a long line of pagan Vikings! The traffic in slaves is also denounced. All English rights and customs are rigidly preserved in

* See Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. i., chap. vii. Freeman: "Norman Conquest," chap. vi.

the code of the Danish king. We find bishop and alderman associated as before as presidents of the shire-assemblies; the "alderman" in the later clauses, however, becomes the "earl." The bishop and earl are to be joint expounders of all laws, ecclesiastical and civil. The feasts of the two new national saints are specially mentioned, and men are enjoined to keep holy the day of the boy-martyr Edward and the day of the statesman-archbishop Dunstan.

But not only have the laws and some of the public utterances of this great king, who was also a great churchman, come down to us; the stories of not a few quiet unostentatious acts, done for the love of God, serve also to make the memory of Canute a loved one in our church annals.



SCANDINAVIAN BROOCHES. (*British Museum.*)

In the fifth year of his reign, when all was quiet at home, and no serious claimant or discontented subject threatened his thrones, either in England or in his northern realm of Denmark, with solemn rites was consecrated the stone church king Canute had built on the hill of Essex (Assandun), in memory of his great victory over gallant Edmund Ironside. "It was rea as the hallowing of his victory, as atonement for his earlier crimes."* was, perhaps, the first of the many churc of "expiation," which only a few ye later began to be built and endowed sorrowful memory of a great natio wrong; the dark shadow of which, v soon after king Canute passed away, gan to creep over Canute's prosper England. The "priest" of the new chu of Assandun was the friend and chapl of Canute, and in after-years this pr rose to great eminence in the church a state. The memory of Stigand of Ass dun will be ever cherished and reveren by Englishmen, as that of the last of Anglo-Saxons who was to occu the seat of Augustine in proud minster of Canterbur

The stone church of Assand consecrated in 1020, was o the first of a long list of ecc siastical foundations of Danish Canute. A restorati on a very large scale was und taken and carried out, of churches, monasteries, a abbeys which had suffe during his own or his fat Swein's wars. Among th numerous works was the founding as well as the rebu ing of the famous religious house a abbey of St. Edmundsbury, erected a endowed in memory of the East Angl king who had suffered martyrdom the hands of the Danes in the invas of Ivar and Hubbo before the days

* Freeman.

red. This house of St. Edmund had n especially the object of king Swein's tructive hatred; and the mysterious ry, alluded to already, of Swein's death the Viking camp at Gainsborough, closely connected with the supposed ger of the offended saint. Canute was ecially anxious to make every possible ends to this well-loved Anglo-Saxon o. The minster was rebuilt; but the ndation being changed in accordance h the views of the Church of England he beginning of the eleventh century, abbot and monks replaced the secular ons of the older house. In the im-tant monasteries of the Fen districts in east of England, the generosity and gious zeal of Canute were peculiarly rked. Ely and Ramsey both owed him ch.

Nor was Canute's earnestness on behalf the Christian faith confined to his glish dominions. In Denmark he also wed himself a zealous supporter of istianity. Several new bishops were pointed for the still struggling church in last home of a dying paganism. Some hese were Englishmen. We hear of ops in Funen, Zealand, and Scania, for ance; in Roeskilde, near Lethra, the old l seat of the Danish kings, an English op consecrated by an English primate ed on the work of the once hated re-n of Jesus, among the time-honoured tuaries of the old paganism of the h.

he ardent zeal of Canute for Christian-was shared by queen Emma his wife e daughter of the Norman house of o—who evidently had inherited that ise love for the Christian religion

CNUT (CANUTE) AND ÆLFGYFU (EMMA) MAKING A DONATION TO NEW MINSTER.
*From an Early Eleventh Century MS. (British Museum.)*

which distinguished the great dames of her illustrious house. Her devotion to the two monasteries of the royal city of Winchester is well known. Nor was the splendid bounty of king Canute and his Norman queen confined to England and Denmark. Among many generous gifts of the mighty Danish king to churches on the continent of Europe, his donations to the famous church of Chartres deserve

special notice, while his queen Emma bore a very considerable share in rebuilding the minster of St. Hilary of Poictiers, where much of her work still remains.

The state visit of Canute to Glastonbury, in company with archbishop Ethelnoth, who, in common with so many of the archbishops and distinguished ecclesiastics, was connected with the school and religious house of that time-honoured sanctuary, is historical. Canute formally confirmed every gift and privilege which his English predecessors on the throne had granted to the famous Celtic sanctuary. The object of this state visit of the Danish conqueror to Glastonbury, was to do honour to the tomb in which slept his great rival, king Edmund Ironside. There, in front of the high altar of Dunstan's minster of stone, which had replaced the yet older wooden basilica, the scene of so many immemorial traditions of England and the yet older Britain, Canute knelt and prayed; and the story tells us how he covered the new tomb of the noble hero-king—once his bitterest foe—with a g geous robe, bright with the many-colou embroidery of skilful English workwom for which the island was then, and for l after that day, especially celebrated.

One more of these acts of piety devotion, which formed so prominent feature in Canute's life and work in E land, must be recorded. The body of martyred Alphege (Elfheah), who had b so cruelly murdered by the Danes Greenwich in the wars of Ethelred, solemnly translated from St. Paul's cat dral in London—where the remains, it be remembered, had in the first insta been interred—to his metropolitan chu of Canterbury. In this solemn work expiation king Canute personally assist and with him on that memorable d when paganism, in the person of greatest Danish sovereign who ever liv made sorrowful reparation for one of memorable Viking crimes, were his que and their boy Harthacanute, afterwa king of England.

COMB-CASE OF SCANDINAVIAN TYPE FOUND AT LINCOLN. (*British Museum.*)

# CHAPTER XXII.

## THE NORMANS.

gland Normanised by Edward—The Viking Rollo, Founder of the Norman Realm—Rouen—Extent of His Dominions—Normandy a Christian State—Guillaume of the Long Sword—Richard the Fearless—Richard the Good—The Normans in Italy—Robert le Diable—William the Conqueror—His Marriage with Matilda—Friendship with Lanfranc—Strength of the Normans—Vestiges of Paganism in their Character.

VHEN king Harthacanute, the son of Canute, fell stricken with a mortal sickness "as he at his ık stood" at the marriage feast of ;od Clapa, and thus made room for young kinsman Edward, surnamed Confessor, a new spirit came over ;land. The new monarch was in-sely religious, and history is too ready to le at the "monk-king," as he is not in-y often called; too ready to deride his ıence; too ready to look on him as a ıkish visionary, occupied with thoughts ı aspirations belonging rather to a stered monk than to the occupant of ighty throne. But Edward the Con-or was certainly more than a mere kish visionary; he had a settled ıose in his mind all through his gener-l quiet reign. He determined, with a ;ed determination, to "Normanise" sEngland; and from his point of view seign was on the whole successful, for o far changed his country as to render ble the Norman Conquest, which lved hard upon his death. It must emembered that with rare exceptions kings of the house of Alfred were o able men and successful sovereigns. Edward the Confessor was certainly not one of the few exceptions, but most distinctly an able man, and—as we have said—from his point of view, a successful sovereign.

He it was who prepared the way for a great and momentous change in England. From the day of his accession, Anglo-Saxon England became gradually Norman England. The Anglo-Saxon Church of England became, for good or for evil, the Norman Church of England. It is not the historian's province to discuss whether this change in the church from the spirit of Dunstan and Elfric to that of Lanfranc and Anselm was, in truth, for good or evil as regards the English church: we have simply and truthfully to tell the story of how the momentous change came about. But in telling that story we must first very briefly set forth *who these Normans were*, and what had been their history, who in the eleventh and twelfth centuries exercised so vast an influence in Europe; whose conquest of England worked so great a change in the manners, customs, views and doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon peoples; and whose history, from the year of the accession of Edward the Confessor,

becomes inseparably interwoven with that of our own country.

It was early in the last quarter of the ninth century, when Alfred was king, that we first hear of Rollo, the founder of the famous Norman realm. The son of a Norwegian petty king or chieftain, Rollo, driven by some bloody family feud from his northern home, sought his fortune abroad, and, as a Viking commander, for some thirty or forty years roamed the northern seas. With varying fortunes, at the head of a wild band of sea-pirates—sometimes large, sometimes comparatively few in number—he harried with his black ships many a fair and prosperous district, now in England, but more often in France. While still in the prime of life, the great sea-rover dreamed of founding a permanent settlement. He chose for his home the banks of the Seine, and the rich country which the Seine waters, and he made the seat of his government the once flourishing city of Rouen. It was a country impoverished by many cruel raids; it was a city half in ruins, of which Rollo the Viking took possession, and to which he acquired a sort of legal right by the terms of a somewhat vague treaty which he made with the king of the Franks, Charles the Simple.

After Rollo and his Vikings had taken possession of his new home, follows the romantic and marvellous story of the sea-king's life at Rouen. A quarter of a century spent in sailing the wild northern seas as a pirate, living a life disfigured by innumerable deeds of cruelty and wrong done to helpless monasteries and quiet villages and farms, and filled with burning and plundering and slaying, would s a curious preparation for one who to organise the government of a settlement, and to lay the strong grou work of a realm destined in a few s years mightily to influence the his of the world. Yet, strange to say, is what Rollo the northern pirate di Rouen and on the Seine banks, betw the years 911 and 927. Although vigorous, he must have been more t sixty years old when he began the stra work of organising his Norman settlem in France.

The country originally ceded to him the Frankish king Charles the Simple, which was only slightly increased in a years, may be said roughly to h included that portion of France we know as Normandy, and parts of Britt Maine was a later annexation. Rollo six successors in Rouen before the g Conquest of England in A.D. 1066, of whom were certainly men of unu genius and skill. What Rollo began, famous dukes of Normandy, as they w usually called, went on with; treading their great ancestor's footsteps, and veloping the strong, firm government, respect, and even devotion to the Chris faith, the love for order and law, wh were evidently the characteristics of R after he ceased to be a sea-rover, and settled down into the life of a ruler of industrious colony. We watch with s surprise the gradual but rapid developm of the work of Rollo and his success which went on chiefly whilst the k of the house of Alfred were reigning England. Rollo and his descendants w ruling in Rouen and Bayeux when Alf

elstan, and Edgar were kings in gland; and Canute's beneficent reign contemporary with the most splendid of the government of Rollo's children in more felt; we watch the gradual welding together of the Danish conquerors and the old dwellers in the land, which produced the Norman; till in the time

THE STONE CORN-CHEST AT FÉCAMP.

nandy. Gradually along the Seine s, in the Rouen and Bayeux districts, in more distant Brittany, we see the ruined religious houses rising from ashes; we see a powerful Christian ch making its influence more and of Edward the Confessor Normandy had become famous throughout western Christendom. It was famous as much for the reckless gallantry of its soldier nobles, as for the exalted devotion of its ecclesiastics; famous, too, for its new school

of architecture, for its lordly minsters, its vast monasteries, its schools, and even for its literature.

Rollo and his son, his grandson, and great-grandson—Guillaume Longue Épée (Long Sword), Richard Sans Peur (The Fearless), and Richard the Good, whose long lives and reigns extended over some hundred and twenty years, were more than nominal Christians. Each of them did much to restore the ruined churches and monasteries of their adopted country. Many singular recitals of the intensely religious impulses which ever and anon affected these chieftains of a people still half pagan, have come down to us. When Rollo lay dying, it is said, terrible memories of his acts in bygone years, when as a pagan Viking he had been the terror of the Frankish coasts, alternated with Christian hopes and onlooks. In the intervals of these disturbing memories, he showed himself the steadfast friend of the church he had once hated and persecuted; and he died, his poet biographer tells us, a devout Christian.

Guillaume Longue Épée (Long Sword), Rollo's son and successor, inherited his father's love for justice and right and order. He adopted the customs and state of the kings of France at his court, encouraging the Romance tongue, identifying himself and his adventure-loving people as much as possible with Frankish interests and feeling; and though still, with good reason, proud of their Norman ancestry and name, his subjects were content to call themselves Franks and Frenchmen, "though Frenchmen on a far nobler and grander scale than other Frenchmen." Christianity made rapid progress among these children of the Vikings; but more than a hundred years there ever a strong party among these Norm who clung to the old pagan rites, perhaps secretly still worshipped Woden Thor and the fierce Scandinavian g In the old city of Bayeux, the centre of old Danish or heathen party, paganism its bloody rites lingered long after the of Normandy had become Christian.

The Trouveur poet sang the praise this duke Guillaume, and tells us o mighty prowess in war, and of his personal beauty and winning charm manner; but in spite of all his ear success and grandeur, he longed, we r to throw off his armour and his d ornaments, and to exchange them for monk's cowl and robe. The abbot Jumièges, one of the restored S monasteries, with difficulty persua duke Guillaume to retain his royal digi telling him, with a true Christian ins only too rare in those days, how he c serve God and his people better on throne than in the monk's cell. W the Norman chief at last fell, stricken an assassin, a silver key to a much pr coffer was found on his person, and w the coffer was opened, the monk's c and robe were found: they were his r prized treasure. Secretly he had bec a monk, but had consented to lay monk's dress by, on the prayer of abbot of Jumièges, and to continue to over his turbulent subjects.

His son, still a child when Guilla was murdered, grew up to manhood an many perils, and then, under the hono name of Richard Sans Peur (The F less) during a long reign of fifty y

tinuing his father's and grandfather's rk, raised his Normandy to the first rank ong the Christian powers of Europe. was this Richard's beautiful daughter ma, known as the "Gem of Normandy," o married the Anglo-Saxon Ethelred Unready, and became the mother of ward the Confessor. In later years, en Ethelred was dead, she married, as have seen, king Canute; and Hartha-ute, afterwards king of England, was offspring of this second marriage.

Fifty years of restless, brilliant, busy , prematurely aged the grandson of llo. When scarcely past middle age health declined, and, worn out before had reached his sixtieth year, he went his loved palace and monastery of camp, by the sea, and quietly prepared die. He gathered his Norman nobles nd him, and received their homage for son, named after himself Richard. He l many other sons; these he commended the love and care of his eldest born, l very generously did the elder brother ry out his father's wishes. This noble up of boys—Richard Sans Peur's sons became the founders of great and toric Norman houses, destined in a no ant future to play a great part in our glish story; houses which bore the l-known names of Tankervill, Gournay, ford, Warren, and Mortimer—names tten large, in days to come, on many irring page of English history.

Outside the transept of the great abbey rch of Fécamp, which Richard had ed so well, and which he had rebuilt h much lavish care, stood a huge stone st. Every Lord's day this stone chest filled with the finest wheat corn. The poor of Fécamp were allowed each week to fill from this chest a little measure of grain, to which was added a small dole of money. When the end came, duke Richard was found to have left some curious directions as to his burial. The well-known stone chest, which had held for so long the wheat for the poor, was to be his coffin. The coffin was not to be interred in the walls of the great Fécamp abbey: Richard said he was not worthy to lie within those sacred walls. The stone chest containing his remains was to be interred just beneath the abbey wall, where, through an overhanging spout or gargoyle, the rain of heaven, dropping from the lofty roof of God's house, might ever and anon water the earth which covered his last resting place.

Such memories as these help to show, perhaps more vividly than the dry record of restored monasteries, and of the building or reconstruction of minsters and abbeys, what a powerful influence the religion of Jesus exercised upon these children of the Vikings, the most determined, and certainly the most dangerous foes Christianity has ever met with. When, however, once these Northmen saw the beauty of the Christian teaching, and were convinced of the truth of the Redeemer's words, they became the most ardent supporters and defenders of the faith which once they hated and despised. We have seen what a friend to the church was Canute, the son of the pagan Swein, another of these children of the dreaded Vikings, and how he also equalled, if he did not surpass, the greatest kings of the house of Alfred in his devotion to, and in his work for, the church of Christ.

The son of Richard Sans Peur (The Fearless) was perhaps a more devoted son to the church than even his father and grandfather had been. His ordinary epithet in history is "le bon," but some of the older chroniclers, instead of giving him this surname of "the Good," style him "Richard, the monks' friend" (l'ami des moines), in memory of his devotion to monasticism.

It was during this second Richard's long rule of thirty years that the Norman expeditions to South Italy first began to attract the attention of Europe. This was another of those strange episodes in Norman development which so mightily influenced the early mediæval history of church and state in the West. It was some ten years before the death of duke Richard II. (the date is 1016) that the old spirit of adventure peculiarly belonging to the Vikings of the north, seems again to have been awakened among the Norman-Frenchmen. Invited, in the first instance, by a prince of Salerno in South Italy to assist him in repelling a raid of the Saracens, the first little band of Norman adventurers—free-lances, as they would be termed in later mediæval history—was recruited by fresh and ever fresh companies of Norman wanderers attracted by the wealth and defenceless condition of South Italy. It has been well suggested that the wonderful successes of these Normans in South Italy, may have put into the minds of their countrymen who stayed at home the idea of a yet more important conquest of a country almost visible from their own shores. "When private adventurers like the sons of Tancred of Hauteville grew into sovereigns, what might not be done by the sovereign of Normandy him wielding the whole force of the land wi gave birth to men like them?" For w was the story of the conquest of Ap and its historic towns? "A few pri Norman adventurers—pilgrims retur from the Holy Land, . . . . ger men of small estate whom the pate acres could no longer maintain, gradu deprived the Roman empire of the of the remnant of its western possessi The sons of Tancred of Hauteville be as Vikings who had changed their elem [had exchanged the sea for the lan they gradually grew into counts, du kings, etc.; and when the first hor of conquest were over, no conque ever deserved better of the conque The rule of these Norman freeboo was the one example of really e and tolerant government which the w could then show."* Under their South Italy was at once prosperous secure. In an incredibly short space time these Norman adventurers, by t splendid bravery, their skill in negotiat their marvellous aptitude for governm won for themselves countships, dukedo principalities, and kingdoms. The wh of the beautiful south of Italy, eventually Sicily, with its fair cit its boundless wealth, gradually bec Norman. The strange story of th Norman settlements in the eleventh twelfth centuries in South Italy and Sic reads like a romance.

One illustrious family from the dist in Normandy known as "the Cotent were distinguished beyond all others these adventurers from the north—wor

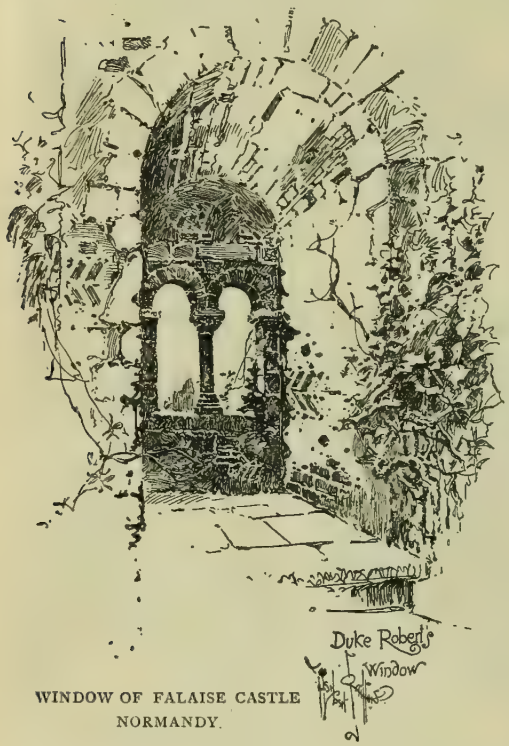
* Freeman: "Norman Conquest."

cendants indeed of their Viking fore-
ers! The castle of Hauteville near
tances, whose beautiful cathedral, built
what later by the generous gifts of
Hauteville house, still ranks among
noblest of Norman minsters, furnished
te persons of the sons of Tancred, the
geur of Hauteville, a marvellous group
Norman counts, dukes, and even kings,
who for some two hundred years powerfully influenced the fortunes of southern Europe, including most of the historic

DEPARTURE OF DUKE ROBERT FOR THE HOLY LAND.

lands lying around the Mediterranean Sea. In southern Italy there was but a little stretch of sea which separated the Norman adventurers from Sicily, the fairest island in the world. Sicily then, as now, was the garden of the Mediterranean, with its

fair cities of Palermo and Messina. The pennons of the Hautevilles of Coutances were not long before they passed over the little silver streak of sea. But in Sicily the Norman *Viking*—for the Hauteville warrior, whether known as Guiscard, Roger, or Bohemond, strangely resembled his




WINDOW OF FALAISE CASTLE NORMANDY.

pirate ancestors—found a doughtier foe than the effeminate Lombard or the degenerate Greek who in central or southern Italy had so quickly submitted to his arms. Across the narrow strait the Norman found the Saracen in possession of, and determined to do battle for, his charmed Sicilian land. Here the fighting was a reality, and lasted many years, but in the end Norman skill and valour prevailed, and the crown of Sicily was added to the long ro Norman triumphs in southern Eur In the hour of their proudest triun the greatest of the Norman Hautev even dreamed of winning and wearing diadem of the empire of the East, an a brief season even that superb prize see to be within the reach of these da wanderers. This was not to be, and a a century and a half of brilliant rule Sicilian Hautevilles, as a family, bec extinct, and their kingdom passed into hands of another race ; but the marvel story of these pirate Normans in the se will never be forgotten.

To return to Normandy proper. On death of duke Richard II. the extraordi prosperity of the Norman settlers in north of France experienced a tempo check. Dissensions and jealousies divi the sons of Richard II. We read of a sl war, then of a reconciliation, then of sudden death of the young duke Richard —men said owing to poison administe by his brother Robert at a great feas in Rouen. The true story will perh never be known, but the dark shadow crime seemed ever to brood over and cl the younger brother's life. Without position this younger brother Robert came duke of the Normans in a little m than a year after Richard II., "the fri of the monks," was laid to sleep in royal abbey of Fécamp.

Duke Robert, whom some of the o chroniclers surname the Magnificent, w others style him "le Diable," reigned s six years in Rouen, when he determi to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy L It would seem as though remorse for s awful crime—perhaps the remembranc

brother's murder—embittered his life d thus induced him thus to leave his chy and his child-heir for this danger- s Eastern expedition, from which duke bert never returned. His heir was illiam, still a child when the news of father's death at Nicæa reached Nor- ndy. This child-duke was that famous illiam, surnamed the Conqueror, whom shall meet with again in the recital of reign of Edward the Confessor, and o eventually became king of England.

Duke Robert died in 1035, the same r in which the great Canute passed ay. The son of Robert by Arletta was y eight years old; his was a joyless ldhood. The stern, grave Norman ons separated him at once from his ther Arletta, whom the chiefs of that ud race regarded with some contempt he daughter of a despised tanner. At age when young men have seldom to e with the stern realities of life, lliam had to fight for his ducal coronet. langerous rebellion of the barons had e grappled with. On the field of the -es-Dunes, near Caen, in 1047, the ng duke first showed his great skill as nilitary commander and his influence leader of men, and from the day of great victory he reigned as absolute ter in his Norman duchy. Edward Confessor, William's near kinsman, ng the greater part of William's rule Normandy, was reigning in England.

hirty years passed from the accession he boy-duke, to the year of the inva- of England, and although the years e largely filled with wars, with invasions ertaken and invasions repelled, they , on the whole, prosperous and honourable years for Normandy. They include three signal victories. The first, at Val-es-Dunes, we have already referred to; it signified the end of internal dissension; after the day of Val-es-Dunes, Duke William had no foes at home to contend with. The second of his great battles was fought at Mortemer in 1054. There he defeated a great invading army of Frenchmen, and so complete was the rout that we read how in all Normandy there was not a prison that was not full of Frenchmen. The third battle, at Varaville, in 1058, was fought again with the French, and the victory of William was so decisive that it partook rather of the nature of a massacre than a battle. This was the last act of the long wars between William and his suzerain, the king of France, and the great battle won at Varaville in the year 1058, left William perhaps the most powerful and dreaded ruler on the continent of Europe. Five years later the Norman dominion was increased by the great and rich province of Maine, and of its noble capital, Le Mans, which henceforth was as much a Norman city as Rouen or Bayeux.

In this necessarily very brief sketch of William's life in Normandy, two singular pieces of good fortune which befel the great duke whose fortunes later became bound up with England, must not be forgotten. He was singularly happy in his choice of a wife. His marriage with Matilda, the daughter of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was no doubt a love marriage, but it was a fortunate connection for the duke of Normandy. The alliance with the powerful and wealthy house of Flanders strengthened Normandy in Northern

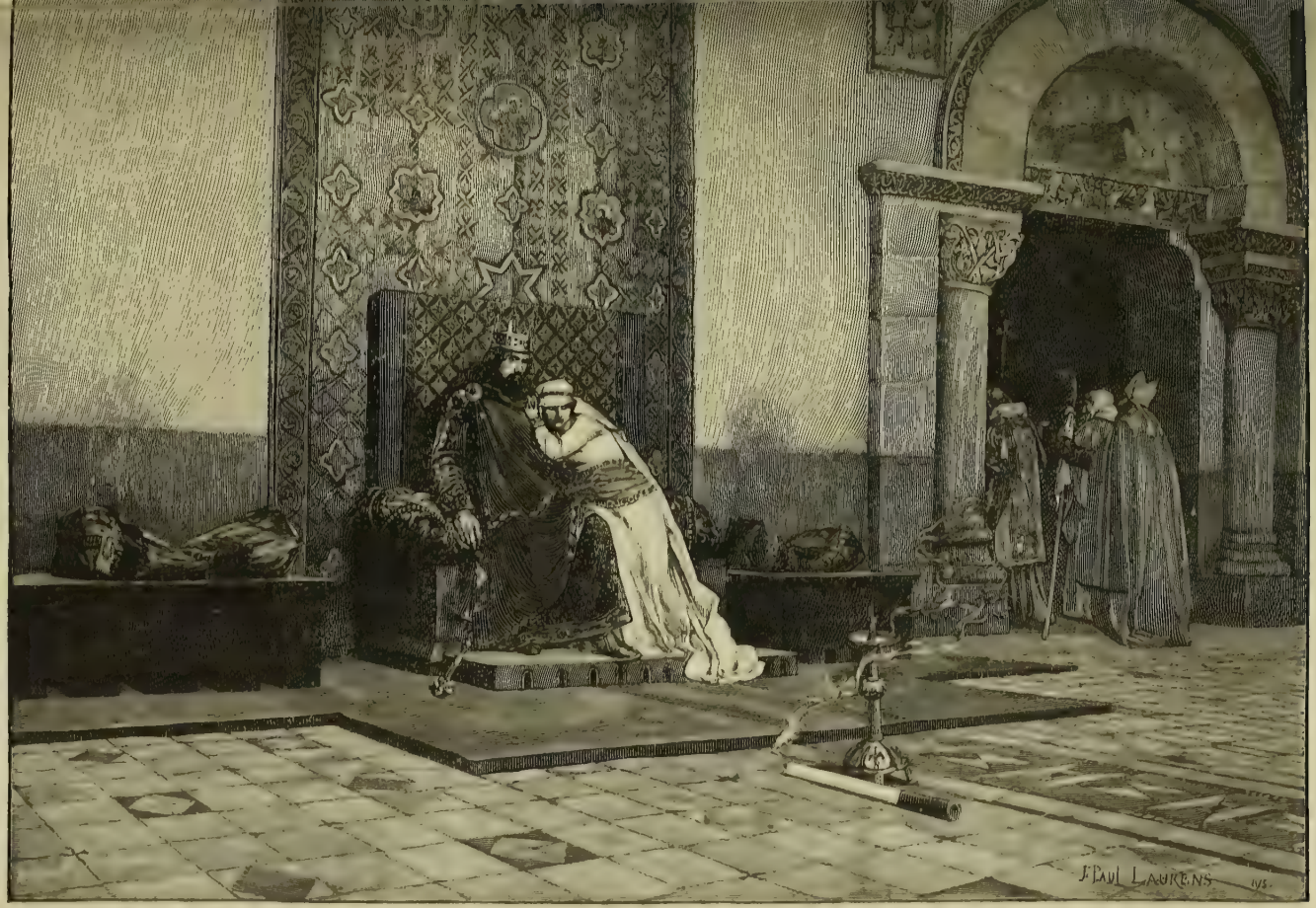
Europe. But it was the *woman*, rather than the princess, who helped William so markedly during his stormy, prosperous reign. Here and there the patient student of history detects in the beautiful story of Matilda's career the faults and errors of a woman. But these, after all, are only spots on a very noble and pure life. Her court was, with its brilliancy and splendour, a very model of an early mediæval court, as a centre of knightly virtues and true chivalry. Her patient love for her great husband, her unwearied devotion to the many hard state questions which so constantly harassed her life after William became king of England—when she was often left alone as regent of Normandy—her constant care for the poor and suffering, make up many a varied title to honour in Matilda's eventful story. After the Conqueror lost Matilda in the year 1083, men say that he never had another hour of brightness.

By William's side also stood, from about the year 1059 until the day, twenty-eight years later, when the wearied Conqueror closed his eyes at St. Gervais on the hill above Rouen, the greatest scholar and divine in England; but Lanfranc, the mighty Duke's friend and constant adviser, was more than a great student and churchman; he was one of the wisest and most far-seeing of statesmen. He will come before us again, for next to William he played the most prominent part among the Normans after the conquest of England. Although he was the chief and the most trusted of the advisers of the Norman duke both before and after the year 1066, and the minister to whose counsels the invasion of England was principally due, the monk-archbishop Lanfranc possesse history so pure, a record so white, that impute to him, in the matter of the N man claim to and subsequent invasion England, any but the highest moti would be impossible. Alone among Normans in the age of the Conquest, d Lanfranc appear to have won the love the Anglo-Saxon people. It was ind the crowning gift of fortune which g to the Conqueror a queen such as Matil and a minister like Lanfranc.

This little digression on the story of Normans was necessary to the understa ing of the story of the reign of Edw the Confessor; because on the fail of the Danish line of kings, and with accession of Edward the Confessor, *Norm* influence became gradually and incr ingly felt in England, till it became p mount when the Norman duke Will defeated and slew the Saxon Har Edward's successor, at Hastings.

It has not been by any means in language of exaggeration that we h painted this brief sketch of the caree the descendants of Rollo and his han of Vikings. They became in an incredi short space of time, as their histori loves to paint them, "the forem apostles alike of French chivalry and Latin Christianity among the nations Europe. In the tenth and two follow centuries *the Normans* of France, Engla and Italy were the foremost am peoples; in devotion the most ard religious reformers, the most fervent w shippers, the most lavish givers to churc and monasteries; in war they were in front rank, as crusaders and conquero

* Prof. Freeman.




EXCOMMUNICATION OF KING ROBERT THE PIOUS OF FRANCE FOR MARRYING WITHIN THE PROSCRIBED LIMITS.

*(From the picture by J. P. Laurens in the Louxembourg Gallery.)*

in the arts of peace, the children of Rollo learned, improved, adapted everything."

It is worth while to bestow a little further thought on the character and ideas of the men whom we know under the name of dukes of Normandy, who were the chief instruments in raising the Normans from a state of semi-barbarism to the proud, even unique position they held among the nations of Europe at the period of the Conquest of England. From the latter days of their famous ancestor Rollo, each of the six Norman dukes [Richard III., who scarcely reigned one year, is not reckoned here] were evidently firmly persuaded of the truth of Christianity, and were *at times* even passionately "religious," but there is no doubt that the paganism of their forefathers ever coloured their Christianity. The old cult of Scandinavia and its associations was never entirely forgotten, not even after the dukes of Normandy had become kings of England. This lingering shadow of another faith and its ideals, which so long brooded over the Normans, helps us to understand better certain phases of the character of some of the Norman, and even of the early Plantagenet kings of England.

The real but somewhat fitful zeal for the religion of Jesus of Rollo and his successors at Rouen, we know was always resolutely combated by a strong and capable, though as time went on gradually diminishing party in the great Danish settlement generally known as Normandy. For more than a century after the "coming of Rollo" the ancient city of Bayeux was the headquarters of this pagan party, who were sternly opposed to all Christianising influences. It is singular what a powerful hold the old worship of the Scandinav gods exercised upon the Viking people the north. There seems so little t would be likely to attract men who made any progress in culture and the of civilisation, and above all in the tea ings of Christianity, in the religion wh taught men to worship Thor and Wo and the cruel battle-loving gods of Sc dinavia. It seems to have appealed a special way to their national feeli They probably believed that their pag ism and its bitter hostility to Christian would alone keep them distinct as nation. They feared, and with g reason, that at no distant period they, conquerors, would blend with the c quered, whom they despised, and t with the adoption of the religion of vanquished peoples, in England the Da would become Englishmen, and that France they would become Frenchme

One singular feature of this linger spirit of the paganism of the north specially noticeable in the story of th mighty Norman dukes, whose work permanently influenced our England a its church. In spite of their love and real belief in Christianity, in th *marriage* relations, with rare exceptio the Norman dukes persistently follov pagan rites and pagan customs. Nor w the Christian ecclesiastics, whose influe and teaching in other respects genera guided and moulded their lives and poli able to persuade the Norman dukes adopt the practice of Christians in t important particular. For state reaso these powerful chieftains were usually duced to go through the Christian form a marriage with some Frankish princ

the sake of the strength and prestige ch such an alliance would naturally give n and their people; but they chose ost invariably as the mother of their dren some unknown woman, usually Danish extraction, to whom they were ed by some heathen tie usual among r Northern ancestors. For instance, e Rollo married with Christian rites ella, daughter of the Frankish king rles the Simple; but his real wife, ore Danico," according to the ancient ges of the North, was Popa, the her of his heir and successor, Guillaume gue Épée. So this same Guillaume gue Épée publicly married Liutgarda, daughter of the proud, long-descended se of Vermandois, though the real wife, mother of his children, was the unwn Espriota. Her son was the famous e Richard I. Sans Peur (The Fearless). hard Sans Peur for state reasons allied self, but only in name, with Emma, the ghter of Hugh le Grand, duke of nce; but the mother of his successor to dukedom of Normandy—Richard II. on, the "friend of the monks"—was nora, famed far and wide for her beauty grace. Emma of England, the queen cessively of Ethelred and Canute, the ner of Edward the Confessor, was the ghter of Richard Sans Peur and this Guenora. It will be remembered that William, the last and greatest of esix famous Norman dukes, the conor of England, the son and heir of Robert the Magnificent, for a mother no princess of ancient lineage, but only tta, the daughter of the Falaise ner, who was joined to duke Robert of Normandy by no Christian bond or rite. The sad title which history gives to William the Conqueror, too truly tells the story of his father's unhappy alliance.

No doubt this open disregard of the sacredness of the marriage rite on the part of the successive Norman dukes contributed not a little to the bitter feeling of scorn and hatred with which these powerful and brilliant princes were viewed by their Frankish neighbours. "No community of language or religion, no sentiment of friendship or feeling could conceal from the Carlovingian eye the stain of the black Danish blood. Living or dead, the Dane (though he called himself Norman) stunk in their nostrils."* Writing of the death of the mighty Richard Sans Peur, who passed away in his palace monastery of Fécamp in the year 996, the monk chronicler Richerius thus describes the dead Norman duke: "Richard the *Duke of the Pirates* died of the lesser apoplexy"—thus scornfully writing of a man whose power was greater than that of any sovereign prince of his time in France, whose splendid and magnificent court was the most aristocratic, to use the modern term, in Europe. "He would have none," writes the Romance poet, "but gentlemen about him," using, as it would seem, for the first time the word so familiar to our ears.

Such were the people, and such their rulers, who, descending from the same original Scandinavian stock, were now for the third and last time to affect from the outside the destinies of England and her church.

* Palgrave: "Normandy and England," chap. iv., part ii.

THE CASTLE OF FALAISE.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Norman Youth and Training of King Edward—His Coronation—His Reign never Challenged—Three Great Earldoms and their Rulers—Peaceful Character of his Reign—Influence of Go and Harold—Universal Regard and Reverence for the King—His Laws—His Character—Per Appearance—His Norman Preferences and Consequent Mistakes—Robert the Archbish Bishops appointed by the King and Witan—Archbishop Stigand—Doubts of his Ecclesia Status—Bishops Lyfing and Leofric—The "Rule" of Chrodegang—Archbishop Aldred of Y Harold's Foundation and College at Waltham—State of the Church of England at this Perio

THE period from A.D. 1042–1065, although a very memorable period for England and her church, contains but little history properly so called. It was an age of almost unbroken peace, as far as countries beyond the sea were concerned, and in consequence cons able prosperity was enjoyed at home great change was gradually passing the land, but it was a bloodless cha unaccompanied with suffering. In picture of it the story of the ch

; up most of the canvas; and yet in gland, save in the person of the king nself, no great churchman came to the nt. Before telling the story of the rch during this period of change it l be well, as heretofore, briefly to sketch principal events which happened be- en 1042, the year of the accession of g Edward, usually called the Confessor, 1066, the year of his death and of ny other notable events.

King Harthacanute, the Dane, the son Canute and Emma, had before his th formally adopted as his heir his half-

SEAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. (*British Museum.*)

her Edward, the son of his mother na and her first husband, the long- d Ethelred the Unready. The new king ard belonged to the glorious house of ed; he could trace his lineage in a direct e back to the West Saxon Cerdic. The e had come and gone, and once more ince of the old Saxon line sat on the ne of Alfred. But though Edward Confessor was an Englishman of Englishmen by descent, he was so by nothing else. His mother, the once beautiful Emma, the "Gem of Normandy," was the daughter of duke Richard the Fearless (Sans Peur), the great-grand-daughter of the mighty Viking Rollo. Edward himself had been brought up, not in English Winchester, but in Norman Rouen, an exile from his child-days. The Norman tongue was what he loved; he only knew Norman manners and customs; everything English was strange to him; his friends and associates were Norman. It was in the Norman church that he had learned the story of the religion to which he was so passionately attached. To him England was a strange and foreign country, and it was only in the last fourteen years of his reign, under the influence of a great Englishman, that he really became an English king.

But Edward belonged to the old royal race of Cerdic, descendant of Woden. He was the chosen representative of the famous

Saxon kings of the house of Alfred, to which England was with good reason attached, and as such he was welcomed in England by the people; and while he lived, such was the love borne to that royal house, no other man was even dreamt of as a possible king. In spite of the wise and beneficent rule of king Canute, the thought of another Danish king was hateful to the nation. Throughout England detestation of the Danes was deeply ingrained, and the misrule of Canute's two sons, who ruled successively as Harold Harefoot and Harthacanute, served completely to efface the memory of the prosperous and generally happy reign of Canute himself.

Prominent in the election of Edward as king, appear the citizens of the now wealthy and powerful London. The leaders of the English party, who brought about the national choice of the son of Ethelred the Unready and Emma, were Godwin, the earl of the West Saxons, and Lyfrig, bishop of Worcester, Devon and Cornwall. The close and intimate union of church and state in England was at this period completely cemented, and the power and influence of the church continued to grow during the long and generally quiet reign of Edward the Confessor. The adoption of Edward by Harthacanute, and the latter's ardent desire to acknowledge him as his successor, of course materially aided the peaceful succession of the son of the Saxon Ethelred.

Edward was formally crowned king at Winchester, on Easter Day of the year 1043, by Eadsige, archbishop of Canterbury; Elfric of York and most of the English prelates assisting at the august ceremony. Nor was his crown ever seriously challenged. In the north, where any danger might most probably be looked Magnus, the son of the Christian St. Olaf, was the most powerful chief, king already of Norway. During Har canute's life Magnus and Harthacanute agreed that whichever of them outl the other should succeed to his domini Harthacanute had died, and Magnus virtue of this old agreement, was ackn ledged king of Denmark; but he n seems to have made any serious clain the crown of England. Never during twenty-three years of Edward the C fessor's reign, was England really in danger from the north. There were n than once threatenings of invasion, they died away.

A rapid glance over the north, so drea by England ever since the first Vi raids at the close of the eighth cent shows us two great figures who, after death of king Magnus in 1047, played a minent part in the history of the eleve century. One of these, Swein Estrith was the son of earl Ulf and Canute's si Estrith, through whom his somew shadowy claim on the English crown derived. He had acted as commande Harthacanute's army in Denmark, and ceeded Magnus as king of that countr 1047. During a long reign of some th years he deservedly acquired the reputat of a great and wise prince, but his cla on England were never seriously pres The other, Harold Hardrada, half-brot of St. Olaf, king of Norway, after terrible battle in which Olaf lost his became a wanderer, and obtained a g reputation for his romantic deeds of a in the south of Europe. We find him

Magnus' death, sovereign of Norway, and for years the policy of this famous successor of the pirate sea-kings was a perpetual menace to England. But his designs on the English throne were not carried into effect until after king Edward's death, when, taking advantage of the disturbed state of the kingdom and the disputes arising respecting the succession, he invaded England with a great fleet and army, and was defeated by king Harold, with the loss of his life, at the battle of Stamford Bridge, in the year of Edward's death (A.D. 1066).

The only possible serious competitor for the crown when the Witan chose Edward—thus giving effect to the voice of England in electing a king of the old West Saxon line—was an exile in Hungary. A quarter of a century before, the infant sons of Edmund Ironside, the elder brother of Edward the Confessor, when their lives were threatened by Canute, had found a shelter at the distant court of king Stephen of Hungary. Their very existence was, however, forgotten in England. Of these two exiled princes Edmund was, in fact, dead; the other, Edward, was still living, and, far on in the Confessor's reign, was recalled to his native land with a view of being adopted by the childless king.

We mention this exiled prince, whose legitimate claims were never a source of danger to the Confessor, because through him the members of the present royal house of England derive their claim to be the direct successors of the imperial house of Wessex—heirs of Cerdic, of Egbert, of Alfred. This will appear from the following summary of the earlier links in our sovereign's genealogy:—

*From* WODEN, or ODIN,
*descended*
*From* .. CERDIC (Founder of West Saxon Dynasty), King of Wessex.
*descended*
*From* .. ALFRED THE GREAT, King of England.
*descended*
ETHELRED THE UNREADY, King of England.

EDMUND IRONSIDE, King of England (part). — EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, King of England.

EDWARD THE ATHELING.

EDGAR ATHELING. — CHRISTINA, a Nun. — MARGARET = MALCOLM, King of Scotland.

EDITH (Matilda) = HENRY I., King of England.

MAUD THE EMPRESS = GEOFFREY OF ANJOU.

*From* HENRY II. (Plantagenet), King of England,
*descended*
EDWARD, KING OF ENGLAND.

There is, besides, to be remembered that every descendant of William the Conqueror and Matilda, his queen, was also by *her* a descendant of Alfred, whose daughter Elfthryth married Baldwin II. of Flanders, the ancestor of Matilda.

During the reign of Edward the Confessor England was divided, roughly speaking, into three great governments or earldoms—namely, *Wessex*, to which was added Kent and East Anglia; *Mercia*, including all the Midlands, extending generally from South Yorkshire to Wessex, from East Anglia to the Welsh borders; and *Northumbria*, including the entire North of England, from the Humber to the Scotch border. The powerful nobles to whom these earldoms were entrusted were as follows:—

*Earl Godwin* (of uncertain lineage) was first raised to high office by king Canute. He became in time earl of Wessex, and at the accession of Edward the Confessor was by far the most influential man in the

realm. During his lifetime, his son Harold (afterwards king) was earl of East Anglia. After Godwin's death, in 1053, Harold became earl of Wessex, and virtually acted as sub-king to Edward the Confessor. Gyrth, a brother of Harold, succeeded him as earl of East Anglia. In the year 1055 another brother of Harold, Tostig, was appointed earl of Northumbria.

*Earl Leofric*, son of Leofwîn, earl of Mercia, had, when Edward the Confessor became king, already succeeded his father in the great Midland government. He was the husband of the famous Lady Godiva of legendary story. Leofric died in 1057, and his son Alfgar followed him as Mercian earl. *Alfgar's* children played a great part in the latter years of Edwa the Confessor, in the short reign Harold, and in the times of William t Conqueror. His eldest-born, *Edwin*, f lowed his father, Alfgar, in Mercia, Alfg dying in 1062. Morkar, Edwin's broth became earl of Northumbria when Tost the son of Godwin, was banished in t year 1065. Aldgyth, sister of Edwin a Morcar, married first Griffyth, the Wel king, and subsequently Harold the ea king of England.

THE DEATH OF SIWARD. *Photo: Mollyer.*

(*By permission, from the picture by Val Prinsep, R.A.*)

*Earl Siward* filled the great office earl of Northumbria. He was a warr of the old Danish type. It is related him that when he felt death approachi he said "it was a shame for him to d

not on the field of battle, but of sickness like a cow"; and calling for his armour, had himself all harnessed as if for battle, and so breathed his last. His elder son had fallen in the war with the famous Macbeth of Scotland. His younger son, Waltheof, was, when earl Siward died, still a child. He became earl of Northampton, and subsequently was the hero of one of the saddest tragedies of the Conqueror's reign.

Edward the Confessor's reign was, generally speaking, a period of peace in the church as in the state. The story of the church, and how its peace was occasionally broken, must receive separate treatment. In the state, no foreign wars have to be recorded, no foreign invasion harried the land. Within the island there were some race troubles, and for a time war was carried on with Wales and Scotland; but, except in some border raids, England proper was never seriously affected by these, and out of both these home wars she emerged the victor. The Welsh troubles were spread over many years. The year before Edward's accession, Prince Griffyth became king of Gwynedd, or North Wales. He was a chieftain of great distinction and of conspicuous ability, and from Gwynedd his dominion gradually extended over the whole of Wales. He was a bitter and at times even a formidable foe to England, hating Dane and Saxon alike; and in history he will ever be conspicuous as being the last native prince under whom the Welsh—the ancient British remnant—played a really important part in the history of England. Griffyth had, however, the misfortune of finding an adversary greatly his superior in the art of war.

DRAWING REPRESENTING CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.
(*From a Psalter of the time of Edward the Confessor. 11th Century.*)

Harold, earl Godwin's son, was an able strategist and a valiant soldier, and had behind him the almost boundless resources of wealthy England during a period of an almost unbroken peace at home. We read of two important campaigns of Harold in Wales. The first was successful, but it left king Griffyth still powerful, still able to threaten the peace and prosperity of the borderlands of England and Wales. The date of this first campaign was 1056. The second was closed by the complete subjugation of Wales, and the gallant native king, after his final defeat, was murdered by his own subjects. The fall of Griffyth at the close of the second Welsh war was in the year 1063.

The Scotch war was really a war between the great Northumbrian, earl Siward, and the Scottish usurping king Macbeth, the hero of Shakespeare's well-known tragedy. Macbeth, as under-king of Moray, had in sober truth obtained the Scottish crown at the price of a great crime—the murder of the over-king of Scotland, Duncan. But the reign of Macbeth—1040–1058—was a time of unusual quiet and prosperity for Scotland, and he and his well-known wife Gruach were specially famous for their generous bounty to churches in Scotland. Malcolm Canmore, the son and heir of the murdered Duncan, was an infant when his father's life and reign were suddenly cut short. Being, as he was, a near kinsman of Earl Siward, it was no doubt a desire to restore Malcolm to his lost inheritance which brought about the Scotch war. With the consent of his English sovereign, Siward invaded Scotland with a powerful force. Macbeth was defeated in a pitched battle in the year 1054, and after a long-drawn-out w was finally defeated and slain four ye later, when Malcolm was solemnly crow king of Scotland at Scone in 1058.

The banishment and subsequent ret of earl Godwin and his sons in the y 1052, which must presently be recoun in more detail, were attended with li bloodshed, and only slightly affected prosperity of the country. Even revolt of Northumbria against earl Tos Harold's brother, although danger and threatening for a time, was put end to without involving the country i civil war. It was owing to earl Haro wisdom and moderation that this form able rising was put down. It happe in this wise : When Siward died in 10 his heir, Waltheof, was still a child; eldest son had fallen in the war w Macbeth in Scotland. Tostig, Haro brother, in consequence, was appointed the great government ; Tostig was k Edward's personal friend. He pro himself, however, a severe if not a me less ruler, and eventually the wh province rose up against him. In a for Northumbrian Gemot, or assembly of chief men, Tostig was deposed from earldom, and outlawed. The same Nor umbrian Gemot elected Morkar, younger son of earl Alfgar of Mercia, be their earl. This was a high-hand indeed a rebellious act on the part of turbulent Northumbrians, and a civil seemed imminent. A strong force fr the north, under the newly-elected Morkar, marched into the midland co ties of Northampton and Huntingd behaving as though in an enemy's count King Edward, as the friend of Tos

hed for war to be carried into North-
bria to avenge the insult and injury
ne to his friend; but the wiser counsels
Harold, Tostig's brother, prevailed, and
a great national Witan held at Oxford
1055 the cause of the Northumbrians
s considered, and the reasons which led
the revolt were examined, and the
ult was the banishment of Tostig and
confirmation of earl Morkar in his
m.

These are the only wars in which
gland was involved in king Edward's
gn; none of them seriously affected the
sperity of the land. Its other events,
ng so closely interwoven with ecclesi-
c matters—many of them closely con-
ted with Normandy and its mighty
ke so loved of Edward—will be better
d in our history of the church and its
tunes.

What was the peculiar charm, the
ecial merit of that strange man whose
newhat uneventful reign we are trying
picture, but whose influence over the
rch in England was so great? He was
nero-king, no great lawgiver*, no writer,
the great Alfred whose works, written
that toil-filled life of his, raised and
ructed his people. He was not even a
queror; no new province or country
added by him to England. No group
tately sons or fair daughters gathered
nd the death-bed of the childless
ard, who might carry on the tradition
is work, and keep fresh the reverence
his memory. And yet, without any
nese titles to honour, the memory of
saint-king, Edward the Confessor, was
treasured by the English people for centuries with a changeless love, by men alike of Saxon and Norman lineage; was held sacred by each successive dynasty which has occupied his throne, alike by the kings of the Conqueror's house, as by sovereigns of the Plantagenet and Tudor lines. It is only in comparatively recent times, since mediæval thoughts and aspirations have given place to modern, that the reverence for Edward the Confessor has become rather an antiquarian than a national feeling. But it was not always so, and the power and influence which the saint-king, so closely identified with the church during his lifetime, and still more after his death, exercised for so long a period over the English nation, is a strong evidence of the hold which the Church of England—the church of which Edward was so devoted a servant, and whose interests he had so deeply at heart—possessed over the hearts of the English. It is also a weighty testimony to the close union between the church and the state in the Saxon era, which closes with the year of Edward's death, as well as in the Norman time, which commenced with the reign of Edward's friend and kinsman, William the Conqueror, who followed him so soon on the throne of England.

It is not by any means an impossible task to discover at least some of the causes at work, which led to this enduring national reverence and love for the great churchman king. The Normans would especially honour him as the near kinsman of their own mighty duke, as one who ever loved Norman customs, and who had successfully introduced them into England. They claimed him, too—though this was

* In the "Laws" of the Confessor, see page 50.

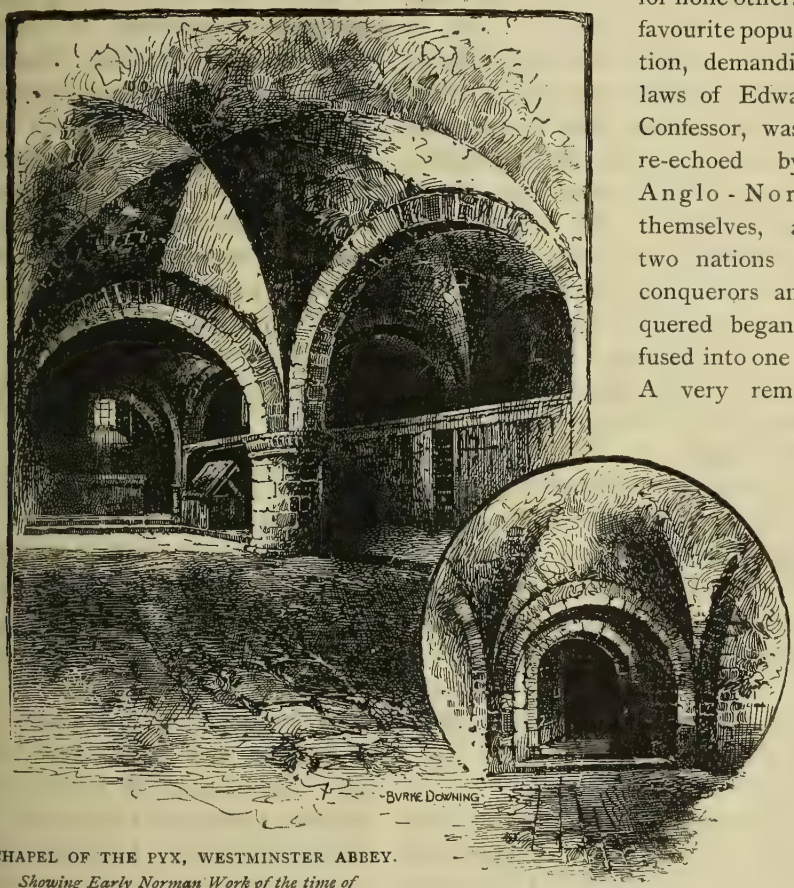
a much-disputed claim — as the Saxon king who named the Norman duke as his successor; as having done much to prepare the way for the great Conquest. To Normans he would, among the great Saxons of that age, ever stand out prominently as the friend of Normandy. The Saxons, on the other hand, would love his memory as being the last of the old royal race of Cerdic the Woden-descended, who bore rule in England as the last kingly heir of Alfred and his loved house. In the sad days of oppression and wrong that followed, the quiet beneficent rule of the last Saxon king would be sadly remembered. Thus, by conqueror and conquered, would the memory of Edward the Confessor be alike honoured and reverenced.

By the church, Norman or Saxon, the good deeds of Edward would ever be unforgotten. The Saxon would be mindful of his princely liberality, of his boundless generosity, of his love for and devotion to monk and prelate, of his fervid piety. No king before him had been such a friend to the church, her institutions, her foundations, her churches and abbeys; while the lordly abbey of the West-minster — the work of many years—consecrated while the saint-king lay dying beneath the shadow of its walls, remained as the enduring memorial of his great love for religion, the proudest minster in England, one of the noblest churches north of the Alps. The Norman ecclesiastics would be equally ready to reverence the monk-king, as many chose to style him, when they remembered how Edward loved their race, and even by preference chose Normans to fill the highest positions, the most confidential posts. Bishop and abbot royal chaplain were again and ag selected out of his Norman friends, oft indeed, to the deep displeasure of Saxon subjects.

But all these causes, though in aft days they might have been sufficien powerful to have procured for him curious honour of canonisation, to h secured his formal recognition by a grate church as a member of the illustri company of the saints, would never themselves have sufficed to win him t unique position in the hearts of the Engl people which for centuries was occupied Edward, the holy king. Later histori and painstaking writers, in relating events of his reign, and in estimating character and work of the Confessor, ha rarely taken into account the stran charm and enormous *personal* influen of Edward, which long remained a traditi among the English people; while mediæval biographers, thinking to do h honour, have so enveloped his meme with a wrapping of miracles, visions, sup natural gifts, that it became difficult distinguish the false from the true in history. It has thus become the fashi in modern times to belittle his work, speak scornfully of his character, to scribe his life as one better fitted an abbot of a Norman religious hou than for a crowned king of England. H such been really the case, the Confess while winning his position as one of English saints, would never have g down to generation after generation as darling of the English peoples. No k of England, not even the great Alf himself, has ever succeeded in finding

to English hearts so successfully as Edward.

his general and enduring devotion to memory of the saint-king, certainly not merely a romantic affection for




CHAPEL OF THE PYX, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
*Showing Early Norman Work of the time of Edward the Confessor.*

who was popularly credited with iculous powers of healing, and of seeing the hidden things of futurity. Our most ous and scholarly historians* refer at some length to the curious fact of the people of England crying, in the reign of William the Conqueror, king Stephen, Henry I., and the empress Maud, for the "laws of the good king Edward," and for none other. This favourite popular petition, demanding the laws of Edward the Confessor, was even re-echoed by the Anglo-Normans themselves, as the two nations of the conquerors and conquered began to be fused into one people. A very remarkable instance of this national feeling occurred during one of the intervals when the empress Maud, Henry Beauclerc's daughter and heiress, was in power. The men of the great and wealthy city of London prayed her that she would observe "the laws of King Edward," not the laws

*Freeman: "Norman Conquest." Hallam: Middle Ages." See also Bishop Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England.'

of her father, Henry I. (Beauclerc), because they were too heavy to be borne. This was some seventy-five years after the saint-king had been laid to rest in his abbey of Westminster. And this universal cry of the English people was listened to, we know, even by the haughty Norman kings; for the charter of Henry I. we find declaring that the king gives his subjects the laws of Edward the Confessor, with the emendations made by his father (the Conqueror), with consent of his barons. The charter of king Stephen not only confirms this charter of Henry I. but adds, even in fuller terms than Henry Beauclerc had used, an express concession of all laws and customs of Edward the Confessor. Henry II. (the Plantagenet) repeats the confirmation of his grandfather's charter. And yet it is doubtful if any great code of laws was ever compiled by the saint-king. It was rather the way in which he interpreted and administered the wise Anglo-Saxon laws of the house of Alfred, supplemented by the great Canute, which left so enduring and happy a memory in the hearts of the people. The conduct of Edward the Confessor generally towards the *poorer* freemen of England, seems to have won for him a vast and enduring popularity.

The Anglo-Saxons were an eminently devout race. We have had often to remark this in the course of the story of the English church, when dwelling on the lives of the more prominent men and women who were its distinguished ornaments; and the saint-king who closed the illustrious Anglo-Saxon dynasty of Cerdic and Alfred, was a marked type of the Saxon love of religion. All the biographers of Edward, from the contemporary writer the friend of Edith (Eadgyth), Edward Confessor's queen, down to the sc man of Alianore (Eleanor) the queer Henry III., unite in describing the sin piety, the ceaseless devotion, the loath of all sin and evil, the lofty standar purity of the saint-king. To these feat of a singularly guileless character, added, in Edward's case, the exquisite g and courtesy of the Norman chara The Anglo-Saxon king had been trai in that chivalrous court of Rouen, where name and bearing of "a gentleman" been first introduced. So the poet of l Henry III., about A.D. 1245, writes:—

895 "Each one who sees king Edward
Is more courteous when he leaves him.
Each one receives there, each one learn
Moderation, sense and good manners.
* * * * *
906 "His court was of courtesy
The school, and of accomplishments,
Nor was there since the time of Arthur
A king who had such honour." *

In a generally rough and dissolute the standard of morality and purity ai at in the court of Edward was evide a high one. The king's life is usu painted as painfully austere. He is c monly represented as a crowned m with tastes and habits only befittir grave churchman, far removed from ordinary tastes and pleasures of ordi mortals; he was, however, an ar hunter, delighting in the pleasures of chase, and sharing constantly in the m and popular pursuits so loved by all s and conditions of men. He would sp hours in church, says a well-known w of our days, "and then, as soon as he free, would be off to the woods for

* From the poem on St. Edward, address Queen Eleanor.

her, flying his hawks and cheering is hounds."

at he was especially the friend of the e is undoubted; it is clear that he ealous for their welfare, anxious ever nove the burden of excessive taxation, ful in all things for the lower and rosperous of his subjects. His well-n benevolence and kindness towards oor and suffering led these—then, all times, the great majority of the e—to look upon him as their natural ctor.

s time went on, the national feeling figured him," says the above-quoted r, "almost into a Saxon Arthur."

Much he resembles King Solomon,
Of great fame, of great renown.
French, Germans, Lombards,
Desire to see King Edward,
To hear his laws and his judgments,
His sense and courtesy." *

personal appearance seems to have what separated this last Anglo-Saxon rom other men. His portraiture has preserved to us. Edward seems to possessed a curious and somewhat thly beauty. He was almost an . His full, flushed, rose-red cheeks isted with the milky whiteness of his g hair and beard. There was a kind gical charm in his thin white hand s long transparent fingers, which not urally led to the belief that there l in them a healing power of stroking the diseases of his subjects. His figure, with the large crown or diadem ornamented with the triple or fleur-de-lis, crowning his long, wavy, white hair—the crown usually worn by the Saxon kings at all state banquets and public occasions—must have been at once a singular and imposing presence. The king in his peaceful reign rarely if ever appeared as the warrior, the man-at-arms.

The church exercised in this age vast power and enormous influence. Edward the Confessor was ever its steady, consistent friend; but he was, too, its acknowledged master, and while paying all due respect and honour to the bishop of the Roman see, Edward acknowledged no superior in his Church of England. The marvellous setting which surrounds the legend of bishop Wulfstan refusing to surrender his crozier to the Norman king, as will be presently related, is probably the addition of a later age; but the story is based upon the fact of the holiest of the Saxon bishops receiving originally his see of Worcester from the king's favour alone. He was supreme in the church he loved so well, and which he helped with so splendid a munificence and supported with so changeless a devotion.

For the great love with which king Edward the Confessor was loved by the people of his own time, and which has survived him till it passed into a precious national tradition, it is evident there was solid ground. He represented to the Anglo-Saxons their ideal king—intensely religious on the one hand, and on the other, not disdaining to share in the favourite and popular pursuits of his people. His innocent faith, "his artless piety, his sympathy with the people," says one who has well grasped the secret of Edward's strange charm, "were humble graces within the

* m the "Life of St. Edward," addressed to t Eleanor.

reach of every man, woman, and child of every time." All felt that the king lived nearer God than perhaps any of his contemporaries, layman or ecclesiastic. Probably not a few believed that he possessed powers rarely granted to mere mortals; but we leave further reference to this belief till we come to recount his last hours.

The highest tribute that was paid to him is perhaps found in the words of the unknown scribe in the Worcester and Abingdon redactions of the famous English Chronicle, probably written very soon after the king's death. "Far more precious," says perhaps the most learned and trustworthy of our modern historians, "than the vulgar praises of Norman legend-makers, far more precious than even the wrought-up panegyric of the courtly chaplain of his widow, is the song in Edward's honour handed down in our national Chronicles from the hands of a gleeman of his own time and of his own people. The English poet sang of Edward's early troubles—how he had to seek a foreign land when Canute overcame the race of Ethelred, and when Danes wielded the dear realm of England for eight-and-twenty winters. He sang of Edward's personal virtues—how he was holy, clear, and mild; how the baleless king was ever blithe of mood. He sang of the glories of his reign—how he guarded his land and people, how renowned warriors stood around his throne, how the son of Ethelred ruled over Angles and Saxons, how Welsh and Scots and Britons all obeyed the mighty sway of the noble Edward. . . . . Bitter death snatched the noble king from earth. Angels bore his trustful soul to heaven." *

* Freeman: "Norman Conquest," chap. xi., i.

"Edward the noble, chaste and mild,
Guarded the realm—law and people—
Until suddenly came
Death the bitter,
And seized the so dear one.
Angels carried
This noble steadfast soul
From earth into heaven's light." *

In summing up the character of Edward the Confessor, it would be not to allude to the grave errors in so the high appointments, especially ecc tical, which this devoted friend o church was led to make. Even in thi ticular, however, wherein emphatical beloved king was ill-advised, consid exaggeration seems to have coloure accounts of some of our historians. Ed it must constantly be remembered been brought up in Normandy, and court of Rouen had spent not onl youth, but a good many years of his manhood. To him naturally the lang habits, customs, and churchmanship Normans were peculiarly dear, and t fer some of his Norman friends to pla high dignity in the English church, his power was evidently paramount not be regarded as extraordinary. I of course, a grave error; one calcula excite national jealousy, and even to the Church of England, to which Ed was devotedly attached. These ap ments do not seem to have been nume but some of those men whom he so ferred wrought him the greatest po injury. And the king's actions in particular will ever be the chief blo his blameless life and reign.

The most prominent of the forei

* From the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1065 ( don and Worcester Redactions).

preferred was indubitably Robert, a an monk who had first been prior aint Ouen at Rouen, and afterwards t of the great house of Jumièges, on

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR IN CHURCH.

Seine, not many miles to the north of eautiful Norman capital. No doubt Robert had been Edward's intimate n probably tutor and spiritual sr. He was evidently an ecclesiastic considerable ability, and, apart from isastrous memories of his career in England, has left behind him a very magnificent memorial of his energy in the stately minster of Jumièges, on the Seine banks, which still survives in ruins, and challenges the admiration of the antiquarian and the architect of our own days. Within two years of his coronation Edward appointed him to the bishopric of London, and on the death of Eadsige, the archbishop of Canterbury, promoted him to the metropolitan see. Robert is said to have possessed

enormous influence with Edward, and a saying was long current that if Robert said a black crow was white, the king would at once believe him.

To Robert is ascribed the principal share in those events which led to the temporary banishment of earl Godwin and his son from England. Godwin returned to power after a short year's absence, and in the reaction which followed, Robert of Jumièges fled the country. He never returned to England. He had only held the arch-see of Canterbury during portions of the years 1051–1052, when the unanimous wish of the English nation recalled the house of Godwin to power. Alarmed at the evident bitterness of popular feeling which had been aroused by his policy, the Chronicle tells us how archbishop Robert and another prelate of Norman birth, Ulf of Dorchester, obnoxious to the people, fled for their lives, and how, mounted and sword in hand, they cut their way through the streets of London, wounding and slaying as they went, and so with difficulty escaped to the sea-coast, when, finding an old crazy ship, they at once made their escape to the Continent. At a formal Gemot or public assembly held in London the same year, among other decrees passed was one declaring Robert and Ulf outlaws.

Robert appealed to Rome for reinstatement. During the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period, there had only been one instance of a former appeal to Rome for reinstatement in a forfeited see by a dispossessed prelate, in the well-known instance of Wilfrid of York, the great Northumbrian bishop, in 678 and again in 702. Although the decision was i case of Robert, in his favour, the command was put aside, and Sti bishop of Winchester, was installe Canterbury. Robert retired to Jum and, dying there, was interred i stately minster he had erected. Edward made no opposition to wha evidently the will of the people pressed in the decision of the Witar acquiesced in the deposition of R and Ulf. It is remarkable that the mistakes of the king in the matter c preferment of these Norman ecclesi in the first half of his reign, do not in any way to have affected his popu with the people of England. Pro his ready acquiescence with the expr of popular feeling quickly effaced memory of the error.

Another Norman, William, one c king's chaplains, was appointed by Ed bishop of London, but no popular cla seems to have been raised against He went for a while into banishme the time of the return of Godwin, bu soon recalled, remaining bishop of Lo for many years, honoured by No and Saxon alike. He died in 1075, le behind him a memory long cherishe the citizens of London.

It may be well urged on beh Edward's action in thus appointing mans to high preferment, that it w no means an unusual thing to ap foreign ecclesiastics to high posts i Anglo-Saxon church. King Canute Duduco, a Lotharingian, the bishop Somerset. Lotharingia signified ro the southern Netherlands, the bo lands of Germany and France. O

r hand, Canute appointed several Eng-
nen to Danish sees. Other Lothar-
n prelates, viz. Gisa and Walter,
respectively appointed to the sees
Vells and Hereford in the latter years
Edward's reign, when earl Harold
the all-powerful minister; and this
Harold, whom no one would suspect
n-English tendencies, sent to Liége for
lhard as the head of the educational
rtment of his magnificent foundation
Waltham Abbey. This last foreign
siastic was the great English earl's
f counsellor in his famous Waltham
.

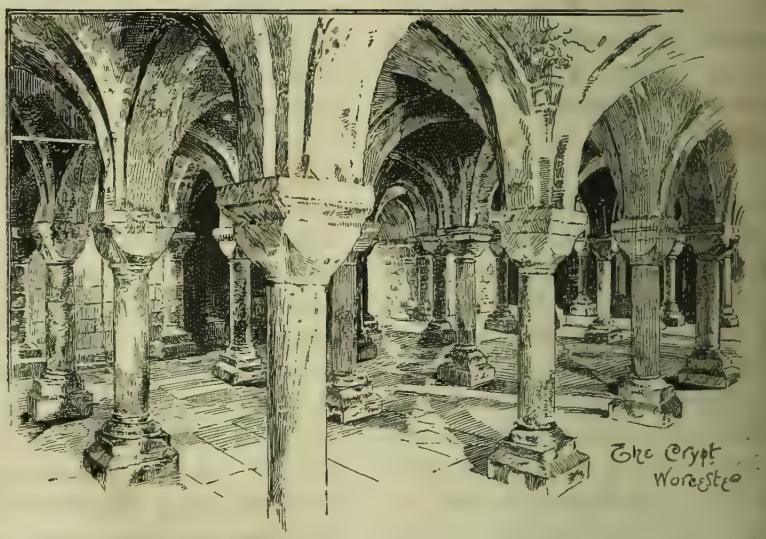
ll this shows us that the best men and
greatest scholars that could be found
often searched for, even across the
for these great posts. King Edward's
luct, therefore, in preferring men to
positions in the church from his
urite Normandy, although, under the
mstances of his peculiar relations with
en, imprudent and calculated to excite
usy among his English subjects, was
o means an unusual practice. In the
nce of Robert of Jumièges and Ulf
as unfortunate in his choice. Robert,
archbishop of Canterbury, was evi-
ly a most unwise adviser; and Ulf was,
his utter lack of learning and from
us other reasons, quite unfit for a
bpric. The majority of the prelates
at this period chosen from among the
's—or in some cases from the queen's
aplains. Robert of Jumièges, the arch-
lp, had been, of course, well-known
Edward in Normandy; William of
lon, Leofric of Exeter, Hermann of
shire, Ulf of Dorchester, Wulfwig of
hester (who had been chancellor), had
all served the king politically as chaplains and secretaries. Stigand of Elmham, then of Winchester and subsequently the archbishop, had been closely connected with Emma, the queen-mother.

The king's position in the appointment of these bishops and abbots of the Anglo-Saxon church we have already touched upon. It is a question of great moment; and, besides its importance in measuring the claims of the Roman see so soon to be advanced and pressed, it is also closely mixed up with the relations between the church and the state in the times of the Anglo-Saxon kings. In the Anglo-Saxon church the English church and the English nation were one. It was by the king's writ that the bishopric was formally bestowed; and what the king and his Witan gave, the king and his Witan assumed that they could take away. And they acted upon this assumption; for, as we have related, these two great state powers dealt with the sees of the outlawed archbishop and bishop Robert and Ulf as they would have dealt with counties under the government of outlawed earls.

It is noticeable that (1) The appointment to bishoprics and abbacies practically and legally seems to have rested with the king and the Witan. But when the king chose, as he often did, to exercise his power, the appointment really rested with him. Frequently the Witan did little more than register the king's edicts in these matters. (2) Occasionally the monks or canons of an abbey or a cathedral church made an election in a canonical form, and then petitioned the king and Witan to ratify their choice. That the king claimed and exercised the power to

refuse such an election, we know from the circumstances which attended the election of Ælric by the monks of Canterbury to the archbishopric vacant by the death of Eadsige. Ælric was a monk of Canterbury, an able man, of blameless life, and well loved by his community: he was a kinsman of earl Godwin. But the king refused the prayer of the canonical election, and gave, as we have seen, the archbishopric to the then bishop of London, Robert of Jumièges. In the same year king Edward, against the wishes of the monkish chapter, gave the important abbey of Abingdon to an aged Norwegian bishop—one Rudolf. Rudolf was a kinsman of Edward the Confessor, and was weary of his northern see. On this occasion the king pacified the monks of Abingdon by promising them that a free election of their abbot should be allowed them on the next vacancy.* Thus the Anglo-S king recognised a quasi-right on the of the chapter; a right, however, w he claimed the power to override v he saw fit.

The instance of the choice of the sa Wulfstan to the bishopric of Worcest a particularly interesting one. There king expressly allowed the clergy people to elect freely; this po election was approved and confirme the king and Witan in 1062; and in election the legates of the Pope, happened to be in England at that seem to have exercised some conside influence. This memorable electio the famous Wulfstan to the bishopr Worcester is referred to by Ælred




CRYPT OF WORCESTER CATHEDRAL, BUILT BY BISHOP WULFSTAN.

* Compare Stubbs: "Constitutional Hist chaps. vi. and xix.; also Green and Freeman, referred to.

*Photo by Harvey Barton, Bristol.*

WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

elred), abbot of Rivaulx, who wrote he first half of the twelfth century, in course of his narrative of the famous sal of Wulfstan to give up his bishop's , at the command of William the queror and the archbishop Lanfranc. lfstan laid the staff instead upon the b of Edward the Confessor, and Ælred these memorable words into his th: "I will give back to thee (king ard) the charge which thou didst give ne. Thou knowest, most holy king, unwillingly I took this burden upon and how it was thou didst constrain thereto. The choice of the monks not wanting, nor the consent of the ps and nobles; *but it was thy will h stood forth chief above all.* Lo! is now a new king, a new law, a primate, who puts forth new decrees. *charge thee with error who didst make bishop.*" This singular assertion of supreme power of an Anglo-Saxon eign, even in the case of a popular con of a bishop, was made by a writer lived *after* archbishop Lanfranc and lm had to a great extent recognised uthority of Rome. It is thus perfectly clear that the Anglo-Saxon kings claimed and exercised absolute power in these episcopal and other great church appointments.* Roger of Wendover, prior of a cell of St. Albans, who died A.D. 1237, puts these words in Wulfstan's mouth, speaking to the dead king Edward, "*me pontificem fecisti.*"

It is singular that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, one of the most devoted kingly friends the Church of England ever possessed, no very distinguished ecclesiastic came to the front; no great soul possessed with an intense conviction of the high sacerdotal privileges of his order, like Wilfrid; no mighty church organiser like Theodore; no scholar like Bede or Aldhelm; no pure and lofty-minded ecclesiastical statesman like Dunstan, whose grand dream to make the church and state

HAROLD SEATED IN STATE. (BAYEUX TAPESTRY.)

* As this is a most important instance of the ecclesiastical power of the Anglo-Saxon kings, it is well to give the exact words of Ethelred or Ælred, abbot of Rivaulx, in his account of the election of Wulfstan to the Worcester bishopric: "Licet non deesset fratrum electio, plebis petitio, voluntas episcoporum, et gratia procerum, his tamen omnibus tua præponderavit auctoritas, tua magis urgebat voluntas."

one, was partially realised in his own career, and the effect of whose work was stamped for ever on the church of his native land; no fervid missionary spirits like Columba, Columban, or Boniface, arose in king Edward's days. Besides the king himself, the only really master-minds in that quiet, peaceful reign were the two great Saxon earls, Godwin and his son Harold, afterwards the king. But among ecclesiastic persons, although several notable church leaders deserve notice, no one flourished to whom the title "great" can with any justice be applied.

In Canterbury, king Edward found Eadsige reigning as archbishop. At his coronation the address of the metropolitan was of so able and stirring a nature that the writers of the National Chronicle thought it worthy of special mention. But Eadsige soon sickened with a mortal disease which affected his mental powers, and we hear little more of him. The Norman Robert of Jumièges, neither as bishop of London nor during his short tenure of the primacy, gave any sign of superior intelligence, and his friendship with the king was the most disastrous episode of the reign.

The Saxon Stigand, who succeeded Robert in the chair of Augustine, was a complex character. In the course of a long and stirring life, he filled a number of important positions. We first hear of him as priest of Assandun, the little minster of "Expiation" erected by king Canute, in 1020. He became the chaplain and adviser of queen Emma, the widow of Ethelred and Canute; then the friend of Godwin and Harold; successively bishop of Elmham (East Anglia) and Winchester, and then archbishop of Canterbury. Of saint-king he never was the intimate fr or trusted adviser; at best, Edward se rather to have tolerated his presence to have given him his confidence. Du his long tenure of his great office, he n was able to command the real affectio even the confidence of churchmen; ne as a scholar or a saint, nor even as a cessful statesman, does he occupy a n in the many-hued annals of our chu It is difficult for us now, when n than eight centuries have passed s Stigand closed his brilliant, stormy thoroughly to understand the m feelings with which this illustrious was regarded by his contempora That Edward should have disliked and perhaps mistrusted him (altho he acknowledged his high official positi is natural enough. Edward was a dev churchman, and it is clear that some g flaw existed in Stigand's right to be sidered primate. The dislike and dist was mutual, as we shall see when come to relate Stigand's behaviour as stood at Edward's bedside, during the l agony which preceded the death of Confessor.

What is more perplexing is the bea of Harold as earl and king, towards Stig who was ever Harold's loyal friend supporter. In the consecration of his al of Waltham, the centre of his great ed tional foundation, earl Harold passed Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, called upon Cynesige, the undistingui archbishop of York, to officiate at formal consecration of his great crea Again, at the most solemn moment o life, at his coronation in Westmi

ey, it was Aldred of York, not Stigand Canterbury, who placed the crown of gland upon the brow of Saxon Harold. lliam the Norman, following Harold's mple a few months later, declined to il himself of Stigand's services, and red again officiated at the Norman onation in the same West-minster. Of the bishops who were consecrated in days of Edward the Confessor, Stigand y officiated in the cases of Ethelric, op of Selsey, and Siward of Rochester. the other prelates sought consecration ther hands. An uneasy feeling as to gand's ecclesiastical position as primate, evidently general in England. The ious doubts that were current were ed in by serious laymen, as well as responsible ecclesiastics.

easons for these widely-spread scruples have existed, which have not drifted n the stream of ages to us, but the wing details are, as far as we know, that was ever alleged against the lity of his position as archbishop. (1) predecessor, Robert of Jumièges, fled ome, loudly complaining of his cause- deposition. His protest was en- ed by the Pope; though no heed, rently, was paid in England to e's remonstrance. (2) For six years nd continued archbishop without a from Rome. Indeed, one of the ges subsequently urged against him that he used the old pall be- ed upon his predecessor, Robert of èges. Eventually he received the ed insignia of his great office from e; but, unfortunately for Stigand, the r was Pope Benedict X. The election is pope was irregular; the cardinals do not seem to have acknowledged him. His reign was brief, only lasting one year; for he was driven from the papal chair, and had to give place to Gerard, bishop of Florence, known as Nicholas II. Benedict X., who gave Stigand his pall, by the Catholic church is reckoned as an anti-pope and schismatic. Thus Stigand never received the legal recognition of Rome.

We have dwelt upon this circumstance, as it marks a distinct step in the gradual acknowledgment of a serious, though perhaps as yet an undefined claim on the part of the Roman bishop to interfere in the case of the primacy of England. The conduct of a man like Harold, intensely English in heart, shows how deeply the claim of Rome to confirm the appointment of an archbishop of Canterbury had sunk into the hearts even of the most sturdy and patriotic Englishmen, and this at a time when the respect and regard of foreign peoples for Rome had been weakened by the spectacle of well-nigh a century and a half of anarchy and confusion at Rome, and of a long succession of weak and even of infamous Popes. Yet none can deny archbishop Stigand's integrity of purpose, or his unswerving patriotism, or his quiet unobtrusive loyalty; while the melancholy and painful circumstances—hereafter to be related—under which his long and brilliant career was closed, must ever induce the biographer of Stigand to speak gently of the faults and errors of the last of the Anglo-Saxon archbishops of Canterbury.

It was in the fourth year of king Edward that bishop Lyfing died. Lyfing "the eloquent," as the Worcester chronicler styles him, had long played a distinguished

part in the church and state. Originally a monk of Winchester, he was appointed abbot of the western abbey of Tavistock, one of the many houses burned by the Danes in the unhappy days of Ethelred the Unready. He became a favourite of Canute, and accompanied the great Dane on his pilgrimage to Rome, and was the bearer of that king's famous letter to the English people. Canute made him bishop of Crediton in Devon, and with that see he held the bishopric of Cornwall; and subsequently he added to these the important Midland see of Worcester. During the Danish reigns of Harold Harefoot and Harthacanute he was the loyal and devoted friend of earl Godwin, and we find him associated with the mighty earl in the national work of establishing Edward on the throne. He was a fair example of one of those statesmen-prelates who had a large share in the government of the country. But Lyfing was ever a statesman rather than an ecclesiastic or a scholar, and his consenting to hold three vast dioceses is a sure indication of his ambitious character. His memory was, however, long cherished in the west country, not merely as an able and patriotic minister of state, but as a generous friend.

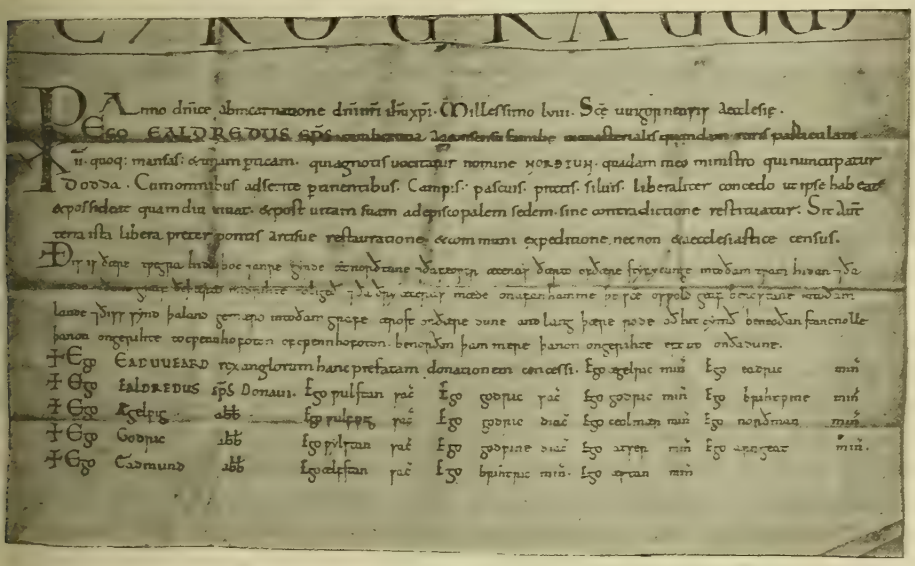
When Lyfing died in 1046, his western dioceses were formally united into one, and Leofric, the king's chaplain, who acted as the royal chancellor, became bishop of Devon and Cornwall. He removed his bishop's chair to the city which was ranked as the capital of the west—Exeter, and in the church of St. Peter, now raised to the rank of a cathedral, Leofric was solemnly enthroned by king Edward. Bishop Leofric was an ardent church reformer, and

formed a chapter of secular canons u
the strict rule of Chrodegang of Me

Chrodegang, archbishop of Metz,
had lived some three centuries before
reign of Edward the Confessor (742–
endeavoured to establish a modified
of the Benedictine rule in cathe
chapters. The canons were to live u
the rule of the bishop. They ha
common refectory and a common do
tory; their life was carefully mapped
certain times were appointed for ma
labour, others for study; certain serv
were to be daily attended. Pastoral du
such as baptism and preaching, were
joined upon them. They were to
celibates, but they might—different
monks—enjoy individual property. T
did not wear the peculiar dress of
monastic order, and their dietary was
a far more liberal scale than that
scribed by the Benedictine rule. The
of Chrodegang was soon adopted by
many as eighty-six chapters. Charlema
especially favoured this famous ref
movement, and many colleges of can
under the rule of Chrodegang were form
in addition to the cathedral bodies
whom it had originally been devi
Louis le Débonnaire, Charlemagne's son
successor, presided over a great counc
Aix-la-Chapelle in 816. This council
its formal sanction to the "rule," w
was generally adopted in most of
French, German, and Italian cathe
Not a little of the wealth of these cath
chapters was owing to the general f
with which this strict system was vie
In England, however, it was never reg
with favour, and all the earlier and
attempts to introduce it into cathedra

nerally proved failures. Bishop Leofric's orts at Exeter to establish the "rule of rodegang" in his cathedral, seem only have been fairly successful during his ure of the see, which lasted until 1072. aces, but only traces, of this severe dis- pline were visible at Exeter in the next ntury.

of Tavistock. It was in the year 1046 that he was appointed to the bishopric of Worcester. A favourite of the king's, he was soon employed in political affairs, and in the year 1049 we find him associated with bishop Hermann of Ramsbury, the king's chaplain, as ambassador to Rome to procure Edward's absolution from his vow



ARTER OF ALDRED, BISHOP OF WORCESTER, CONFIRMED BY KING EDWARD A.D. 1058. (*British Museum.*)

The other of bishop Lyfing's sees, orcester, was filled by a more remark- le man than Leofric. For twenty-three ars the monk Aldred filled a prominent d distinguished position in the Church England as a statesman and ecclesiastic. s early career closely resembled that of predecessor, Lyfing. He, too, had en a monk of Winchester—a famous ining school in those days of Bene- tine monks who were destined to fill h office. From Winchester, too, like fing, he was called to the post of abbot

of pilgrimage. The result of the Roman mission is well known. The king obtained absolution, on condition of his founding an abbey-church and religious house. The condition was fulfilled in the re-foundation and rebuilding the stately abbey of St. Peter's, Westminster, the most enduring and the most magnificent of Edward the Confessor's works.

In 1054 we hear of bishop Aldred again as Edward's ambassador—this time to the court of the emperor Henry III., at Cologne. The object of this embassage

was to induce the emperor to send to England Edward the Atheling, the exile, the son of Edmund Ironside, whom at this time the childless Edward intended to make his heir. Edward the Atheling had married Agatha, a near connection—probably the niece—of the German emperor. The exiled prince Edward, as the result of Aldred's mission, came to England with his family. Edward died soon after his arrival, but left a son, Edgar, who as Edgar Atheling subsequently played no inconsiderable part in the reign of William the Conqueror. In the year 1058 Aldred again crossed the seas, this time as a pilgrim to Jerusalem. In the same year he officiated at the dedication of the abbey church of Gloucester, which he rebuilt.

It was in A.D. 1060 that Aldred, now one of the most famous of the English statesmen-prelates, was raised to the arch-see of York, retaining, however, his old bishopric of Worcester. This practice among the greater prelates of holding two or more important sees at the same time, was a common abuse at this period. Again this unwearied traveller crossed the seas to seek the pall at the hands of the Pope. The circumstances of his visit to Rome are somewhat confused. At first the pall was refused, the fact of his holding two important bishoprics being the alleged reason of the refusal. The pall was, however, eventually granted, it is said through the influence of earl Tostig, Harold's brother, who was also at Rome. On Aldred's return he resigned the see of Worcester. The next six years were memorable in his ecclesiastical career. The archbishop devoted himself to his diocese, and was distinguished not only as a church reformer, but as a church buil York and Southwell both received subst tial proofs of his vigour and liberality, to Beverley he seems to have devo his principal care. We read of his gr building work in the noble minster, of his efforts in decorating the roof his church, which he adorned with gl ing colours till "it looked like anot heaven." The splendid pulpit of Beverl the work of Aldred, obtained espe notoriety; it was marvellously construct and rich in costly metals. He also lib ally endowed the famous and beauti church, to which he evidently had special attachment.

After Edward the Confessor's dea Aldred officiated at the coronation ce mony of Harold in the new abbey Westminster. He was king Harol trusted friend, and after the crushi defeat of Harold Hardrada at Stamf Bridge in 1066, king Harold left the v spoils of the Northmen piratical invaders the archbishop's care, while he hurri to the south to meet the Norman du William and his mighty host. The astu and statesmanlike prelate contrived keep on terms with Harold's conquer and was asked by duke William to cro him in the room of the dead Harold. F the second time in the same year, he p formed the solemn coronation rite in t Confessor's abbey of Westminster—t time for the Norman William.

During the three terrible years whi followed, Aldred continued archbishop York, and, as far as he could, played t part of mediator between the Conque and the hapless conquered English. the year 1069, worn out with sorrow a

may at the treatment of the English, a ctator of the ruthless work of William, verless to avert the ruin and desolation ich he saw coming over his most sorely rried diocese, Aldred died. He had yed, men said, to be taken from the l to come; and the eventual burning York, with its storied minster and its celess treasures, Aldred was happily not red to see.

During the reign of Edward, although the church the influence of the Benetine order was very great, and the verful friendship of the saint-king ch conduced to the spread of its ver, his regard was especially shown in perpetual lavish gifts to Benedictine nastic houses, and more particularly the case of the mighty house he s building for the Benedictine order der the shadow of his lordly Westnster. The flourishing condition of at Benedictine houses like Tavistock, nchester, Peterborough, Evesham, and ers, show, too, that Benedictine moticism was a real power in the land the days of king Edward. Still there re other agencies at work not friendly monasticism. Statesmen-prelates, like fing, whose rule extended over three ad dioceses in the west, and Stigand archbishop, and Aldred of Worcester l York, even though some of them had n trained as monks, were not likely to e been ardent admirers of an ascetic nasticism. Bishops like Leofric of ter, who considered that the purity the church would be best guarded by establishment of chapters of canons ned after the rule of Chrodegang, above cribed, were probably no warm friends to a Benedictine monasticism. To men of this school the *via media* of Chrodegang's rule seemed best fitted to train good pastors and teachers; while earl Harold, powerful throughout the last thirteen years of Edward's life, preferred as the model form for training, as well as for pastoral work, an even less monkish, less severely ascetic rule than that of Chrodegang's. What Harold wished to establish in England, will be best seen in a description of his own great creation at Waltham.

The story of the foundation of Waltham, at once minster and college, is an interesting one. Tofig the Proud was a great Danish thane who held the office of standard-bearer to king Harthacanute (it was, as we have related, at his marriage feast that Harthacanute "died, while he at his drink stood"). Tofig the Dane held broad lands in Somerset and Essex. In one of his Somersetshire lordships, on the top of the peaked hill afterwards called, from its form, Montacute, and which gave the title to the proud Norman house of Montague (de monte acuto) was found a miraculous crucifix or rood. Tofig built a church on his Essex estate as a sanctuary for this precious relic, and created a foundation there for two mass-priests. Round the little church of Tofig, attracted by the sanctity of the wonder-working crucifix, which rapidly became an object of popular and pilgrimage veneration, grew the little township of Waltham. This was in the days of Canute. Eventually the son of Tofig fell into disgrace, his lands were confiscated, and Edward the Confessor gave the lordship of Waltham to Harold, then the earl of East Anglia, with whom

it became a favourite residence. Harold rebuilt the small church of Tofig on a larger and more splendid scale, and enriched it with many gifts and precious relics — its most precious possession still being the miraculous rood of Montacute.

The great ecclesiastical foundation of Harold was not a monastic abbey; it was rather a vast educational establishment, with the abbey as its centre; he placed in it a dean and twelve secular canons, each priest living on his own prebend, and some of these, it has been suggested, were even married men; a number of inferior officers supplemented the house. The dominant idea, however, of Harold's work at Waltham was not prayer and worship, or even pastoral work and preaching, though these were by no means to be neglected in the lordly abbey of the Holy Rood, but *education*. The chancellor or chief teacher held a most important position in Harold's fraternity, and to fill this office, Harold brought from over the seas an eminent scholar and teacher named Adelhard, a native of Liége (Lüttich) in Lotharingia, who superintended the teaching department of the house. The

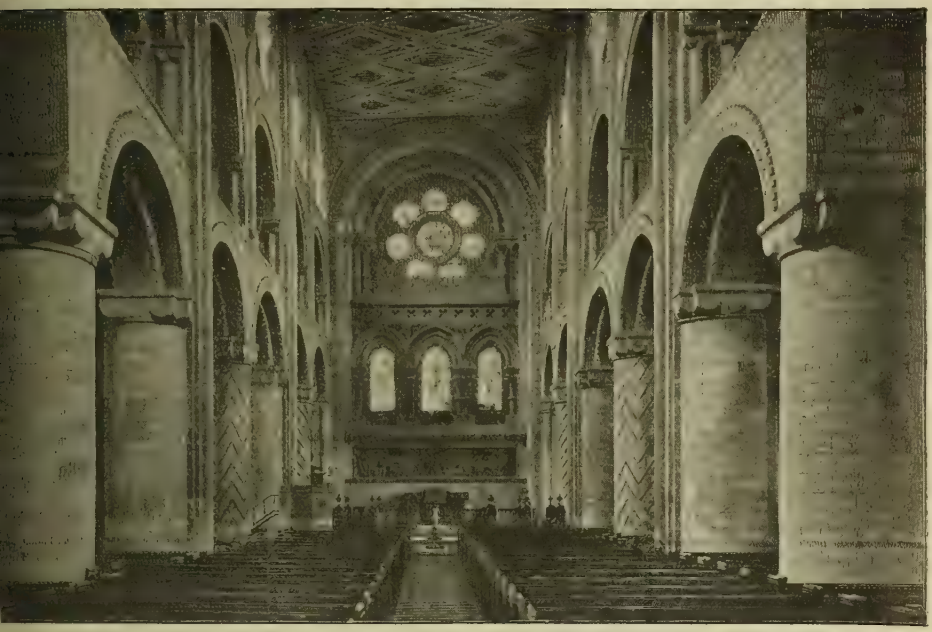
MOULD FOR BADGE WORN BY PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF THE HOLY CROSS AT WALTHAM. (*Guildhall Museum.*)

foundation was richly endowed with la
This "foundation of a great secular coll
in days when all the world seemed
after monks, when king Edward and
Leofric (of Mercia) vied with each o
in lavish gifts to religious houses at h
and abroad, was in itself an act w
displayed no small vigour and indep
dence of m
The details,
of the founda
were such
showed that
creation of W
tham was not
act of a mom
of superstiti
dread or of re
less bounty,
the delibe
deed of a
who felt the
sponsibilities
lofty rank
boundless wea
and who earne
sought the wel
of his church
nation in
things." *

The church was finished and solem
consecrated in the year 1060. The c
part of the ceremony was performed
Cynesige, archbishop of York, in prese
of king Edward, the queen Edith, and
most of the chief ecclesiastical and c
magnates of the land. Waltham, the ab
of the Holy Rood, and the college attac
to it, has been peculiarly identified with
eminent founder. To Waltham, we re

* Freeman: "Norman Conquest."

old loved to retire and pray in the t crises of his life. It was beneath shadow of its massive pillars that his ilated remains were laid after the field Hastings. At the east end of the r a stone was long shown, bearing touching words, "Harold infelix." The



NAVE OF WALTHAM ABBEY, SHOWING HAROLD'S NORMAN PILLARS AND ARCHES.

ous rood, in honour of which the noble ey was originally built, was the especial ct of Harold's devotion. It became, unnaturally in that religious age, the ge and rallying-point of the fighting- of England. It was the battle-cry in glorious victory of Stamford Bridge— n the Vikings, so long the curse of the d, met their final and crushing over- w. It was the war-cry on the bloody of Hastings, when a glorious death was the guerdon of the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings of England.

But the work of Harold at Waltham was, after all, of short duration. The educational establishment was put an end to after an existence of little more than a hundred years, by the Plantagenet king Henry II., who expelled the dean and secular canons, and put an abbot and Austin canons in their place. In our days a scarred and mutilated fragment of Harold's splendid abbey alone remains, but it is nevertheless a fragment of no small grandeur, and of matchless interest.

On looking back over the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042 to 1066), the thoughtful student of the history of the

church during that last period of Anglo-Saxon rule will see that the church, all through the reign of Edward, was far from being mainly composed of sluggish, inactive members, though such has been the conclusion drawn by many writers on this period.

Yet this idea was, it must be conceded, by no means baseless. As already remarked, it is undeniable that the reign of the Confessor, like the reign of his immediate predecessors, produced no really eminent churchman. A fair number of men of the second rank flourished, such as Aldred, Stigand, William of London, Wulfstan, Leofric, Gisa, and others, but none of these were men of conspicuous ability; and the most famous of them—Aldred, Stigand, and Wulfstan—are remembered rather for what they suffered at the hands of the Norman conquerors, than for what they did or wrote or taught in the quiet, peaceful days of the Confessor. This dearth of prominent men would, when the history of the time came to be written, to a certain extent influence and depress the estimate of writers describing the period in question.

It is also to be expected that Norman writers and chroniclers who lived after the Conquest, would write in depreciatory terms of the church as it existed under the old state of things in England, before *their* people came, and changed the whole framework of government in church and state, and uprooted the entire Anglo-Saxon society, civil and ecclesiastical. No Norman writer could be expected to describe fairly that old English life which the Normans had so ruthlessly destroyed.

Even an historian who has the deepest sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon people, who feels that much if not most of is great and strong and enduring i character of the English people, c from the Anglo-Saxon rather than the Norman ancestors, must neces acknowledge that the church in the of the Confessor was far from being an church. In all times we see how, afte time of a great revival in its spiritual lif in its activities—educational, missio church building, and the like—grad the spiritual flames which blazed for a so brightly always died down, and the needed to be renewed again. As it w those far-back days, so has it been i day and time. We saw it when the Alfred looked over his reconquered and its feeble church—the church of Alcuin and Aldhelm, and mourned the grievous lack of even the most mentary learning among the ecclesia of his loved England. We saw it a after another lapse of time, when fervour of the new life inspired by burning words and stirring example Alfred and his ministers had at le died away, when the great Dunstan his disciples again inspired the An Saxon church with vigour and spiri power; and it seems to have been the that in the days of Edward the Confe a Theodore or an Hadrian, an Aldhelm a Dunstan, was sorely needed to reki the zeal and the energy of the chu in our island. That carelessness and w of fervour, and in some cases positive s and selfishness existed among ecclesiast is evident from the words of the write the contemporary life of Edward, compo for his queen Edith in the first year of sad widowhood. The author of that "Li

evidently an Anglo-Saxon, and yet he ks in terms of grave severity of the edness of his country, of the care- ess of the clergy, and the consequent ability of God's vengeance. The king's dying words, as given in the next ter, are also of peculiar weight.

equally striking language, in the toire de Seint Ædward le Roi," written Latin and translated into Norman- ch for queen Alianore (Eleanor) about —a writing based on much earlier erials—the author speaks of the want irtue and of the increase of sin in land, as the cause of the mighty ven- ce of God, exemplified in the Norman quest :—

Bishops, prelates and priests
No longer seek to be good pastors ;
They seek not to feed the sheepfold ;
But to sell them is each one's business,*
To rescue them from the wolf none cares,
They care) only for the milk and the wool."

he writer is equally severe upon the ing laymen, for he goes on to say :

" Princes, counts and barons
Go seeking only vain glory,
Nor do they live but to swallow money ;
The poor they strip and ill-treat."

anting, however, that the Anglo- n church between 1042 and 1066 y needed reformation, and the pre- of a new and nobler spirit amongst , it was still by no means a dead or a dying church ; and, indeed, it seems ave compared very favourably with hurches of Normandy before Lanfranc

llusion is here made to the sin of "simony." ious degrees it was one of the curses of that ough apparently this sin was less prevalent land than on the Continent, but there is no but that its practice seriously marred al n work in England.

and his school woke them up into new life and a more active energy. In England, church life, although perhaps lacking in some of the nobler characteristics of Christianity, could by no means be counted as sunk in torpor, or as altogether sluggish and selfish. This would be impossible in England with a king like Edward the Confessor, pious and devoted and even recklessly generous in good works, whose splendid example as a churchman and a pure and devoted Christian lived long after he had passed away ; with a queen like Edith, the saintly and devoted daughter of Godwin ; with great nobles like Harold, who could devise and at his own cost establish the noble educational foundation of Waltham, and erect the stately minster of the Holy Rood as the centre of his great Waltham work. Nor did Harold, the mighty earl of Wessex and East Anglia, stand alone among the great men of the land in these true works of piety and devotion. The ruler under king Edward of the broad Midlands, Earl Leofric, and his renowned countess, the lady Godiva of the legends—Leofric, the grandfather of the brothers earls Edwin and Morkar, so famous in the records of king Harold, and later of Norman William, were celebrated throughout the length and breadth of England for their boundless liberality to ecclesiastical foundations, and their ceaseless care for the church. We read how, thanks to their care and generosity, Worcester, Leominster, Evesham, Chester, Wenlock, Stow-in-Lindesey—where traces of their work still remains—and Coventry, were adorned and enriched with churches and religious houses, by restorations and new

buildings dedicated to religious uses. It is recorded of these zealous and earnest servants of God that they were by no means content with merely lavish and generous grants of land and endowments, but that they took a special interest in the building and ornamentation of the many churches and religious houses they watched over or founded anew, in the broad lands of their great Mercian government.

Nor was it only among the ranks of the more prominent laymen that we find conspicuous instances of a lifelong zeal in the service of the church. Many of the prelates of the reign of Edward, even if not men specially distinguished for their profound scholarship, or for brilliant powers of organisation, or for their winning eloquence, were nevertheless earnest and devoted servants of God. Such a man was Aldred, archbishop of York, somewhile bishop of Worcester. We find him playing the part of a statesman and diplomatist, often entrusted with difficult and important foreign missions; but none the less a busy and anxious chief pastor of the vast dioceses entrusted to his charge. Archbishop Aldred was well acquainted with the faults and errors of the church of his day, and thoroughly conscious of what his work and mission among the people ought to be; he was a most zealous reformer of the abuses which had crept into the Anglo-Saxon church. In the chapters of York and Southwell, where laxity of life and discipline marred their usefulness, he introduced a new rule of life—probably that known as the rule of Chrodegang—which we have already described as a rule far more severe than that practised by the secular canons of a cathedral church, though less austere and burdensome than the s practice of the Benedictine order.

Aldred was a bishop also famed for boundless liberality. The York histo loves to dwell on these features of an indefatigable toiler for the church. was, too, a great builder: the minste Southwell, York, and Beverley—far church-centres in his archdiocese— all built or enriched by his costly w He loved also to beautify his b ings with all manner of artistic dev with painting and sculpture, curious and elaborate metal w Honoured and loved by the saintly A Saxon king, when Edward died he the same place as friend and advise king Harold; and after Harold's strange to say, king William the Conqu seems to have loved and reverenced He is reckoned among the very few of Anglo-Saxon race admitted to the fri ship of the great Norman. Aldred dared to oppose king William in his and high-handed conduct; and men how in the end the archbishop die a broken heart, shocked and grieve the misery among his flock which resu from the great Conquest.

Leofric and Gisa, respectively bis of the sees of Exeter and of Wells, also distinguished for their work reformers. Both these prelates, with small pains, remodelled the chapter Exeter and of Wells, introducing graver discipline of the rule of Chrode into their dioceses.

Wulfstan, who was charged by detractors as being devoid of scholar enjoyed an enormous popularity, and revered as a saint by all sorts and condit

EARL LEOFRIC AND LADY GODIVA.

*(By permission, from the picture by E. Blair Leighton, in the City Art Gallery, Leeds.)*

of men, and was literally compelled to accept the episcopate by the unanimous call of clergy and laity. So great was his reputation for sanctity, that the Norman conquerors found themselves obliged to recognise his holy influence among the people. William, the Norman king, and Lanfranc, the Norman archbishop, in the day of their power, permitted this sturdy Anglo-Saxon patriot still to exercise his great functions as bishop of Worcester even in Norman England.

In the scanty records of that time we catch sight of not a few great religious houses filled with earnest monks, playing an influential part in the life of Edward the Confessor's people. Such were Peterborough and Thorney, Crowland and Ely, the Fen abbeys; such were the renowned Evesham and Bury St. Edmunds; w queen Edith's nunnery and churc Wilton, Harold's famous foundation minster of Waltham, and above all Edward's magnificent monastery stately abbey of Westminster, were during memorials of splendid church undertaken and carried out in the cl years of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. this shows us that the Anglo-Saxon ch at the moment when the great ch came over it, was indeed no dying or fading church, but that with all its f and shortcomings, which we have mad attempt to gloss over or even to mini it was yet a church full of vitality power, and capable of exercising a and blessed influence among the p of the land

THE SEAL OF THE ABBEY OF WILTON (A.D. 1372).
(*The Matrix is of the 11th Century, British Museum.*)

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

rical Importance of the Abbey—Its Origin in Edward's Vow—Traditions of the Old Church of St. Peter's—Building of the New Abbey and Palace—Description of the Abbey—Destruction and Restoration by Henry III.—Death of Edward the Confessor—His Death-bed Prophecy—Its Strange Fulfilment—Commits the Kingdom to Harold—His Hurried Funeral, as Depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry—Growth of Edward's Fame—Canonisation—Magnificent Shrine Built by Henry III.—The Centre of the Chapel of the Kings—Subsequent History of the Shrine.

HILE a little to the north of London the stately minster and college of the Holy Rood was g built by Norman architects on earl ld's East Saxon lordship of Waltham, vaster and far more enduring work slowly approaching completion only two or three miles to the west e great city, on the banks of the nes. There, too, Norman architects builders were employed under the nal supervision of king Edward himwho watched with anxious care the ess of the huge pile known under the known title of the West-Minster. position which the great abbey, ed by Edward the Confessor with so pains and cost, has ever since his occupied in the story of England; the lar and intimate connection between nighty church and the state—a conon which has endured for centuries, of which the abbey and its dependes are so symbolical—gives to Wester an importance far beyond its mere y and matchless magnificence. In es of the architect and the archæo- it ranks first among the many great enowned churches of the land, but in those of the historian it possesses even a far higher value.

The abbey of the Confessor, which we are about to describe with some detail, was unquestionably a great work. In size and magnificence it far transcended any building which existed in that day in England. Nay, more—it took high rank among the grandest and most lordly piles that had hitherto been built in any of the countries north of the Alps. Its founder, too, was no ordinary man. "In his lifetime, or at most within a few years after his death, Edward was already deemed to be a worker of miracles. For his dreams, visions, and prophecies he was renowned to his last moment."* Around his great church, as was natural to expect, grew rapidly many a legendary story, but it is not difficult to separate what was no doubt true from these strange traditions. The true story of the foundation of Westminster is as follows.

During the latter days of his long Norman exile things looked very dark and unpromising for the young prince, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of the account of the vow given at

* Prof. Freeman.

some length in the "Estoire de Saint Ædward le Roi." There, amongst other untoward circumstances, the sad death of his brother Alfred is alluded to as depressing the exiled prince, and at this juncture Edward vowed a solemn vow that if St. Peter would protect him, he would go on a pilgrimage to Rome. After he became king the memory of this vow weighed heavily upon him, and the poem represents him saying to his thanes—

"When I was sojourning in Normandy,
* * * * *
News came to me often
Which made me very sorrowful.
* * * * *
Besides God and his Mother
And my Lord St. Peter, I had no comfort.
. . . Then I went one day very sad
Into a church and prayed,
And I made a vow
To go to Rome and pray."

Such pilgrimages, as we have already seen, were very usual among the Anglo-Saxons of high degree. Not a few of their kings, deeming such an act meritorious, had betaken themselves to the sacred sites of Rome, and prayed and offered gifts to the various traditional sanctuaries of the historic city. Canute the Dane, also, not long before had made a memorable pilgrimage Romewards; and a little later we read of earl Harold, of Tostig, his brother, and of others as pilgrims to the same great centre of Christianity. The journey in those days was a tedious affair, and was not without danger. These pilgrimages to Rome, and even to the Holy Land, and the extraordinary merit which was attached to them, were among the characteristic features of religious fervour among the Anglo-Saxons.

Edward's thanes, however, felt tha peace and prosperity then enjoye England depended largely upon the sonal presence and influence among of their saintly but childless king, urgently dissuaded him from the So strongly was this felt, that the mat the royal pilgrimage was laid before Witan. The king was induced event to send a special embassy to the Po obtain a dispensation from his vow. bishops were charged with this we mission—Aldred, whom we have of as bishop of Worcester, and subsequ as archbishop of York; and Her the Lotharingian bishop of Rams afterwards of Salisbury. The dat this mission to Rome was A.D. 105 was successful, and Edward's vow o grimage was cancelled by Pope Leo on the condition that the king found or restore a monastery of St. P

Now, some two or three miles fro western gate of the city of London, in Edward's time had already acqui pre-eminence in wealth and impor among the English cities, in what then known as Thorney Island Thames flowing round it), opposit what is now known as Lambeth P a small and undistinguished reli house had grown up round a little ch dedicated to St. Peter. The origin of church we have in our first volume ca back to the earliest days of En Christianity. Here Sæberht, the Christian king of the East Saxons, built for Mellitus, the East Saxon mis ary bishop, one of the original compa of, and eventually a successor to, Augustine, a small church or orator

ance (says one of the chroniclers) the ger minster of St. Paul within the city ls.

honour of St. Peter. The writer tells us the place where the West-Minster afterwards stood was in the immediate vicinity

KING EDWARD WATCHING THE ERECTION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

he contemporary life of king Edward, ten for his widowed queen Edith soon the king's death, gives us some simple probable reasons for the choice of ard falling upon this comparatively nown spot for his restoration of a astery and church originally raised in

of the famous and wealthy city (London), in the midst of grassy meadows, and on the banks of a flowing river (the Thames), which brought the merchandise and wares of all the world to the city—a curious and early testimony to the matchless situation of London. He gives as another reason

for the choice, the king's special love and devotion to the chief of the apostles; but he does not tell us the story already narrated in its place, how St. Peter was connected with Thorney Island. This most valuable piece of current literature was written, as we have said, for queen Edith, and nearly three times as much space is devoted in it to Edith's restoration of the nunnery of Wilton, a comparatively unknown religious house, as is given to the king's vast work in connection with Westminster.

But there were other reasons which led to the choice of Thorney Island for the foundation of Westminster, the greatest of our English abbeys, round which so much of our English history, civil and ecclesiastical, has clustered during the past eight centuries. In spite of the general notion of the undistinguished nature of the church and religious house of St. Peter before king Edward began to build, yet St. Peter's of Thorney Island must have been a place of some importance; for the English Chronicle relates how the body of king Harold Harefoot, who died at Oxford, was brought from Oxford and buried there. This royal corpse was subsequently dug up and thrown ignominiously into the Thames by his infamous brother Harthacanute. But this does not affect the fact that St. Peter's of Thorney Island had been judged a worthy sepulchre for a king of England. Again, the death of one of its abbots, Wulfnoth, had been judged worthy of a special mention in the English Chronicle. Round the spot, in fact, there is no doubt hung some tradition—dim and faint, perhaps, and half forgotten—of some marvellous event in connection with its first foundation, in the days of Mellitus, friend and companion of Augusti Besides the contemporary life of the sa king written for the widowed queen Ed we possess several lives of Edward somewhat later date. Of them the pri pal are (1) the biography of Osber Clare, prior of Westminster, comp about A.D. 1158; (2) the yet better-kn life written by Ælred or Ethelred, c posed a few years later, *circa* A.D. 116 Ælred was prior of Rivaulx; and (3) lengthy poem in Latin with a Norm French translation containing 4685 li addressed to queen Alianore (Elear consort of Henry III., *circa* A.D. 1 In these lives of the saint-king much is marvellous and improbable is interwo with the history; but these wonders doubtless represent not a little of legendary lore which king Edward fo associated with the ancient, but proba decayed holy house of St. Peter's Thorney, and which no doubt weig with him when he selected the spot his famous foundation.

The rebuilding of the great abbey Westminster went on during the fourteen or fifteen years of the Confess reign. The cost, which must have b enormous, was borne entirely by Crown. In the foundation and end ment of the monastery which grew under the shadow of the abbey, m help was given to the king by p Englishmen, but the cost of the build of the famous abbey itself seems to h been defrayed entirely out of Edwa own resources. The monastic founda

* This legend is related in vol. i., p. 101.

St. Peter, which was erected on a large e, contained great domitories, refectory, sters, separate dwellings for the abbot chief officers, barns, treasury, in-ary, chapter-house, and other buildings, usual adjuncts of an important Bene-ine house.

djoining the abbey was also erected oyal palace, evidently of considerable ensions. This idea, of placing palace monastery and abbey in close contiguity, no doubt derived from the immediate estors of Edward's Norman mother, ma, whose favourite abode was rather amp than Rouen. At Fécamp, too, ge minster threw its broad shadow over amous monastery and a royal palace. ny a time, during his long exile in mandy, must Edward have visited amp, and to reproduce Fécamp on a nder or more lordly scale was evidently ugh in his mind when he planned elaborate and stately building hard his new abbey of Westminster—the ored abbey of St. Peter of Thorney. several of the Norman dukes, his estors, arranged that their last sleeping-es should be in Fécamp abbey, so ard planned his tomb in Westminster, almost his last words directed that he ld rest there. The wish to unite in group of buildings the church, the home of prayer, and the ideal tomb; monastery, which displayed the ideal f men on earth; and the king's palace, eat of government, was by no means liar to the saint-king or his Norman rs. We find it reproduced often; not-in Scotland, where Dunfermline palace Dunfermline abbey grew up alongside other; and in the abbey of Holyrood, adjoining Holyrood Palace; and later in Spain in that vast pile of royal and monastic buildings known as the Escurial, at once palace, monastery, and tomb.

The size of the new abbey of Westminster was remarkable; it positively occupied almost the whole area of the present building. Nothing resembling it had ever been erected before in England. It set the example of the vast scale upon which in the next generation the churches and abbeys which arose in such numbers in our Island were built. All the older and more renowned English churches, erected by Dunstan and the kings of the house of Alfred, as well as the minsters of a yet older period, were small and mean in comparison with this new marvel of ecclesiastical architecture, which arose at the bidding of the Anglo-Saxon Edward on the banks of the broad silvery Thames, just outside wealthy and prosperous London.

It was a cruciform church—the first of that peculiar shape, it is said, seen in England—and it became the model from which all churches were now designed: an expression, it has been well said, of the increasing hold which the idea of the Crucifixion had laid on the imagination of Europe in the tenth century. It was built upon strong foundations of large square blocks of grey stone. At the east end, which was comparatively short, was an apse containing the high altar. Over the choir rose a central tower, crowned with a cupola of wood and lead. The transepts stood out north and south. The stones were richly sculptured, and the windows, not of any great size, were filled with stained glass. To the west stretched the long nave, with its

two ranges of vast arches resting seemingly on huge columnar piers like those which still remain with us in the abbeys of Gloucester and of Tewkesbury. Two smaller towers for the reception of the bells apparently crowned the west end. Something of this kind we still see at Tewkesbury: at Gloucester these smaller towers, if they ever existed, have long disappeared. The roof was covered with lead.

The following description of the Westminster abbey of Edward the Confessor, penned by the author of the "Estoire de Saint Ædward," dedicated to Alianore, queen of Henry III., is no doubt strictly accurate. The writer was evidently one who knew and loved the abbey well, and had seen it and studied its details before it was destroyed to make room for Henry the Third's new and even statelier church. He was not improbably a monk of the Westminster monastery.

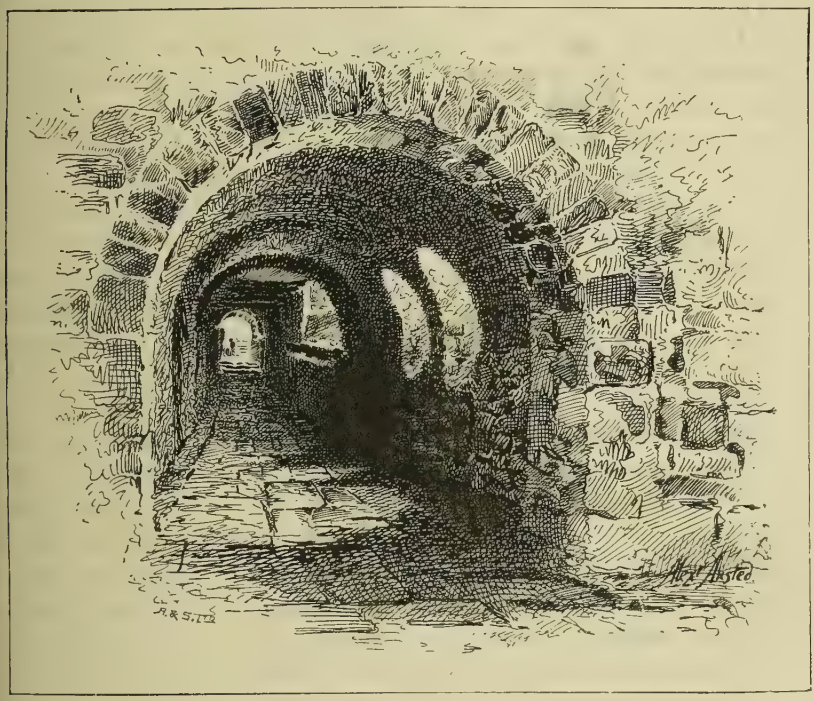
"Now he (Edward) laid the foundations of the church
With large square blocks of grey stone.
Its foundations are deep;
The front towards the east he makes round,
The stones are very strong and hard.
In the centre rises a tower,
And two at the western front.
And fine and large bells he hangs there,
The pillars and entablature
Are rich without and within;
At the bases and capitals
The work rises grand and royal;
Sculptured are the stones
And storied the windows;
All are made with skill
Of a good and loyal workmanship
And when he finished the work,
With lead the church completely he covers,
He makes there a cloister, a chapter-house in front,
Towards the east, vaulted and round,
Where his ordained ministers
May hold their secret chapter;
Refectory and dormitory
And the offices in the tower."

Of all this huge and splendid structure but little now remains; it almost entirely vanished, having g place to another and yet more sple minster. "Possibly one vast dark in the southern transept, certainly sub-structures of the dormitory with t huge pillars, the massive low-bro passage, leading from the great clo to Little Dean's Yard, and some port of the refectory and of the infirm chapel, remain as specimens of the which astonished the last age of the An Saxon and the first age of the Nor monarchy." * It will be well in this p to describe briefly how the great wor Edward the Confessor came to disappe

The destruction of the glorious at of the saint-king, and the consequent of all its undying memories of Edw of Harold, and the Conqueror, happe in this wise. King Henry III., on death of his father, John Lackland, in 1 had been crowned somewhat hurriedl the Norman abbey of Gloucester—crow the story of the reign tells us, with a cha or garland in lieu of the crown, prob because the crown had been lately by his father John, in the waters of Wash. Four years later it was tho well to repeat the solemn ceremon the national sanctuary of St. Pe abbey of Westminster. The day b his second coronation, the young laid the foundation of a Lady Chap the east end of the Confessor's pile.

* Dean Stanley: "Memorials of Westm Abbey."

and strange development of Christian-; this homage to, and which, alas! soon sed into the adoration of the Virgin ther of our Lord, was a characteristic ure of the teaching of the early years he thirteenth century. As years passed king Henry watched the progress of new work—the Lady Chapel. The ce of Westminster was his favourite lence. He loved to think he was the t descendant of the great Alfred, and ncestor Edward the Confessor was the urite object of his imitation. He was first of the Norman-descended kings called his sons by the ancient Anglo-n names. His firstborn he named ard, after the adored Confessor, while his second son was called Edmund, after the other royal Anglo-Saxon saint. In memory of the Confessor he finally determined to erect a new and splendid church, on the site of the abbey which contained the sacred remains of the object of his veneration. The new minster should possess as its hallowed centre Edward the Confessor's shrine.



THE DARK CLOISTER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, SHOWING EARLY NORMAN WORK.

It was in the year 1245, not quite two centuries after the consecration of the first mighty abbey, that the strange work of demolition began, Edward's own original abbey being literally torn down, as a building of no worth at all. The central tower, the transepts, the cloisters, the chapter-house, all disappeared; and in

place of the great Norman church, many of the features of which we can reproduce when we look on the nave of Gloucester and its partly veiled choir, arose the present Westminster Abbey, "the most lovely and lovable thing in Christendom." But it was a *new* minster altogether, of which St. Edward the Confessor became really the patron saint: St. Peter himself was almost forgotten, and since that day of demolition and of reconstructions few have cared to remember in connection with the abbey the name of the chief of the Apostles, in whose honour it was built. The reign of Henry III. dragged out its long, slow length, but although much was done, and before the king's death a glorious pile again occupied the site of the old abbey, the long reign closed before Westminster Abbey was completed. Indeed, it has never been completed. What we see now at the west end of the mighty church, the last five bays of the long nave, was the work of Henry's son, king Edward I.

But in this story of the building and rebuilding of the glorious abbey so loved of Englishmen, we have run on long years beyond the period we are engaged with, and must return again to the days of Edward the Confessor. There is a strange pathos in the scene which presented itself in the palace of king Edward, when the great minster which had engaged his thoughts and hopes for so long, was at last ready to be consecrated. It was the Christmas feast of the year 1065, when all the work of the West-Minster was ready for dedication. The Witan of England was summoned to London, to be present at the solemn hallowing of the mighty church, the crowning work of the sa king's life. King Edward's strength was failing; strange dreams and awful tents, say the stories which grew up his death, had warned him that the was near. Weak and ailing though was, he made a last effort to preside the solemn assembly of the nation, and Christmas Day, and the following 26th 27th of December, the king was among his thanes and prelates, in his r magnificence, and wearing his go crown. The ceremony of consecra was fixed for the day following, Decem 28th, but when the morning of consecration dawned, the king was un to rise from his bed. The excitement exertion of the three previous days exhausted his little remaining stren and the solemn rites were performed onl the presence of the queen, the lady Ed who represented in the abbey the dy Edward. When the rite was over, king, lying in the adjacent palace, h the account of the august ceremony silence; and then, so says one of chroniclers, laid his wearied head on pillow, as if to say, "*consummatum* (it is finished).

The sickness grew in intensity du the next five days; speech failed him, the anxious bystanders thought the was close at hand. It was a momen intense anxiety for England. London thronged just then by all the leading and their followers, who had come to attend the Witan, and at their k request to witness the hallowing of great abbey. They had met, and had together brief counsel, and had witne the solemn rites which dedicated the a

God; but alas! their master had him-
f been absent from the ceremony, and
ey now waited hour after hour for
e awful news of his death. Every
ment was precious, for England was
reatened with two formidable invasions
by Harold Hardrada, the last Viking
ief, from the north, and by William,
ke of the Normans, the most brilliant
d the ablest chief in Christendom, from
e south.

Within the palace, in the royal bed-
amber, we read of three great men watch-
g by the bedside of the dying Edward,
d with them the queen Edith. They
re Harold, earl of Wessex, Edith's
other; Robert, a Norman who filled the
gh office of Staller, or master of the horse;
d Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury.
a sudden the king, who had been lying
two days speechless, was heard to pray.
e little group of watchers caught the
rport of the prayer; it was that strength
ght come to him to enable him to repeat
awful vision, which in his long slumber
had seen. "If the vision were from
aven," murmured the king, "grant me
ength to utter it; if the dream were
the phantom of a sick man's brain, let
be mute." *

Strength seemed to come to the dying
man; he sat up in his bed, the supporting arms of his faithful friend Robert the Staller around him. The moment was indeed a solemn one. Words were about to be uttered by a dying king deeply loved and venerated by his subjects, who was regarded by those about him, and by the people at large, as one who lived nearer God and the unseen world than did ordinary mortals. Hastily a few more of the chosen friends and counsellors from the ante-chamber were summoned to the royal bed-chamber. Their names, unfortunately, have not been preserved; it would have been of strange interest to know which of the Anglo-Saxon thanes and prelates were bidden to that solemn communication about to be made. These gathered round the bed, and with the renewed strength which had been given him, in a voice audible to the group of bystanders, king Edward told his dream.

"Many years ago," said the Confessor, "when I was a boy in Normandy, I knew two monks: most holy men they were, very dear friends to me. A long time has passed since these two dear friends have passed from all earthly cares. In my late deep slumber, I have seen them once more. God sent them again to me, to speak to me in His most holy name. 'Know,' said they to me, 'that they who hold the highest place in thy realm of England, the earls, the bishops, and the abbots, the men in holy orders of every rank, are not what they seem to be in the eyes of men. In the eyes of God they are but ministers of the Evil One. Therefore hath God put a curse upon the land, and hath given thy land over into the hand of the enemy. Within a year and a day from

* This vivid and startling story of the last
nents of Edward does not stand, it must be
embered, on the same level with the other
ndary stories in connection with the Confessor
ch have obtained so wide a currency; we shall
e to speak of them presently. The authority
the death-bed scene rests on the almost con-
porary prose life written for queen Edith very
after the event took place, and the details
e to him, the writer unobtrusively tells us, *from*
*witnesses of the scene* in the palace of West-
ster—probably from Edith the queen herself.

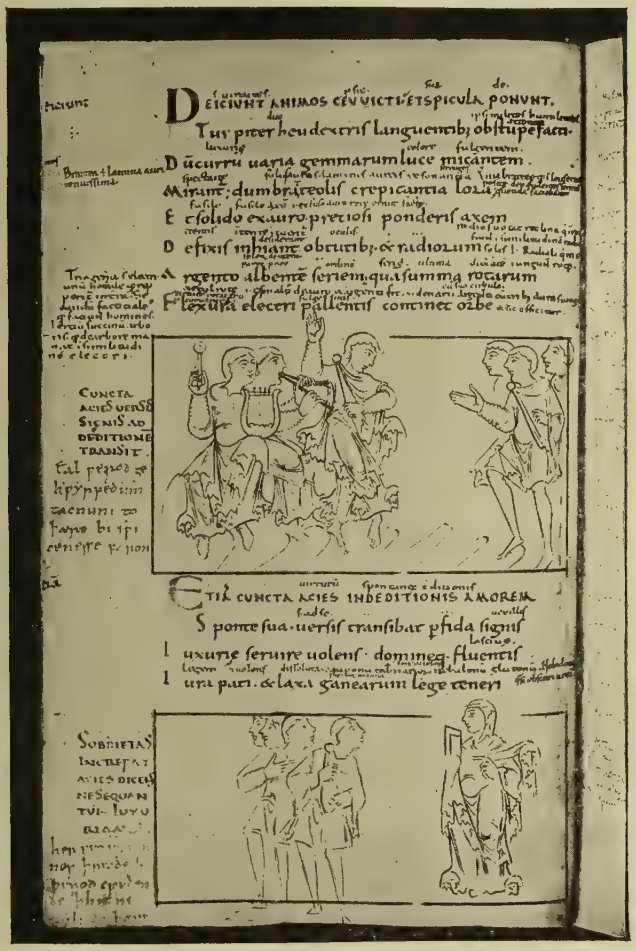
thy departure, shall fiends wander through the whole country and shall waste it from one end to the other with fire and sword and robbery.' Then I spoke to them as follows: 'I would wish to tell of these things, which by God's permission will befall my people — perhaps repentance will follow, and God will have mercy on them. He had compassion on the men of Nineveh, when they repented after hearing the divine message which spoke of coming judgment.' 'No,' they said, 'they will never repent; neither shall God's pity fall upon them.' 'Then,' said I, 'what shall be the time or the manner in which we may look for an end to this threatened punishment?' They replied, 'In that day when a green tree shall be cut away from the midst of its trunk; when it shall be carried a for the space of three furlongs from root; when of itself, without human it shall join itself again to its trunk, shall blossom and bear fruit once m Then, and not till then, shall a cessat of these great woes come to pass.'" *

DEATH OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

The king said no more; Harold, Robe and the queen, with the others who h been summoned to his bedside, stood a struck and mute. Only the archbish Stigand remained undismayed at dread prophecy, and at the wholes denunciation of the chief men, the ea and prelates, and clergy. He bent o and whispered to Harold not to heed,

* Prof. Freeman's free rendering has b generally followed in the above.

words were only the utterances of ld man worn with age and weakened ickness (*submurmurat in aurem Ducis*



PAGE FROM THE "PSYCHOMACHIA" OF AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS, DESCRIBING THE SUBJECTION OF THE VICES BY THE VIRTUES.
(*From an English MS. of the* 11*th century.*)

*confectum et morbo, quid diceret re*). But the writer who so graphic- describes the scenes, the details of h, it has been suggested, were supplied by queen Edith herself—writing as he did in the early years which followed the slaughter of Hastings, when the miseries which ensued upon the Norman Conquest were crushing England—adds a few words descriptive of queen Edith's feelings, and the thoughts of some among the bystanders who had listened to the terrible denunciation. They, different from the sceptical

worldly-minded Stigand, were only too well aware of the sins of England, and the carelessness of some among the chief shepherds.

The "prophecy" of the dying king was undeniably a remarkable one, and was most strangely and accurately fulfilled. It must not be forgotten that the biographer of Edward, who tells the story, wrote in the early days of the Conqueror. Writing as he did a very few years after "Hastings" and the Conquest, he can well be imagined as representing the saint-king to have uttered prophetic words respecting that fatal Conquest, and the subsequent woes which came upon the Anglo-Saxon people. But he could *not* himself thus have foretold events which did not take place for more than sixty years after this Life of Edward was composed. For the fulfilment of the curious prophetic utterance is usually explained as follows: The tree removed from the root for the space of three furlongs signifies the crown transferred from the regular line of Cerdic and Alfred during the three reigns of Harold, the Conqueror, and Rufus. The tree returned to the root when Henry Beauclerc married Edith (Matilda), the grand-daughter of Edgar Atheling, the descendant of Edmund Ironside; it blossomed at the birth of Henry's daughter, the empress Maud; and bore fruit when Henry II. (Plantagenet) was born in 1133.

The king still lived, and during the little span of life yet left to him on that Thursday, the 5th of January, 1066, his speech continued clear, and his intellectual powers active. Death had no terrors for him. He gave some directions as to his burial in his abbey of Westminster, and his only selfish thought was to secure for hi at the moment of its departure the p of the faithful. "Let my death be a published everywhere," he said, "th the faithful may at once call on the of Almighty God for me, a sinner." his queen Edith, who stood weepi the foot of the bed, he spoke wit utmost tenderness and love. "God told them, "would reward her fo good deeds in this world and in the Harold and Stigand, the archbisho represented by the writer as asking E to name his successor on the throne." reply to their question the king stre out his hand towards Harold with words—"To thee, Harold, my br I commit my kingdom." Before rece the last communion at the han Stigand, he murmured in accents all hear, "Fear not; I shall not die, b the grace of God I shall quickly again well and strong." (*Ne timeas moriar modo, sed bene convalescam, pitiante Deo*). And when shortly after the saint-king had breathed his last, saw as it were stamped on the face o dead man the glory of a soul which passed at once into the presence of and was satisfied.

Edward the Confessor died on th of the Epiphany, January 5th, 1066. same night the body was prepared burial on the morrow, in his newly secrated abbey of St. Peter's. It s

* This is a point which bears upon the worthiness of the author of the "Life," for he wrote Harold was dead, and Harold's bit foe and slayer, king William the Conqueror all-powerful in England.

rst as though the haste was unseemly. the danger to the country was urgent: e was not one moment to lose. The row—the Epiphany—must see the al of Edward and the coronation of old; for Tostig and Harold Hardrada e threatening England on the north, the mighty duke of Normandy on south. Never did the land so urgently l a strong wearer of the crown. Gloomy ed was the cloud which hung over doomed island, on that eve of the phany in 1066, when king Edward red. With all haste, but with all rence, the body of the royal saint prepared for his tomb; arrayed in kingly robes, the crown upon his l, a golden crucifix suspended by a n of gold about his neck, the pilgrim's stretched-out fingers more transparent than ever.

We have a contemporary representation of some of these scenes in the Bayeux tapestry. This wonderful tapestry, which so many travellers in Normandy have seen and admired in the public library at Bayeux, where it is stretched out round the room under glass, is generally accepted now by the more scholarly critics as a piece of contemporary work, and is used by writers on the period of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror as one of the highest authorities. The favourite tradition is repeated by Sir Francis Palgrave.* "The tapestry which bears record of her husband's (William the Conqueror's) achievements, is a unique memorial both of his prowess and her

THE NORMANS BUILDING THEIR CAMP AT HASTINGS.
(*From the Bayeux Tapestry.*)

n on his hand, the king lay ready for last home. Edward looked, says his nicler, in death as he had looked in he seemed even to smile, his long e beard seemed whiter, and the thin,

(Matilda's) industry; and the needles plied by herself and her damsels have assisted as much as the historian's pen in commemorating his victories."

* "Normandy and England."

It was, no doubt, worked in England. The word embroidered on one of its divisions, *Hasting-ceastra*, is decisive, as the peculiar form "ceastra" is nowhere to be found out of England, and in England we know that a famous school for these beautiful embroideries had long existed. It seems, from various local peculiarities, that it is now, as then, in its own home, *Bayeux;* having been worked for bishop Odo of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half-brother, who out of the spoils of England received the earldom of Kent. It was probably a gift from the great warrior-bishop as an ornament to his own newly-built cathedral of Bayeux. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the ancient tradition which assigns the tapestry to queen Matilda. Indeed, so vast and important a work could only be carried out in such a school of needlework as no doubt existed under her care and superintendence.

It has been suggested that the tapestry is unfinished, and was designed to go on to the coronation of William the Conqueror, and that its imperfect state is owing to Matilda's death in 1083. There is, however, no doubt but that this great piece of beautiful embroidery belongs to the period when the scenes it depicts being acted, and that the designer of tapestry had been an eye-witness of s of the scenes himself, and had received information of others from persons had taken part in them. Every quarian detail relating to the costu the armour of the fighting men, an the horses, is correct. The soldier both armies are men-at-arms of the elev century, and nothing else. Every too, is represented bearded, moustac or close-shaven, according to his age nation. The very standard of Harc the famous Wessex dragon—is depi The utter absence of horses in the En army, except as a means for reachin leaving the field, is evidently the tho of an artist of the day.

DEATH OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.
(*From the Bayeux Tapestry.*)

It is therefore of great interest to that the four eminent personages descr in the con porary me of Edward Confessor, ten for widowed qu are depicte the tapestr the picture the king's d —viz. Ha Stigand, Ro the Staller, queen E In that w represents large and borately c mented *loculus* or coffin of king Ed the Confessor in the burial scene,

rough but no doubt accurate sketch the original abbey of St. Peter's, Confessor. Disaster upon disaster—ruin, confiscation, calamity, exile—followed in

THE COFFIN OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR BORNE TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
*(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)*

stminster, we possess, doubtless, the t representation of the royal coffin the saint-king, and the abbey he t and which he loved so well, just *hey appeared* to the artist who designed tapestry. The historical and anti-rian value of such pictures cannot be nated too highly. The whole story, rate though it be, is evidently told a Norman artist, and that Norman t evidently closely connected with eux and its semi-royal bishop Odo.*

Vith wonderful rapidity, considering tremendous change which passed over land within a few months of the king's ing away, and which, it might have expected, would have thrown a veil rgetfulness over the memory of Anglo-on Edward, grew the fame of the the wake of the Norman Conquest, but in spite of all, the reputation of the dead Edward—the last of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs—became more and more precious among the conquered people. The tradition of his extraordinary sanctity was prized also among the Norman conquerors, as well as among the Anglo-Saxon race. The reputed miracles at his tomb belong to the very first years of William's reign. Quickly the legendary stories belonging to his life on earth began to be told. So popular were these stories, that they soon passed into the literature of the time.

The earliest collected edition of these legends of the Confessor that we possess was made by Osbern, prior of Westminster. These were somewhat developed by Ælred (or Ethelred), a monk and afterwards abbot of Rivaulx. Ælred was born at Hexham in 1109, forty-three years after king Edward's death, and spent his youth with

*ompare Freeman: "Norman Conquest," vol. ppendix, notes A and B on the Bayeux Tapestry.

Henry, son of king David of Scotland. Both these works were put out in the first half of the twelfth century, in less than a century after the saint-king's death. Ælred's "Life of the Confessor" must have been a very popular work, for there are numerous manuscripts of it existing in various libraries. Two, perhaps, of its best-known stories are remarkable for their singularity and the circumstantial nature of their details, and were probably based originally on some events which actually took place. They deserve to be related, firstly, because they throw light upon the character of Edward, and, secondly, on account of the popular testimony they bear to the way in which the king was remembered by the people of England. They evidently thought of Edward as one who, while in entire sympathy with the common folk, was yet in closer communion with the spirit world than ordinary men.

The first of these belongs to some period in the last years of his reign. The king was present at a state Easter banquet at Winchester. The great thanes and prelates were sitting round the festal board. Regardless of his guests, buried in his own thoughts, Edward was noticed to smile. Later in the day, in his private chamber, earl Harold and two ecclesiastics admitted to his confidence, ventured to ask their lord the reason why he smiled to himself at the banquet. He told them he had seen, as though in a vision, the seven sleepers of Ephesus, and, as he was looking, they turned in their slumber from the right hand to the left. So far, the story was probably a true memory of something that had actually happened. It shows us how the saint-king in his thoughts wa constantly in the habit of dwelling u religious matters, that even in the m of a royal banquet he would forget present and dwell upon the themes w had so special an attraction for him. latter part of the story belongs to realm of fiction. It tells how a sp embassy was sent to Asia to verify facts of the royal vision. This was probably a subsequent addition to original narrative.

The second of these legendary st is an illustration of Edward's symp with the poor of the people, and ha its scene the church of St. John at Clave where, on the occasion of the dedica ceremony, the king wishing to relie beggar-man who asked an alms, and ha no gold or silver available, gives suppliant a costly ring he was wea The story goes on to say how subseque the ring was brought back to Edwar an English pilgrim from the Holy L with a message from St. John, who in form of a beggar had asked the alm Clavering and to whom Edward had g the ring. The purport of the mes from the saint in glory to king Edw was, that as a reward for his gener chaste life, he should within six mo be with him in Paradise. As time w on the stories of the supernatural conne with this Anglo-Saxon monarch multip In the long poem dedicated to qu Alianore about 1245, they form the m important part of the narrative.

The first monument erected was prob very plain, for the months which follo the death were indeed troublous ones. read of the Conqueror, after the battl

ings and the occupation of London, enting two palls to be hung over the e of his sainted kinsman. William, ever, soon erected a more stately ument, which he decorated with ious metals. Very soon reports of cles worked at Edward's tomb were ed abroad. Blind men were said there eceive their sight, the sick were healed, sorrowing received comfort.

x-and-thirty years after the first inter- t the rest of the holy dead was dis- ed: men wished to look once more n the face of the wonder-working t. The coffin was exposed and opened he presence of abbot Crispin of West- ster, and of Gundulf, the bishop of hester. The story of the opening of coffin relates how a sweet savour filled great minster church, and how as the ments of the grave were unwrapped, body lay as in sleep, the skin was white and rosy as in life, the limbs still flexible. Bishop Gundulf tried ain to pluck a hair from the dead 's snowy beard, to keep as a precious . After gazing a while, the bishop abbot once more reverently covered body, and the tomb was closed. This in the year 1102.

me passed on; thirty-eight years ed; the fame of the Confessor grew. rn, prior of Westminster, the well- wn writer of Edward's life, and the nicler of the many legendary stories h had grown up round his memory, avoured to procure from Pope Inno- II., in A.D. 1140, the decree which ld formally canonise the saintly English , and thus enrol him in the golden of western Catholicism. But the coveted honour could not be obtained from Rome, where famous members of the Anglo-Saxon church were not regarded with peculiar favour. In the year 1161, however, the claims of Edward the Confessor to be recognised as a glorified saint by western Christendom were at length acknowledged by Pope Alexander III. The English advocates, both in church and state, of the merits of the holy Anglo-Saxon sovereign, were too powerful this time to be ignored. The archbishop-elect of Canterbury was Thomas à Becket, whose praise as a zealous and mighty ecclesiastic was already in all the churches; and the king of England was Henry II., the most powerful sovereign of his time, whose vast dominions stretched from Scotland to the Pyrenees.

In the year 1163 another and yet grander shrine for St. Edward was prepared by Henry II., the Plantagenet king. Henry II. and the archbishop assisted in lifting the wonder-working body into its new and stately resting-place. The royal robes which lay around the corpse were removed, and became precious vestments for the holiest rites of the sanctuary. The anniversary of that solemn translation is still preserved in the calendar of the Church of England.

Yet further honours, however, awaited the memory of Edward the Confessor. The rebuilding of Westminster abbey by Henry III. has already been described. In the centre of that matchless pile the king resolved that a shrine of hitherto undreamed-of magnificence should be henceforth the receptacle of the remains of the founder of the great church. No pains or cost were spared to render the new

sanctuary a fitting resting-place for the great Anglo-Saxon saint in whose honour the new abbey of Westminster was built and adorned. The most skilful craftsmen were brought from Italy, and the most precious materials were used for the gorgeous shrine; though the materials used

THE DARK CLOISTER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, SHOWING NORMAN ARCH.

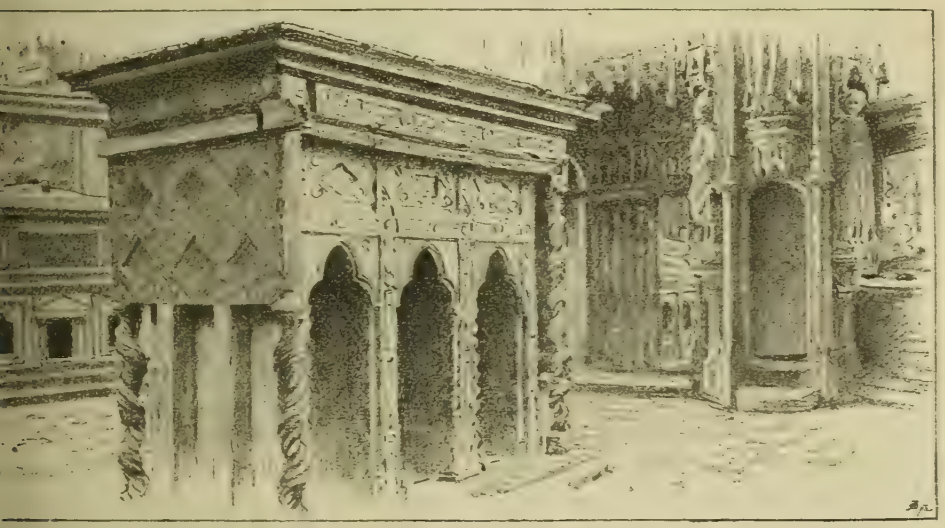
were costly and exceeding precious, we read that the workmanship exceeded even the materials used. The basement of the shrine was of marble and mosaic work, the superstructure was of wood overlaid by cunning goldsmith's work. The images which filled the niches of this marvellous piece of work were encrusted with gems, many of them exceedingly precious. It was finished in the year 1209, and once more the sacred body was translated to its new and splendid home. The most trious men in church and state—an them two kings and two kings' so helped to lift the coffin of Edward the stately shrine which was reared in centre of the royal English abbey. ceeding kings—notably Edward I. Edward II.—still further enriched costly gifts this marvellous shrine of Confessor.

But the highest honour was yet come. To be laid near the holy was deemed the highest privilege successive sovereigns of the house England. To this feeling is owing unique group of kings and queens, wh this day keep watch and ward around sepulchre of the last Anglo-Saxon sover of Cerdic's house. Close to him lie remains of Edith his queen, king Har sister, and a yet more famous Edith, usu known as Matilda, queen of Henry Beauc the lineal descendant of Alfred. In the c of royal tombs around the shrine Henry III., Edward I., and Edward Richard II. and Henry V.; the qu Eleanor, Philippa, and Katherine, A the wife of Richard II., and Anne, queen of Richard III.; and yet anc queen of the same name, Anne of Cle and besides these a number of royal distinguished personages more or famous in English history. Never an earthly sovereign such a court as dead Confessor has gathered round in his stately abbey.

When in the royal abbey of W minster a stranger for the first time en what is termed the "Chapel of the Kin he is for a time awe-stricken at stan in the presence-chamber of the mi

d; for around him, beneath those pon-
ous monuments, sleep the kings and
eens of England whose names have
n with him since his child-days as
ousehold words." There lies Edward
First, perhaps the greatest of English
narchs, and by his side the creator of
glorious abbey, Henry III. There
ps the conqueror of Cressy, and at a
le distance from him the conqueror
Agincourt; by the side of one of the
rior-kings is the hapless murdered
hard II. In the charmed circle, hard
the kings, rest eight of the English
ens, each in her day and time the
tre of the most brilliant court of
istendom. As the eye wanders over
storied chapel of the great dead, with
scarred and broken tombs, huge and
y in the dim light, the sad thought
es up unbidden, how poorly, after all,
our England cared for these stately

memorials of her own greatest sons and daughters. The feeling of sorrow and regret deepens, at the sight of the pathetic wreck of the shrine raised high above the tombs of the sovereigns of England; the shrine which was the centre of all this faded regal splendour, in which still reposes the coffin of the holy king by whom the mighty abbey was built, the once adored saint of the English people, Edward the Confessor.



SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The story of the ruined shrine is as follows. From the year 1269, when Henry III. replaced the body in the new completed shrine, for some 269–270 years the remains of the saint-king were untouched. Succeeding kings, however, kept on beautifying and enriching with costly gifts the stately and superb tomb, the object of so much veneration. But in the storm which accompanied the dissolution and plundering of the monasteries,

the rich environment of Edward's sanctuary naturally excited the cupidity of king Henry VIII. and his ministers. Everything of value was plundered; the outer part of the work of Henry III., which held the coffin of the saint, was ruthlessly torn down; the coffin itself was re-interred in another part of the abbey; the lower part of the shrine, of marble and mosaic, sadly mutilated and defaced, was allowed to remain. This act of sacrilege seems to have been carried out in the year 1538. Queen Mary determined to restore the body of Edward to its old place. The ruined shrine was repaired, so far as the taste of the age would allow, and in the words of Feckenham, Mary's newly-appointed abbot of Westminster, "the body of the most holy king Edward—though the heretics had power on that wherein the body was enclosed, yet on that sacred body they had no power—was found and restored to its ancient sepulture" on March 20th, 1557. The marks of this hasty restoration are still visible in the broken mosaic and displaced cornice of the base. All the upper part had been broken when the gold and gems were plundered and the coffin removed. A new wooden canopy was placed over it; this canopy has never been finished. Probably Feckenham intended it to be overlaid with gold, and enriched with gems; but Mary's death stopped the work, and just as Feckenham left it, it remains to this day.

Shortly after the coronation of James II. in 1685, a rafter fell through the open woodwork, and broke the coffin. One Charles Taylor, who belonged to the choir of the abbey, having heard of fracture in the lid of the coffin, went secretly put his hand through the ap ture, and, turning the bones which felt there, drew out a crucifix, ric adorned and enamelled, and a gold ch of very ancient workmanship. This presented to king James II. The preci relic was apparently stolen from the k in his hurried flight from England. T same Charles Taylor relates how at time when he took the cross and chain of the coffin, he drew the head of the k to the hole and viewed it. It was, said, very sound and firm, with someth in the nature of a gold coronet s rounding the temples; there was a in the coffin white linen and go flowered silk, but the least stress thereto showed that it was well-n perished. Patrick, prebendary of We minster, in his autobiography (quoted dean Stanley) apparently refers to same fracture in the coffin-lid, when writes how some workmen employed the abbey "chanced to have a look at tomb of Edward the Confessor, that th could see the shroud in which his bo was wrapped, which was mixed colou silk, very frail." Taylor also relates "h his Majesty (James II.) was pleased, so after the discovery (above related), to se to the abbey and order the old coffin to enclosed in a new one, of an extraordin strength, each plank being two inches th and clamped together with large i wedges."

It is apparently this outer coffin, order to be made by James, that is now visi in the shrine.

# CHAPTER XXV.

## ROME.

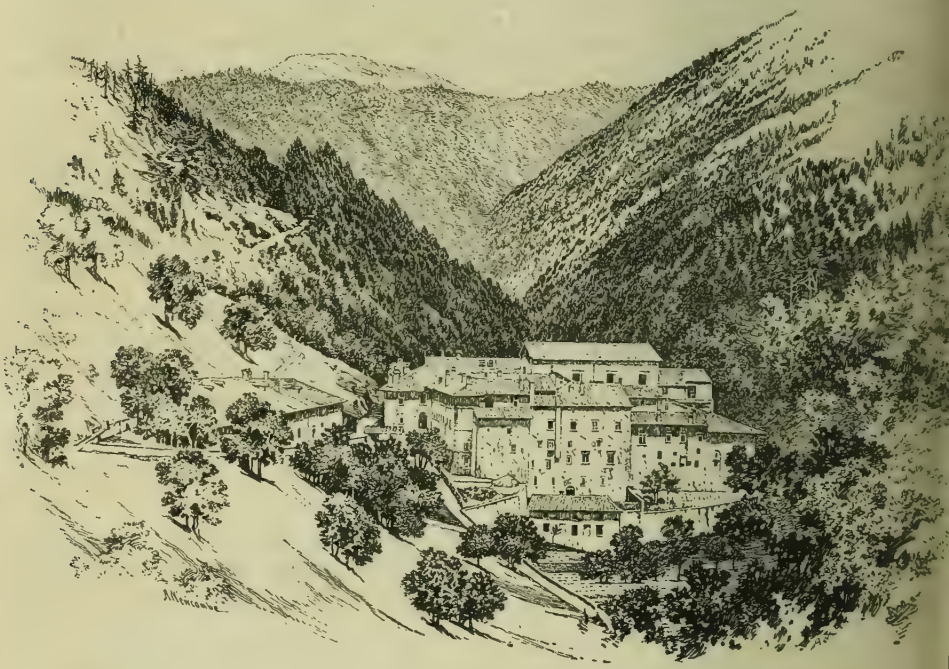
gue Character of the Papal Supremacy in Anglo-Saxon Times—Terrible Corruption of the Papacy—Deposition of Benedict IX. by the Sutri Council—Election of Leo IX.—Influence of Hildebrand on the new Pope—Purification of the Papacy—Accession of Hildebrand as Gregory VII.—His Idea of a Ruling Papacy—His seeming Failure, but real Success—His Warfare with Simony in the Church—Suppression of Marriage among the Clergy—Cruelty of the Edict—Its Political Success.

URING the Anglo-Saxon period, as we have seen, the influence of the Roman pontiff on the internal affairs the Church of England had been very ght. Bishop Wilfrid of York in 678 and ain in 704 formally appealed to Rome, in der to bring about his reinstatement in liocese from which he had been expelled. t in the case of the first appeal the decision the Roman bishop was contemptuously nored; and in the second the partial re-tatement of Wilfrid was due rather to policy and kindly feeling of archbishop eodore, than to any formal recognition the right of Rome to interfere in the vernment of the church in England. e certainly hear of no more of such peals.

A vague recognition of the dignity Rome as the "apostolic" see no doubt sted, principally manifested by the tomary reception on the part of the glo-Saxon archbishops of a pall from hands of the Roman prelate. This gnition of a vague supremacy seems have been rarely, if ever, refused. re was also on the part of the glo-Saxon monarchs, a deferential ndship with the bishop of Rome, and now and again presents of money were sent to the Roman see; but these gifts were rather destined for the assistance of English pilgrims to the apostolic city, than intended for the Pope in person. Indeed, the connection between England and Italy was mainly kept up by the constant flow of pilgrims, often of the highest rank, from our island to the sacred shrines of Rome. This popular habit of pilgrimage was ever a marked feature, in all times, of the Anglo-Saxon race.

But anything like an acknowledgment of the right of the Pope to interfere in the affairs of the church, was absolutely unknown in Anglo-Saxon England. The rare apparent exceptions themselves bring this out with conspicuous clearness. Only twice have we any mention of legates, with an official mandate from Rome, appearing on English shores. The first and really solitary formal appearance of Roman legates among the English, was in the days of king Offa of Mercia, when the high-handed Mercian king admitted these foreign delegates to the council of Cealchythe in 786–787, and accepted this legatine interference to enable him to found the archbishopric of

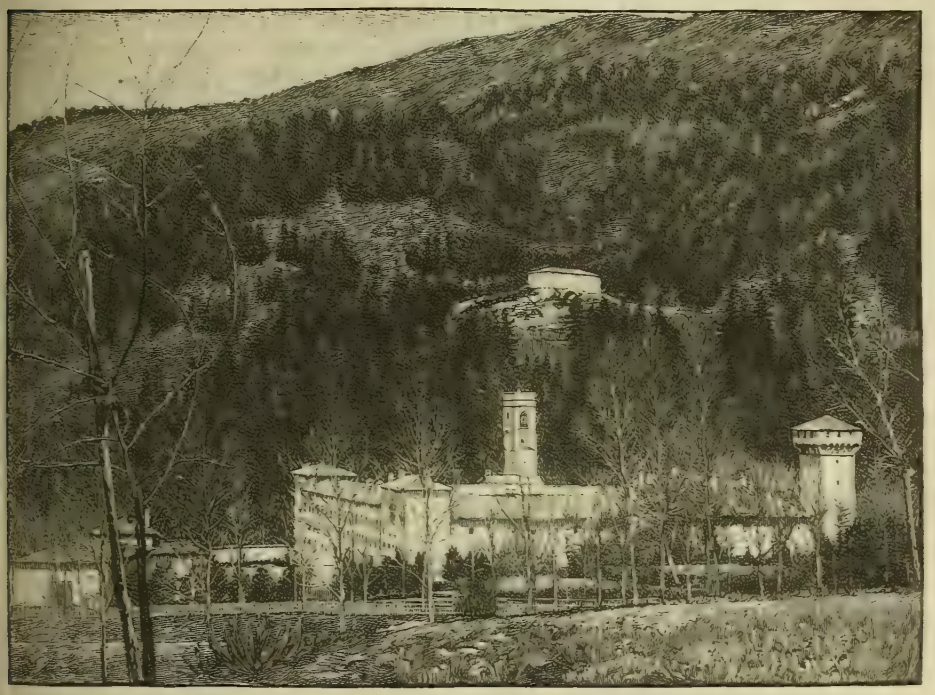
Lichfield in his own kingdom of Mercia, and thus to maim and partly to destroy the power and influence of Jaenbert, archbishop of Canterbury—an arrangement which only lasted a very few years. The second appearance of legates was at the election of Wulfstan to the see of Worcester in 1062, when Edward the Confessor was king. But their presence on this occasion was accidental, and their influence and authority were scarcely acknowledged. The time, however, was at hand when the interference of Rome with the Church of England became an important factor in its story; and with the Norman Conquest, and under the Norman kings, there will be much to state concerning the claims of Rome to interfere in ecclesiastical matters —claims which were acknowledged for centuries by kings and prelates and ligious houses in England. Meantim brief sketch of Rome and its bishops help us to understand something of position of Rome as regards England the period which followed the death Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1066. W had been happening in Rome during tenth century and the first half of eleventh, gives us a clue to understand why she made no advance in her ev growing claims for universal obedien in distant countries like England, dur that long period, and tells us the rea of the strange silence of her pontiffs.



CAMALDOLI.

The expiration of the dynasty Charlemagne and the final breaking up his empire, may be roughly dated from

ear 888, when king Alfred was reigning England. A period of anarchy, both the empire and in the papacy, then set . The following striking words sum up e degradation of the popes during the ntury and a half which followed the



VALLOMBROSA.

tinction of the Carlovingian dynasty. he writer is speaking of the popes who, ring the age which then darkened upon ome and Italy, ascended the apostolic rone. "Two were murdered; five were iven into exile; four were deposed; and ree resigned their hazardous dignity. me of these vicars of Christ were raised that awful pre-eminence by arms, and me by money. Two received it from e hands of princely courtesans. One was self-appointed. A well-filled purse purchased one papal abdication; the promise of a fair bride another. One of these holy fathers pillaged the treasury, fled with the spoil, returned to Rome, ejected his substitute, and mutilated him in a manner too revolting for description. In one page of this dismal history we read of the disinterred corpse of a former pope brought before his successor to receive a retrospective sentence of deposition; and in the next we find the judge himself undergoing the same posthumous condemnation, though without the same filthy ceremonial. Of these heirs of St. Peter, one entered on his infallibility before his eighteenth year, and one before he had

seen his twelfth summer. One again took to himself a coadjutor, that he might command in person such legions as Rome then sent into the field. Another, Judas-like, agreed for certain pieces of silver to recognise the patriarch of Constantinople as universal bishop. All sacred things had become venal. Crime and debauchery held revel at the Vatican; while the afflicted church, wedded at once to three husbands (such was the language of the times, there being three popes, each claiming the title, reigning at the same time in Rome), witnessed the celebration of as many rival masses in the metropolis of Christendom." *

In the language of another writer on this melancholy century and a half, "At Rome itself, the centre of Christendom, the vilest vices of the times of Tiberius or Caligula fiercely reappeared. It is almost incredible, the extent to which a frightful corruption there prevailed. The annalists of the Roman church stand aghast before it. 'The Pornocracy' or reign of harlots, is the terrible name by which a portion of it is described most accurately. Dean Milman's explanation of that terrible development is temperate and brief: 'This anarchy of Italy led to the degradation of the papacy; the degradation of the papacy increased the anarchy of Italy. . . Europe was resolutely ignorant what strange accidents, caprices, crimes, intrigues, even assassinations, determined the rise and fall of the supreme pontiff.' No Protestant prepossessions colour this picture. Even the learned and scrupulous Mabillon had to confess that most of the popes of the tenth century *lived rathe like monsters or like wild beasts than lik bishops*." *

And in this long and shadowy line o Roman pontiffs, of whom one after th other "steals unnoticed into his dignit and departs from it unregarded, or rathe is suddenly thrust into the throne by som act of violence, and as suddenly dispossesse by means as violent," only a very rar instance of a good and great man here an there occurs. Such was Gregory V., wh during his short pontificate of three year 996–999, was reputed to be a man o "holiness, wisdom, and virtue," but wh was cut off in the flower of his age, i is believed by poison; or his successo Gerbert, Silvester II., 999–1003, the mos eminent prelate of his age, "in learnin peerless, in piety unimpeachable," wh died all too soon, also probably poisoned

From this terrible, almost incredibl degradation, which lasted, it must b remembered, *a century and a half*, fron the days of Alfred to the times of Edwar the Confessor, at last Rome emerged, an a very different class of men in successio began to occupy the papal chair. Bene dict IX., who closed the seemingly endles succession of wicked popes distinguishe for their weakness and incapacity, an many of them for their infamy, was cite to appear before a solemn council of th church, summoned by the emperor Henr III. to put an end to the awful scandal The council met at Sutri in 1046, thirt miles north of Rome, and was attended b many prelates. Benedict and two anti popes were forced to retire. The infam of Benedict IX. was even conspicuous i

* Sir James Stephen: "*Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*. Hildebrand."

* Dr. Storrs' Lectures: "*Bernard of Clairvaux*."

record of infamous bishops of Rome. sed to the lofty but shamefully prosti- d dignity at the age of twelve years, e expelled from Rome by the outraged zens, and driven into exile before the e loathing and hate of clergy and laity, at last sold the papacy, and then re- eared again on the papal throne. It to judge and condemn this Benedict that the Sutri council was summoned the emperor Henry III. Later Italian nds describe the shade of the pope afterwards appearing in the form of a r with the ears of an ass, and as grimly ying, when asked why he showed self in this horrible form, "Because I d without law or reason, God and er, whose see I contaminated by my s, decree that I shall bear this image brute, not of a man."

wo strangers, Suidger, bishop of Bam- g, and Poppo, bishop of Brixen, under names of Clement II. and Damasus II., d the papal chair in succession, after council of Sutri. They were men of ere life, blameless and holy, but they rapidly succumbed to fever induced he climate of Rome. Their successor the famous Bruno, bishop of Toul, , under the title of Leo IX., inau- ted a new state of things at Rome. was elected to the papacy in the year , when Edward the Confessor was ning in England.

his is not the place to discuss at length various causes which seem to have led e gradual "Renaissance" in religion ifest before the middle of the eleventh ury, one of its most striking effects g, of course, this great change in character of the Popes of Rome. Gradually the state of anarchy into which Europe was plunged after the break-up of Charlemagne's empire, gave place to a quieter and more settled state of things. In the south, the Saracenic invaders ceased to terrorise the Mediterranean sea-board of Spain, France, and Italy. In the north, the yet more terrible Vikings had spent their strength, and gradually submitted to the influence of a civilisation they had so long harassed, and even threatened to destroy. In Germany and in the centre of Europe, the empire was partially re-established, and from the close of the tenth century was ruled by emperors of ability and power. In the centre of France, the rise of the house of Capet promised more settled and peaceful times; while Normandy and the adjacent territories on the west and east, under its mighty dukes, was growing rapidly into a rich and prosperous dominion. The story of Anglo-Saxon England has been already related. In many respects, under the strong kings of the house of Alfred, and later under Canute and Edward the Confessor, England had enjoyed a comparative freedom from the universal anarchy and confusion which more or less prevailed on the continent.

The great religious revival on the continent of Europe began in the monastic orders, as before related, in a small religious community founded as early as 912 by Berno, abbot of Beaune, at Cluny near Mâcon in Burgundy, in which a specially austere form of the rule of St. Benedict was practised. By the end of the twelfth century the congregation of Cluny, which had started into existence in 912 with twelve poor monks, at a period

when the wildest misrule prevailed and religious influence seemed dying, had developed into a mighty confraternity with no less than two thousand houses, spread over England and France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, all closely united to the mother monastery in Burgundy. And these were by no means alone. In the middle of the eleventh century monasteries may be said again to have become an enormous power in Europe, and from these reformed and re-invigorated religious houses emanated the spirit which inspired the long-degraded papacy with sanctity and power, and supplied the men who were the instruments of its reformation.

When Bruno, bishop of Toul, was elected to the papacy in 1048, he at once inaugurated a new and nobler rule at Rome. The circumstances under which he took his seat in the papal chair are remarkable, and deserve to be related as showing the new spirit which was now to inspire Romish church government. At the nomination of the emperor Henry III., and in a German synod, Bruno had been elected. Closely allied by family ties to the imperial dynasty, the bishop of Toul was famous far and wide for his holiness of life, his gentleness, and his boundless charity. He was no mean scholar, and was especially renowned as a preacher. On his way from Toul, whose graceful little cathedral travellers from Paris to Strasburg have often noticed without connecting it with the famous prelate Leo IX., the first of the great mediæval popes, Bruno stopped for rest and spiritual refreshment at Cluny, already celebrated as the centre of the fast-growing religious fervour which was influencing the western world. There he met the monk Hildebrand, at that ti prior of the famous house. This ex ordinary man, of whom we must sp presently with more detail, powerfu influenced the Pope-elect. Acting un the advice of Hildebrand, Bruno laid as the insignia of the bishop of Rome, in the humble garb of a pilgrim, with b feet and lowly aspect, entered the Eter City and submitted to a re-election the part of the Roman clergy and peo From this time forward Hildebrand the adviser and minister of Pope Leo and of his successors, till the time ca when, by universal acclaim, he took own seat on the chair of the chief pon under the world-renowned name of P Gregory VII.

The influence of the new Pope, Leo I was at once felt not only in Rome, but through western Christendom. For first time for about a century and a h the power of Rome again became a reali Leo IX. was at once a saint and a w ruler. He devoted himself with an tiring industry to reform the many abu which disgraced and weakened the chur Nor were his ceaseless and successful deavours by any means confined to Ro or even to Italy. "Leo IX. came fo to Europe not only with the power a dignity, but with the austere holiness, indefatigable religious activity, the maje virtue which became the head of Christ dom. . . . Wherever he went (and travels extended over large portions northern and central Europe), he visi the most severe of the clergy or of monastic orders. Men already sainted popular devotion, at such centres at Clu and Vallombrosa, . . . all recogni

indred spirit, and hailed the genuine tiff."* He held a council at Pavia. crossed the Alps to Germany, and l an important council for church rm at Rheims in France, and then ided over a German council of yet ter magnitude at Mainz. With the Leo IX. His immediate successors carried on faithfully his aims and his work. Victor II., who followed him, was an equally zealous reformer. Stephen IX. and Nicholas II., the next occupants of the Roman see—still under the guidance of that Hildebrand of whom we have already

TOMBS OF THE POPES, IN A CRYPT OF ST. PETER'S AT ROME.

vation of the papacy, a new spirit indeed come over and was inspiring western church.

'e are not in this history concerned the lives and troubles, with the ous episodes of success and failure, ne occupants of the so-called chair of Peter. It must suffice us simply to nicle the fact, of the great revival and rgement of the papal tradition under ilman: "Latin Christianity," book vi., chap. I.

spoken—carried on the great task begun by Leo IX. Alexander II., whom we shall hear of as the faithful ally and steady supporter of William the Conqueror, was the last of the famous group of papal disciples of Hildebrand; who, when Alexander II. died, at last assumed himself the position of Pope, under the title of Gregory VII., in 1073. He raised the great office to a pinnacle of glory and authority hitherto undreamed of even by the most ambitious

and far-seeing of the long line of occupants of the Roman see.

The idea that something of a supreme authority over all other churches—something of a superior sanctity beyond all other sees—belonged to the see of Rome, must have been for a long period deeply

POPE LEO IX.
(*From an Old Print.*)

ingrained in the mind of Christendom, and could alone account for the fact of the survival of such veneration for Rome and its bishops during the century and a half of awful degradation and misrule through which it had passed. Immemorial tradition, carefully enlarged by successive generations of Roman bishops and their ministers, connected this great see directly with St. Peter and his companions; and no temporary hiding of its power and surpassing influence, had any permanent effect on the estimation in which the mother see of western Christendom was generally held. "However the churches of Europe might bow down in shame sorrow at the inscrutable decrees of He in allowing its vicegerent thus to de from his original brightness, yet would veil their faces in awe, and wai trembling patience the solution of mystery."* Indeed, that profound sch and copious writer, Cardinal Baro founds a striking argument for the Di authority of the Papal church, on the that it continued and still extended spite of such monstrous iniquities, abho of all men, as for generations were throned at the head of it, staining i admits, with ineffaceable defilements.

But while the fact is conceded tha this real, though possibly somewhat defined general reverence and attachr to the see of Rome and its pontiffs existed for ages, it remains true that present position of the papacy (whose splendour and power and awful gran only began at this juncture, in the mi of the eleventh century) owes a vast to one man of supereminent genius, w magnificent conception of the work office of the holders of the so-called of St. Peter raised the bishops of Rom that lofty position in the church and world to which they attained in his pe ficate, and which even after eight centu and a half, with certain modifications, t still occupy in Roman Catholic countri

In the earlier part of the eleventh tury, Hildebrand, the son of a Tus carpenter, was brought up in a mona house in Rome—St. Mary on the Avent In the year 1048 we find him occupy the important position of prior of great and rising monastery of Cluny

* Dean Milman.

dy. Already thoughtful churchmen the young Cluniac monk the pro- future greatness, for he was reputed e made himself master of all the dge of the times. Over Bruno of nown as Pope Leo IX., the restorer l sanctity and influence, Hildebrand d, as we have already seen, an us influence. He accompanied Leo ne, and became his chief minister nfidential adviser; a position he ned with ever-increasing power nown under Leo's successors in the directing their policy and guiding ction, until, at the death of Alex- I. in the year 1073, when William nqueror was firmly established on glish throne, he was called by uni- nccclamation to seat himself in the hair. Any detailed history of his l career does not belong to our pre- rk; but so great was the influence ne and his successors exercised upon nrch of England after the Norman st, that it is necessary to form some ion of the nature of the spiritual ion which Hildebrand claimed to and eventually succeeded to a xtent in exercising, over all the churches, among which England koned.

nind of this greatest of the Popes, founder of the rule which they d in the Middle Ages, is well ised in the following words—"He rand] had, as Pope Gregory VII., the supreme vicar of Christ on he mortal head of an immortal the depositary of a power de- yet divine, the viceroy to whom en entrusted by God Himself the care of interests and the dispensation of blessings and curses, which, by comparison, reduced to inappreciable vanities all the good and evil of this transitory world . . . . Before his prophetic eye arose a vast theocratic state in which political and religious society were to be harmonised, or rather to be absorbed into each other. At the head of this all-embracing polity the bishop of Rome was to exert his legitimate authority over all the kings and rulers of the earth."* The vastest empires of the earth might, as had been seen in past ages, entirely pass away; but the *church* was as permanent as it was all-embracing. And of the church the bishop or Pope of Rome was the chief minister; to the fulfilment of this awful and incomparable office he had been called.

POPE GREGORY VII. (HILDEBRAND).
(*From an Old Print.*)

The "Dictates" promulgated by Hildebrand at the council of Rome in 1076 as

* Sir James Stephen: "Essays in Ecclesiastical History: 'Hildebrand.'"

presenting fundamental maxims of the church, express and illustrate his whole theory. Some of the more important of these are as follows :—

"The Roman Church is founded by God alone.

"The Roman pontiff is justly called universal.

"His legate takes precedence of all bishops in a council, though he be of inferior rank, and he has power to pronounce against them the sentence of deposition.

"The Pope may depose those absent from such a council.

"All princes shall kiss the feet of the Pope.

"It is lawful for him to depose kings and emperors.

"No council may be called a General Council without the Pope's order.

"No capitulary, no book can be esteemed canonical without his authority.

"His sentence can be revoked by no one, and he alone can revoke the sentences of all others.

"He can be judged by none.

"No one may dare to pronounce condemnation on one who appeals to the apostolic see.

"The Roman Church has never erred, nor for ever more will it err, the Scripture remaining, however.

"Without convening a synod, he (the bishop of Rome) may depose or reconcile bishops.

"No one is to be esteemed a Catholic who does not wholly accord with the Roman Church."

Such was the outline of the scheme which Hildebrand, as Pope Gregory VII. (1073–1085), definitely set forth the church and the world. He for the papacy the greatest con authority on earth; and this w authority *claimed*, and often ex as we shall see, in the Chu England after the Norman Co All priests, all monks, were to obedient servants, while special nominated by him were to act ministers in the court and in every

This extraordinary man, who su to a great extent in establishin tremendous and enduring power in Christendom, has been variously His burning earnestness to refor change much in the church of his d time that he felt to be wrong an awoke an intensity of hatred on t of many whose lives he attacked, aroused even in this world, ever and prompt to act when its intere threatened. He was accused of arr and of unbridled ambition, and e want of truth and reality. The st of the many bitter things that hav said of Hildebrand, were uttered dear friend Peter Damiani, the ascetic, at once affectionate and i when he called him "St. Satan." other hand, to writers of the sch Montalembert, the ardent Romani character of the great Pope is sublime. This school dwells on the ness and purity of his soul, and eloq describes the utterances of Hildebr "memorable and blessed words, worthy the pen of a Pope and the of a saint, and which fill up the m of that ineffable joy which rushes every Catholic soul at the sight

THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. DOING PENANCE AT POPE HILDEBRAND'S GATE.

courage so heroic, crowned by charity so invincible."

Without endorsing the rapturous encomiums of Montalembert, or the fervid laudations of the Romanist, who sees in the maintenance of the Papacy, with its tremendous claims, the only hope of the salvation of mankind, and who gratefully acknowledges Hildebrand as the foremost champion of his creed, the fair-minded historian must recognise in this great man intense earnestness, splendid devotion, and matchless self-sacrifice. He renounced pleasure, ease, safety, and made his whole life an offering to elevate and to sanctify the church he loved and served. The words of the great English historian of the Latin church, with their conspicuous fairness and moderation, joined with a chivalrous appreciation of the mighty work really accomplished by the lofty conception of Hildebrand, admirably express the feeling which at present inspires the more generous sons of the Church of England towards the Papacy and its wondrous story —a story which by no means only belongs to the past.

The writer sums up his estimate of the papal power as created by Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) by conceding this idea to have been magnificent; but he asks "how it was reconcilable with the genuine sublimity of Christianity, that an order of men, that one single man, should thrust himself between man and God—should array himself, in fact, in secondary divinity?" He paints the awful incongruity between the churchman and the Christian; between the alleged representative of the Prince of Peace and the Prince of Peace Himself; and then he goes on to say, "Yet in a lower view, not as a permanent, eterna mutable law of Christianity, but of the temporary phases through Christianity was to pass—the hierar the papal power of the Middle Age been of immense benefit to mankin its conservative fidelity as guardian most valuable relics of antiquity, arts, her laws, her language; by its tion of the superiority of moral a ligious motives over the brute fo man; by the safe guardianship o great primitive and fundamental tru religion, which were ever lurking exuberant mythology and cerem above all, by wonderful and stirri amples of mortification and self-sa and self-discipline, . . . by sp charities, munificent public works, c tion of letters, the strong trust i into the mind of man, that there wa being, even on earth, whose specia it was to defend the defenceless, t cour the succourless. . . . All things, with all the poetry of the Ages in its various forms of lege verse, of building, of music, of art justify or rather command mankind t back upon these fallen idols with ence, with admiration, and with gra The hierarchy of the Middle Ages co balances its vast ambition, rapacity, c by the most essential benefits to civilisation. The Papacy itself i merely an awful but a wonderful i tion. Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) h is not contemplated merely with aw in some respects, and with great draw as a benefactor to mankind." *

It has been well said that "ef

* Milman: "Latin Christianity."

valuable than achievement," and "the real value of a man's work is be tested by the immediate visible s"; and further, that "it is not what n *does* that exalts him, but what a *would do*." This was conspicuously case with Hildebrand; for after a spent in ceaseless toil and en-ur, after being elevated to the loftiest y in Christendom, after seeing the ns which he judged absolutely neces-or the maintenance of the life of the h largely carried out, after witnessing range spectacle of the emperor, the st potentate in the western world, as pliant clad in a thin penitential gar- with bare feet, waiting during three vinter days at his gates for a word of n and reconciliation from his lips— e the strange spectacle of this Pope, l man worn out with never-ending nd care, dying an exile from Rome, tive from his enemies, seemingly a n and defeated man, and murmuring his last breath to a group of devoted s standing round his death-bed, "I loved righteousness and hated ini- therefore I die in exile."

e failure was, however, only a seeming . The man, weak and sickly, of frame and small stature, it is true n exile and a fugitive, watched over rangers and a few devoted friends; ing to the last the righteousness of rks and days, but lamenting bitterly his last breath the sad guerdon of ion and exile which the world had ved upon him as a return for all his ng labours and sacrifice. But as for *rk* to which he gave his life, it has ed; it endures still, and, as far as we can see, shows no sign of cessation, but little mark of decay. The spiritual kingdom, the foundations of which he laid more than eight centuries ago, has been, all through the changes of that long and eventful period, a most important factor in all history, civil as well as ecclesiastical. For good or for evil, this mighty influence still broods over all lands, and has to be reckoned with even by peoples who utterly decline the communion of Rome. Hildebrand the Restorer—we should say more truly the Creator of the Papacy—"is celebrated as the reformer of the impure and profane abuses of the age; he is more justly entitled to the praise of having left the impress of his own gigantic character on the history of all the ages which have succeeded him." *

Of the "impure and profane abuses" above referred to, which dishonoured the church and most gravely marred her usefulness, and against which Hildebrand and the men of his school warred an implacable warfare—a warfare attended by considerable success, the first and principal and most dangerous abuse was the fatal and widely-extended sin, termed "simony." This age has little conception of its prevalence and of its frightful consequences to the church in the eleventh century—the age of Hildebrand. The evil had grown up during that long period, lasting more than a century and a half, during which anarchy and confusion had existed in all the countries of Europe. Episcopal sees were bought and sold. They were often conferred on the children of princes and powerful men at a tender age, when they were utterly unfit to perform even

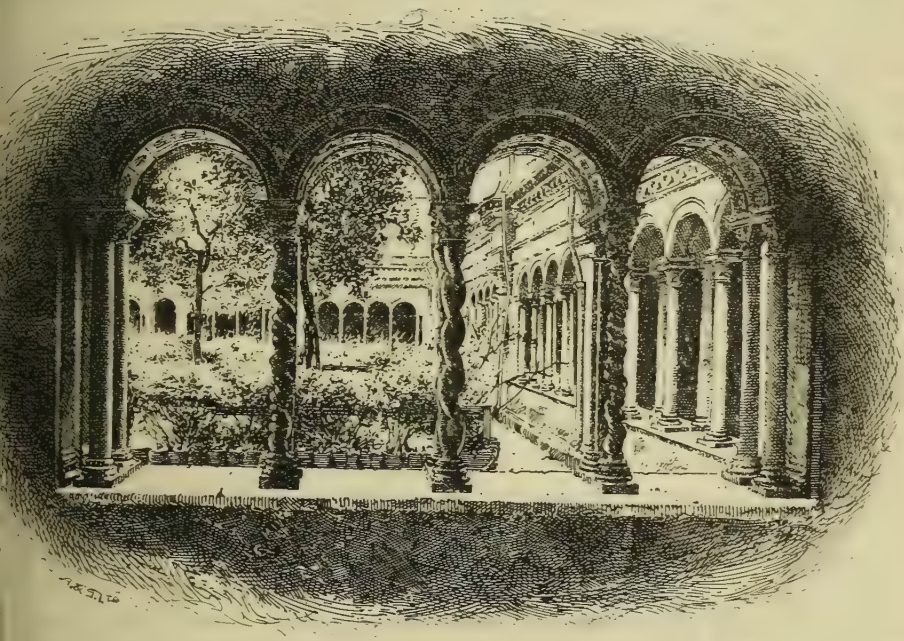
* Sir James Stephen's Essays: "Hildebrand."

the humblest duties of the priesthood. Too often the prelate who had purchased at a great price his see from the sovereign, endeavoured to recoup himself for the outlay by selling in his turn the inferior prebends or cures. Councils of the church and popes of Rome had perpetually denounced this terrible abuse; but pope and council for a long time had been too weak, perhaps too tainted themselves, to enforce the anathemas they judged it expedient to launch against the sharers in this shameful traffic. Thus the evil grew instead of diminishing. When the Popes under the influence of Hildebrand, and later, Hildebrand himself, aided by the ever-increasing power of the reformed monastic orders, with hands strengthened by their own austere lives and holy example, took the matter in hand in good earnest, they found the whole church literally honeycombed by this strange and fatal practice. The highest bishops confessed their guilt. In the dark days of the tenth century, the very bishopric of Rome had been notoriously bought and sold.

To give one striking instance. The bishop of Florence, in the year 1060, was accused of having notoriously bought his important bishopric for a great sum through the intervention of his father. The father, when questioned as to the transaction, replied, "There is not so much as a mill to be had from the king without paying money; so for the bishopric of Florence I had to pay 3,000 livres"—an enormous sum in those days. This almost universal simony was now generally acknowledged to be a crime; but it was no light task which Hildebrand set himself, to purge the church of such crying iniquities. Peter Da the austere friend of Hildebrand, do scruple to call such simonical pr "heretical brigands," and tells us i even easier to convert a Jew than to such sinners to repentance. But aft middle of the eleventh century a different state of things was intro into the church, under the new rul example of the better popes, and the and self-denying teaching of the ref religious houses in every country of E

That the wave of this degradin almost inconceivable sin of simony, in its worst and most exaggerated corrupted the church on the Con in the tenth and first half of the ele centuries, also passed over the C of England, is indisputable. I it is scarcely thinkable that so gen degradation could have existed i continental churches, without more affecting England. There is no but that in the short reigns of Harol Harthacanute, the evil sons of the rel Canute, simony to some extent ex for we read of Stigand, afterwards bishop, at that time the priest of Ca church of Assandun, being appointe bishopric in the reign of Harold Har but deposed, seemingly before consecr because another competitor for th was prepared with a larger sum. I days of his brother Harthacanute, that king was keeping the midwinter fe at Gloucester, Edmund, bishop of Du died at the court. Harthacanute sol see of Durham to a priest of the of Edred. One of the chroniclers r how this Edred at the time appointe his installation fell suddenly ill and

n in the days of Edward the Confessor practice—so justly abhorred in all times rue servants of the church—of purring preferment was not unknown; but hadow of suspicion of countenancing shameful procedure rests upon king ard or his chief minister, earl Harold.



BYZANTINE CLOISTERS IN BASILICA OF ST. PAUL, ROME.
*(Rebuilt by Gregory VII. in the Eleventh Century.)*

appear to have been absolutely op- l to simony in any form. The way wver, in which these acts are noticed hroniclers, clearly shows that simony, it was not unknown to a certain t among the less noble and con- ious clergy and laity in England, existed in the Anglo-Saxon church e fearful extent to which it prevailed ly and on the continent of Europe.

e other great "abuse" or "prevalent sin," against which Hildebrand warred was of a very different complexion. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Latin Christianity ever since the closing years of the fourth century, when Jerome largely guided the counsels of Rome, was an enforced celibacy among the men set apart for the service of the altar. Based originally upon St. Paul's words, which dwell upon the greater usefulness, the more entire devotion of men so set apart to Christian society, if they were entirely unfettered by the cares and duties and grave responsibilities of domestic and family life, celibacy by degrees assumed the position of a virtue, and seemed to justify those who practised it in assuming a dignity and authority superior to the rest of mankind. In

the Latin church, in Rome, and in the foreign churches in communion with Rome, the policy of the men who guided the church was in every possible way to discourage and even to forbid marriage among the clergy. This policy had gone on for several centuries. It had been stoutly opposed by the majority of the clergy in all lands; and, indeed, everywhere the married clergy formed the majority. We have seen how bitterly the attempt to force celibacy on the priests of England had been resented in the days of Dunstan. It became certainly a law of the church, but a law which was defied, infringed, eluded in every conceivable way, and which had never obtained anything approaching to general observance in any of the countries belonging to Latin Christianity. The existence of the law against the marriage of the clergy, and the prejudice which centuries of teaching on this subject had naturally created, led to a vast number of illicit connections on the part of the priests. Marriage for them was condemned by the church. It would probably, if entered upon, be a bar to their advancement in their own order, if not a hindrance to their usefulness; hence the alarming prevalence of unblessed unions among the secular clergy. The anarchy and confusion in the church and among the nations during the past hundred and fifty years had tended vastly to increase this state of doubtful morality among the vowed servants of God. And it is certain that when Hildebrand lived and worked, the moral condition of many of the clergy in the churches of the west was deplorable, and indeed sorely required a stern and upright reformer.

But mere reformation of the moral of the clergy was not what Hildeb aimed at. He waged war with bitterness and determination against lawfully married priests, as with the m tude of their brethren in holy orders lived in open concubinage. To Hildeb it appeared as absolutely necessary for work of that church of the future of w he dreamed, that her officers shoul trained to renounce the world and affections and ties—even legitimate holy ties—and, possessing neither hom country, to devote themselves wholl the service of the church, and the motion of her interests and power. was this in Hildebrand's case the p of a mere selfish and ambitious priest. was alone through the existence and of the church of which he dreamed he believed, that the earthly weal the eternal salvation of mankind c be secured.

With this in his mind, only a few w after he had become Pope Gregory Hildebrand summoned a council to r at the Lateran, and promulgated a not merely simply forbidding the marr of priests, but commanding every prie put away his wife; bidding the fai laity besides, to shun all sacred office which any married priest dared to brate. And the enormous influence w the commanding genius of Hildeb had won throughout western Christen actually succeeded in carrying into e this stern decree, which was promulg far and wide. Innumerable pure and h priestly homes were broken up; for r and immoral clergy were equally denou by the large majority of church r

ted or persuaded against their will
e great Pope. The task was not
plished without difficulty. Arch-
s were even stoned in their pulpits
they read the decree of Rome.
s were dragged from their assemblies
arcely rescued alive. A hatred un-
ented was roused against the great
of the stern and unbending law ;
doubt the eventual fall and death
debrand in a lonely exile, was the
guerdon he received for enforcing
emendous sacrifice from the church
devoted minister he was.

though Hildebrand was allowed to
exile disregarded and unhonoured,
ork was done—successfully done.
r was legislative foresight so verified
result." What former councils of
vide notoriety, what mighty states-
chbishops, what scholars and teachers
he Christian world has never ceased
our and to applaud had attempted,
tempted in vain, Hildebrand suc-
in accomplishing at once, effec-
and for ever. There was a terrible
e, as may well be conceived, against
g out the decree of Rome ; how
can be conceived when the number
ied clergy at this time is taken into
. To give one instance : when
, the founder of the monastery of Bec—Bec, the home afterwards of Lanfranc and Anselm—first betook himself to the monastic life, in the year 1037, an unmarried priest or bishop was hardly to be found in Normandy. Eloquence against carrying out the cruel decree of Hildebrand "was never more pathetic, more just, or more unavailing. Prelate after prelate silenced these remonstrances by austere rebukes. Legate after legate arrived with papal menaces to the remonstrants. . . . It was a struggle not to be prolonged. Broken hearts pined, and died away in silence. Expostulation subsided into murmurs, and murmurs were drowned in the general shout of victory. Eight hundred years have since passed away. Amidst the wreck of laws, opinions, and institutions, this decree of Hildebrand's at this day rules the Latin church in every land where sacrifices are still offered on her altars. Among us but not of us, valuing their rights as citizens chiefly as instrumental to their powers as churchmen, . . . the sacerdotal caste yet flourishes in every Christian land, the imperishable and gloomy monument both of that far-sighted genius which thus devised the means of papal despotism, and of that short-sighted wisdom which proposed to itself that despotism as a legitimate and laudable end." *

* Sir James Stephens : "Hildebrand."

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### LANFRANC, WILLIAM, AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Brief Reign of Harold—Brilliant Victory over the Danes—Duke William of Normandy—Rela
Harold and William—The Invasion a "Holy War"—Norman Conquest—Lanfranc—H
Life—Influence regarding the Doctrine of Transubstantiation—Becomes Primate of E
His Stainless Character and Popularity—Changes the Character of the Church of E
Ecclesiastical Courts—Greater Subjection to Rome—Celibacy Enforced—Changes in Bi
—Outburst of Church-building—Probably Churches of Expiation—Norman Archit
Establishment of Uniform Ritual—The Domesday Book—Death of William—Death of L

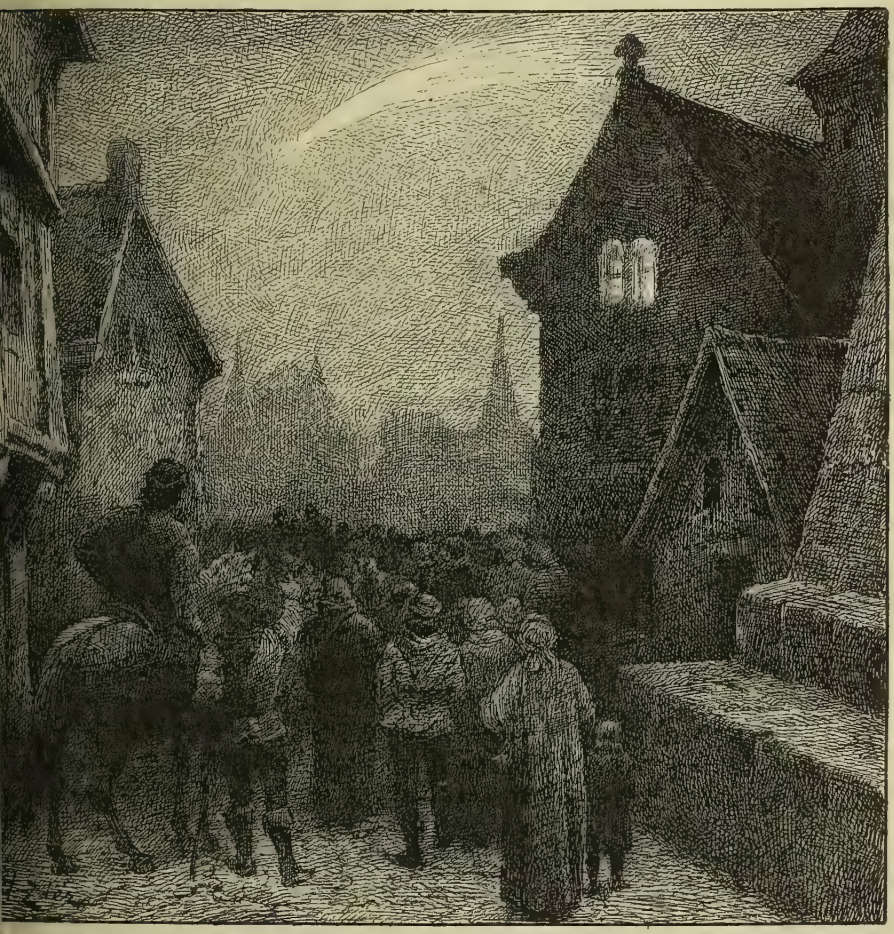
HAROLD, the son of Godwin, the earl of Wessex, the faithful adviser and brother-in-law of Edward the Confessor, was chosen king by the unanimous voice of the Witan of England, and was solemnly crowned in the new abbey of Westminster on the very day (January 6th, 1066) which had witnessed the interment of Edward in the same new abbey. His reign lasted only nine months, and it witnessed two formidable invasions, the fate of each being decided by a long-contested and bloody battle. The story of England—we may well say the story of the world—has been coloured by the events of that short sad reign.

As a king, a statesman, and a military commander, Harold must always be classed in the first rank. He appears in the testimony of contemporary English records as an almost perfect patriot monarch; wise, far-seeing, devoted to his country's good, a strong defender of law and order, a firm friend to the church. His melancholy fate was simply owing to the fact, that the almost simultaneous *double* invasion by such mighty foes, was more than Harold's forces were able to cope with. The brilliant and decisive victory in the north had cost him dearly, and his thinned ranks, when brought face to face w
second foe, were simply too few in n
"It was the fate of England in this r
able year to be exposed to two in
at the same moment; and against
vasions," writes the great panegyris
last Saxon king, "the heart and
Harold himself could not prevail."
skill nor bravery was lacking to Har
his army at Hastings. It was simp
the foes were too numerous. Aft
long day's fighting scarcely any real
of the English army survived! Th
fought to the last and to the bitter

During the early months of hi
king Harold was busy preparing
dreaded invasions. He knew that
deadly foes in the north; he kne
that duke William was busy prepa
the south to seize the coveted
crown. But in the midst of his w
parations, he by no means neglec
interests of the Church of Englan
famous educational foundation of W
he further endowed and carefully
over. One of his favourite advis
Ethelwig, the wise abbot of the im
monastery of Evesham, at the foot

old hills; but his dearest friend and ellor was the saintly bishop Wulfstan orcester.

ulfstan had been his intimate asso-



THE PORTENT OF 1066.

for years, and in company with during the few short months of arative peace, he journeyed into orth, and with great skill pacified urbulent inhabitants of Northumber- who showed signs of disaffection and disloyalty. It will be remembered that in the late reign Tostig, Harold's brother, a favourite and friend of Edward the Confessor, had ruled over Northumbria; but had contrived to win the hate instead of the love of the people of the broad northern earldom, and in consequence had been deposed from his government in the later years of king Edward's life. It would seem probable that some feeling against Tostig's

brother largely influenced the Northumbrian people. The biographer of Wulfstan especially attributes the quiet and sudden revulsion of feeling in Harold's favour, the result of his presence among them, to the reverence which was universally felt for the king's companion and adviser, the holy Wulfstan.

Harold came to London from the north, to keep at Westminster his first and, alas! only Easter feast as king of England. Just after that great church festival there appeared in the skies what men looked upon as a terrible portent, a singularly brilliant comet. The chroniclers relate how for thirty nights (others say only for seven), from sunset to dawn, this bright star blazed like a sun in the darkened heavens, with a vast train of light streaming behind it. In the England of Harold, men's minds were already strangely excited by events just past, and by the calamities said to have been foreseen in the near future. The end of the ancient race of Cerdic in the person of the sainted Edward; the election of a great hero of another race; the threatened invasion of the dreaded Scandinavian hero from the north, and of the mighty duke of the Normans from the south; these things led men to look on the sudden appearance of the great star as a dread portent of evil.

The troublous times predicted by the dead king were indeed at hand. Very soon after the Easter feast and Gemot held at Westminster, Tostig, the late earl of Northumberland, and a hostile fleet had appeared in the Channel, and was ravaging the southern shores. With little trouble Tostig was driven away, and sailed for the north. There, too, he was met and soon compelled to fly by the northern earls Edwi Morkar.

But this raid was only the pre of a far more formidable invasion. had already persuaded Harold Har the king of Norway, to invade En Harold Hardrada's early and ron career has been already briefly ske His fame as a warrior and a Viking and later as a wise and prudent kin tended far beyond his own Norway. invasion of England, which Harol to repel in that sad and short rei nine months, was no mere Viking r plunder; it was intended to be a f subjugation of England, of which th nowned Viking chief entertained no he would soon be master. His m fleet numbered as many as three, or according to many accounts, five hu vessels; indeed, some of the recit Hardrada's expedition tell us that his numbered a thousand vessels of war. wife and his son Olaf accompanied with other members of his family. In so certain was the northern hero of su that his expedition bore the charac a domestic emigration, as it has bee termed, and very careful arrangement been made for the government of N by an under-king, one of his sons, he reigned in England as Canute had before him. Vast treasures, which h gathered in the course of his long wa ing life of war, formed part of the pre cargo of this great Viking fleet. O these treasures, which from its enor value became historical, was a solid of pure gold, so large that twelve s men could scarce carry it. This m golden ingot appears again as part o

ndless wealth of William the Conqueror, uired after the Conquest.

Rapid was the progress of the northern aders, swollen by reinforcements of s and fighting men from all parts he north-west of Europe. The fleet Hardrada entered the Tyne, where one y landed and marched south, meeting n but little resistance, while the fleet ed to the Humber. Harold Hardrada etrated with his host to York, which nce submitted to him, and then, after iving the submission of the northern tal, the Viking pitched his camp at nford Bridge, some eight miles north- of the city, never dreaming of the n resistance he was so soon to meet n, so strangely had he miscalculated resources and undervalued the military and daring of the Saxon king.

Harold was then suffering from severe ness, but he never gave himself an ant's repose from the moment he heard he approach of the Viking fleet. Far n being unprepared, his ceaseless energy been from the very day of his corona- at Westminster preparing to resist one ther of those dangerous foes whom he w he would soon have to meet in deadly bat. With extraordinary rapidity he ched from London to York. As he ed northward great bodies of armed joined him. The whole strength of hern and central England were with when he reached the northern capital, before Hardrada had any idea that an y was at hand, he was confronted with host of Harold.

is rapid march, that extraordinary and d mustering of the armed forces of the h and midlands, the skilful disposition of his men before the decisive battle, will ever stamp Harold of England as a great strategist and general. The Norwegian saga which tells the story of the awful battle between the two Harolds, describes the dread surprise of the Vikings at the appearance of the Saxon army. At first, the cloud of dust which heralded their approach was mistaken for a friendly force, possibly a division of the Northumbrian men-at-arms belonging to the cowed and defeated Northumbrian earls. But soon the vast numbers and threatening appearance of the oncoming Saxons, told the Vikings that that great array of shields and armour, glistening like the ice of their own northern country, belonged to foemen ready to fight to the death for their native land.*

We have, unfortunately, no authentic record of the battle that followed. It seems, however, that Hardrada was certainly more or less taken by surprise. The Northmen had never dreamed of that splendid march of Harold and his army. The fight of Stamford Bridge was fought on September 25th of that eventful, fatal year, and ended with the utter rout of the invading host of Hardrada. On that stricken field fell the famous Viking, with nearly all of his most trusted chieftains; and among the dead was Tostig, somewhile earl of Northumbria, to whose intrigues the invasion by Hardrada of Norway was mainly due. The famous raven banner of Norway, called the "land-waster," and the vast treasures of the Vikings, fell into the hands of the English king, and the poor remnant of the mighty northern host, with the body of

* Compare Freeman: "Norman Conquest," ch. xiv., 1, 2, 3.

their king, were suffered to retreat to their ships, when they at once sadly sailed for Norway, which they had left only a few weeks before with such high and confident hope of an easy conquest.

But the terrible victory was dearly bought. The flower of the English troops had been brought together by Harold of England to meet the northern invaders, and it was but a thin remnant of that splendid army which, after the decisive battle, re-entered the neighbouring York in triumph. Far, indeed, was the English host from coming scatheless—writes the historian—from that awful struggle. "Many of the faithful house-carls, the flower of Harold of England's army, lay dead on the stricken field of Stamford Bridge. Many a noble thane had given his life for his country; for, in truth, the vanquished invaders had sold their lives dearly. But the victory was a victory as decisive as any to be found in the whole history of English warfare."

There was a great banquet held at York to celebrate it, and the story tells us how, while the king in all his pomp was seated at it, a messenger hot with haste arrived to tell him how William, duke of the Normans, had just landed with a vast array on the shores of Sussex, and was ravaging the land far and near.

The leading events of the previous life of this William, duke of the Normans, were briefly set forth in Chapter XXII., from his accession in 1035 to the throne of his father, duke Robert the Magnificent, until the year of the accession of Harold in 1066. No mere man in the whole Christian era has so powerfully influenced the world's destinies, has left his life-work behind him so truly an abiding posses for all time, as duke William, gene known as the Conqueror; and the p of the Norman duke and his chief ad may be said to have had more perma influence upon the Church of England, even upon the civil affairs of our cou The work of Alfred was of exceeding portance; Henry II. raised England position of undreamed-of power; Edwa was perhaps the greatest and most seeing of the illustrious princes who sat upon this island throne; the wor Henry VIII. has had a measureless influ upon the fortunes of the English people of our church. Apart from any of t great ones, however, it is possible sti think of England growing into its pre unique position in the world. But Wil the Conqueror's personality positively not be so withdrawn; without him, the of the Anglo-Norman empire is an unth able thought. Other great men rank, will ever hold their proud position, an the makers of England. But duke Wil the Conqueror alone can be styled maker of England. On the continen Europe, again, have many other arisen, who in their day and time h exercised an enormous influence in world; but the life-work of none of th not even that of the great Charlema has had anything like the enduring fluence of the life-work of the Nor Conqueror. The England so largely work and creation still endures, most influential of the world-pow Only one influence can be compared it: that of Hildebrand, William's cont porary and ally, who as Gregory VII. the maker of that vast spiritual dominat

THE MESSENGER BRINGING TO HAROLD THE NEWS OF THE LANDING OF WILLIAM.

we call the Papacy, which endures, too, though shorn of much of its old power, to this day.

William the Conqueror's character was a complex one ; good strangely alternates with evil. One feature of it has been always dwelt upon by the king's more serious biographers: his fixed purpose, his unbending will. In his marvellous life-story we see, that whatever the will of William decreed, he found means to bring it about. "Utterly unscrupulous, though far from unprincipled, taking no pleasure in wrong or oppression for its own sake, always keeping back his hands from needless bloodshed, he yet never shrank from force or fraud, from wrong or bloodshed or oppression, when they seemed to him the straightest paths to carry out his purpose. His crimes admit of no denial, but with one single exception they never were mere wanton crimes. . . . His personal virtues were throughout life many and great. We hear much of his piety, and we see reason to believe that his piety was something more than the mere conventional piety of lavish gifts to monasteries. Punctual in every exercise of devotion, paying respect and honour of every kind to religion and its ministers, William showed in two ways most unusual among the princes of that age, that his zeal for holy things was neither hypocrisy nor fanaticism nor superstition ; . . . he appeared as a real ecclesiastical reformer, and he allowed the precepts of his religion to have a distinct influence on his private life. He was one of the few princes of that age whose hands were wholly clean from the guilt of simony ; in a profligate age he was a model of conjugal fidelity. He was a good and faithful friend, and an affect brother." *

One of the bravest soldiers of the he excelled in all martial exercise the decisive battle of Hastings his pe prowess was long the subject of the trouveur and troubadour. A great gist and a consummate leader of me war-filled life is illustrated by a succ of remarkable and notable victories. statesman he was unequalled in E Nor was he less notorious for his s administration than for his generals the field. In his own great Norman cipality he found a state torn with in dissensions and rent with anarchy : his firm, strong rule Normandy a broad dependencies became a loya peaceful land, a model to all the king and states of the Continent. "Ha never stretched out his hand to gras diadem which was another's, his would not have filled the world as i does, but he would have gone down grave as one of the best as well as c the greatest rulers of his time." †

And in conquered England, in sp the untold misery which the great quest brought on unnumbered home hearths; in spite of the awful crime made a desert and a waste of a vast of Northumbria ; when once the Con was over and done, England was the united and the most powerful an spected realm in western Christen while within its own borders life and perty were safer than they had ever under the strongest of the Anglo-S kings. The national Chronicler, one loved not the Norman rule, but w

* Professor Freeman. † *Ibid.*

ıpulously just and fair, after dilating
n the disastrous, rueful years of the
n conquest, after bitterly condemning
hard avarice of William and his chiefs,
ing as they did to amass gold and silver,
caring how sinfully it was gotten, so
t it came into their hands, thus speaks
the Conqueror: "King William was a
y wise and a great man, more honoured
powerful than any of his predecessors.
was mild to those good men who loved

OLD RIDING TO BOSHAM CHURCH TO RECEIVE THE SACRAMENT BEFORE STARTING FOR NORMANDY.
(*From the Bayeux Tapestry.*)

l, but severe beyond measure to those
withstood his will. . . . The good
er which he established in the land is
to be forgotten; it was such that any
who was himself aught might travel
the kingdom with a bosom full of gold
olested, and no man durst kill another,
ever great the injury he might have
ived from him; but he was of great
ness, and he took from his subjects
y marks of gold and many hundred
nds of silver, and this either with or
hout right, and with little need . . .
rich complained and the poor mur-
ted, but he was so strong that he recked

nought of them. . . . Alas! that any man should so exalt himself and carry himself in his pride over all! May Almighty God show mercy to his soul and grant him the forgiveness of his sins." *

We left king Harold, it will be remembered, in the last days of the September of that fatal autumn of the year 1066, sitting amidst his thanes at the York banquet, held to celebrate the crushing defeat which the English king had inflicted on king Harold Hardrada, the last of the long line of Viking warriors who had harassed England. As he feasted there came, all dusty and worn with hard and rapid travel, a messenger who brought him the dread though not unlooked-for news that William the duke of the Normans had landed with a vast army in the south of the island, and with all solemnity and earnestness had asserted his claim to the crown of England. The claim, after all—though William contrived to make it good—was based on somewhat unreal foundations. As far back

* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Peterborough), A.D. 1087.

as the year 1051, on the occasion of a visit of duke William to Edward the Confessor, some kind of a promise was made by the childless English king to his Norman kinsman that he would adopt him as his successor. It would seem, too that then, during that visit, William had done homage to Edward, probably owing to this promise. Whatever may have been the promise, there is no doubt but that at a later period of his reign the promise was cancelled; for king Edward changed his mind completely concerning the succession, as he subsequently sent to Hungary for his nephew Edward, with the view of adopting the exile as his heir. Edward the exile, soon after his arrival in England, we know, died, and his son, known afterwards as Edgar Atheling, was little more than a child when the Confessor died. But William of Normandy never forgot the promise and the homage, and seems ever to have cherished the idea that he was the Confessor's acknowledged heir.

During the latter years of king Edward's life, earl Harold, the son of Godwin, the king's brother-in-law, gradually rose in power and in public estimation. He became king Edward's trusted friend and minister, famous alike as a great Engl thane, as a successful general, as a w and competent statesman. Long bef the king's fatal illness, earl Harold was most powerful and the wealthiest, as w

HAROLD SETTING SAIL FOR NORMANDY.
(*From the Bayeux Tapestry.*)

as the most popular Englishman. Th is no doubt that duke William feared h as his most formidable rival for the Engl crown. In the latter years of the Confess reign, when all men's eyes were fixed Harold as the probable successor to childless Edward, Harold visited Norman During that visit there is no doubt th Harold did something, entered into so compact with William, which enab William to charge him with perjury a breach of the duty of a vassal. "It is inc ceivable," writes the learned panegyrist Harold, "and unlike the formal scrupulo ness of William's character, to fancy th on the death of king Edward the Co fessor he made his formal appeal Christendom without any ground at all; equally inconceivable that such a genera received story "should have grown up near the alleged time without some ker of truth in it." This generally receiv story was that Harold, on his way to

* Professor Freeman.

urt of Rouen, probably on some friendly ission from Edward to William, was rown by a storm on the coast of Pon-ieu. Guy, the count of the province, ized and imprisoned the English earl, ho was liberated through the friendly ediation of duke William, who brought m to Rouen, but rather as a ransomed ptive than as an English thane charged ith an embassage. Before releasing him e Norman duke compelled him to take oath of allegiance, promising him in turn for his oath of homage the hand of s young daughter and other privileges in e future. The popular story goes on to y that Harold's oath was pledged under rcumstances of extraordinary solemnity. efore it was taken—so runs the story duke William sent out messengers, un-own to Harold, to all the famous abbeys d churches in Normandy, and holy d awful was the spoil with which these essengers returned. The spoil in question nsisted of mouldering relics of the saints hich formed the sacred treasure of the which veiled the chest was withdrawn, and "there from abbey and from church, it was seen, had been collected all the relics of human nothingness in which superstition adored the mementoes of saints divine; there lay, pell-mell and huddled, skeleton and mummy, the dry, dark skin, the white gleaming bones of the dead, mockingly cased in gold and decked with rubies, their grim fingers protruded through the hideous chaos, and pointed towards the living man thus ensnared; there the skulls grinned under the holy mitre." * At that sight, say the Norman chronicles, the earl Harold shuddered and trembled, for in that chest, as he swore his oath, on which he had laid his hand, lay all the relics which religion deemed the holiest in the land.

Such is the story, and there is little doubt but that some such oath was taken; and when the time came and king Edward slept with his fathers, though the great Witan of England elected Harold king in succession to the childless Edward, duke William claimed the splendid heritage of

HAROLD TAKING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO WILLIAM.
(*From the Bayeux Tapestry.*)

eat religious houses of Normandy. These re gathered together and placed in a eat chest; upon this chest Harold laid his nd when he swore his oath. When the nglish earl removed his hand, the cloth Canute, basing his claim upon the promise of Edward made to him years before, and upon the awful oath of Harold taken subsequently in Normandy.

* Lytton Bulwer: "Harold."

By William's side stood the wisest and most astute statesman in Europe—the saintly scholar Lanfranc. The claim of Norman William to the English crown took a religious shape. William, under Lanfranc's direction, appealed to the princes and leading men in every Christian land; but, above all, he appealed to the head of Christendom—the bishop of Rome. And be it remembered, that when duke William made his strange appeal the bishops of Rome, as we have related, had risen from their long period of degradation and impotence, and were regarded with extraordinary veneration and respect. The reigning Pope of Rome was Alexander II., but the real influence at Rome was wielded by the wise Hildebrand, afterwards known as Gregory VII. This mighty ecclesiastical statesman saw at once what a powerful engine might this appeal to Rome prove in after days, when Rome should claim to be the arbiter of nations.

The appeal of William and Lanfranc was strangely successful. Not a few among the Continental powers were convinced of the justice of the Norman claim to England; and in the army which William led against Harold were many men of foreign nations. But, above all, duke William brought with him as an outward sign of the favour and approbation of the acknowledged head of Christendom, a consecrated banner from Rome. The war became a holy war. William was the champion of right and justice, and Harold a rebel against Holy Church. These were terrible odds in favour of the invader, and largely contributed to the successful issue of the Norman invasion.

That Harold was a consummate general all writers are now agreed. The victory Stamford Bridge over the formidable h of the Viking Harold Hardrada, and t disposition of the Anglo-Saxon army Hastings, bear ample testimony to powers as a strategist and a general. B his best men-at-arms lay dead on t bloody field near York, where he va quished with no small difficulty and wi

CORONATION OF WILLIAM I. BY ALDRED, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

(*From the Original MS. of Matthew Paris' Chronicle in Manchester Cathedral.*)

tremendous loss the Northmen's invadi host. The Anglo-Saxon forces at Hastin were in consequence sadly inferior to t mighty army of the Normans. This clear from the sequel to the story of t battle; for we learn from the many accou of it that the picked men of Harold's arm in spite of their splendid gallantry, and th leader's military skill, *were slain to a m* on that bloody field, and that south-easte

and was left absolutely defenceless; on the other hand the Norman army, e numbers evidently far exceeded the s of Harold, after the losses of the e, which must have been very severe, able at once, with the aid of some orcements from Normandy, to proceed the conquest of England.

e conquest took, roughly, some three and a half after the battle of Hastings e it was completed. The battle was t in the autumn of the year 1066, the last fearful act of the Norman ueror, the harrying of the northern s, an act which left its mark upon these ss lands for long years, was carried out e last days of 1069. The accounts of ast awful ravaging are well preserved in assionless pages of the great "Domes-urvey," where seventeen years later—turn over the pages of the "York-Survey"—we come again and again e grim entry, "Waste," "waste"—nly description possible of many a flourishing farm or village, after the yer had done his work. The history of three years and a half of almost con-war is noteworthy, because it always ed the slow but sure progress of the ueror. Many a gallant stand was against the invader, many a deter-l resistance to his arms. But it was less. The Normans and their foreign were led with consummate skill, as as inspired with splendid bravery. English were brave too, but had no worth the name, and they were united; one part of England did ng to help the other. The Anglo-n race was ruined by lack of concert. division of the realm after the other fell into the invader's hands. The merciless harrying of the north, which held out the longest, closed the story of the Conquest, and early in the year 1070 William, duke of the Normans, was king over the whole land. He at once began to carry out the settlement of the England he had won by his arms, and set himself now in good earnest to do what he and his chief adviser and minister, Lanfranc, felt was their duty towards the noble realm, won at the cost of so much crime and sorrow.

At first the forfeited demesnes and jurisdictions of the family of Harold, by far the wealthiest of the noble houses of England, were sufficient for the demands of his faithful soldiers and allies; but as the Conquest proceeded, gradually a very large portion of the estates of the native thanes and landowners suffered forfeiture, and Normans were substituted for the original landowners. England was, in comparison with most countries on the continent of Europe, enormously rich. Cities and wealthy men made bountiful offerings to the new king. Churches and monasteries, willingly and unwillingly, were equally liberal. The widespread commerce of England had brought, in the comparatively peaceful times of the Confessor and his immediate predecessors, untold wealth to the island. Words, we are told, would fail to describe the wealth which flowed into the coffers of the Conqueror, who became the richest as well as the greatest of earthly kings.

Liberally did William pour out upon the churches of those foreign lands which had helped him in the great conquest, the treasures of conquered England. The smallest monastery in those favoured

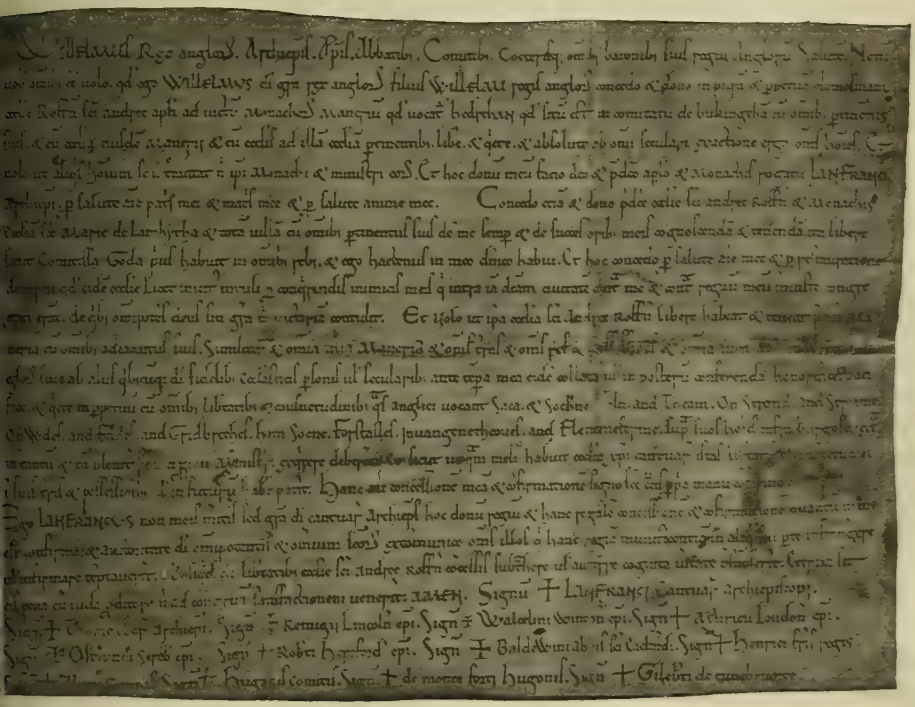
districts became the recipient of his bounty. We read of unnumbered gifts to foreign churches, of golden crosses studded with gems, of chalices of gold, of gorgeous embroidery, for which the religious houses of England were famous. The women of England were especially renowned for their extraordinary skill in this beautiful art. These precious things were scattered broadcast through the churches of France, Burgundy, and even of distant Aquitaine and Auvergne. Very wealthy was the Church of England in the days when the Confessor died. Men on the Continent gazed with wonder on these rich spoils of the Norman conqueror, these cunning works of the sculptor and of the goldsmith and the woman embroiderer—a striking testimony not only to the wealth, but to the early development of the ornamental arts in England under the Anglo-Saxon kings, largely, if not wholly, cultivated under the protecting shadow of the Anglo-Saxon church.

It was the government and constitution of this church, that William and his minister Lanfranc devoted themselves with peculiar earnestness to reorganise and remodel. Strong and powerful as was the Anglo-Saxon church in the Confessor's days, it had sadly fallen away from the discipline and reforms instituted by Dunstan and his school. The Anglo-Saxon church was also an intensely national church in spirit, and intimately bound up with the Anglo-Saxon state, and hence peculiarly hostile to the Norman policy of William and Lanfranc. Papal authority was weaker in England than elsewhere. In England was no strong line of demarcation drawn between spiritual and temporal things and jurisdictions; the national assemblie Anglo-Saxon Gemots dealt freely ecclesiastical, as with temporal ma Bishop and earl, abbot and thane together in the local gemots, and, wha singularly hateful to Norman church trained in the sterner and more a school which had lately arisen unde shadow of the revived and reinvigo Papacy, a strange laxity of discipline vailed in England on the great questi the marriage of the clergy. Bishops priests, members of capitular bodies, in the Anglo-Saxon church of the fessor's days often married. All thi Norman felt must be changed. general result of the reforms of Wi and Lanfranc was to make the Chur England more like the other chu of the west, in doctrine as in prac and enormously, as we shall see, t crease the power of the Roman bis

Perhaps William's wisest act, and th which had the greatest influence o reign and administration, was his sele of the monk Lanfranc as his chief mi and counsellor. No one in that a change has left his mark upon the Ch of England like this great states scholar, whom the Conqueror's une eye chose as his adviser, and whom subsequently placed to rule over English church.

The century and a half of anarch shameless traffic in benefices, from highest grade to the lowest, of ge carelessness, and even of profligacy, i Christian church of western Europe been already touched upon. The first of the eleventh century witnessed, it

remembered, a general awakening, sely connected with the foundation of ny new monasteries and the reforma- n of the old religious communities. Normandy the same period—the middle the eleventh century—was especially



TER OF WILLIAM II. GRANTING TO THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW AT ROCHESTER THE MANOR OF HEDREHAN (BUCKS) AND THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, LAMBETH.

*itnessed by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury: Thomas, Archbishop of York: Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln: Walcelin, Bishop of Winchester: Maurice, Bishop of London: Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury: Robert, Bishop of Hereford: Baldwin, Abbot of St. Edmunds; Henry, brother of the king (afterwards Henry I.), etc.* A.D. 1088. (*British Museum.*)

ful in the foundation of monasteries a revival of life and vigour in the ch. Avranches, Bec, and other es had become the resort of learned devout men, and were attracting crowds of pupils—some of them distant countries, especially from Italy. Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, had an interesting record. Originally a native of Italy, he had successively been the teacher of Halberstadt, a famous Saxon (German) cathedral; abbot of St. Mary at Florence; then a monk of the highest repute for learning and sanctity at the Norman monastery of Fécamp. He was one of the foremost instruments in the regeneration of the Norman church, and under him the great cathedral of Rouen was completed.

By far the most famous and able, how-

ever, of the men of the new Norman church school was a scholar of the Italian city of Pavia, whom England in later days knew and honoured under the name of Lanfranc the archbishop. Lanfranc's name will ever rank among the foremost of the illustrious men connected with the Church of England. He comes before us in three distinct characters.

Firstly, he was *the minister* of that portion of the reign of duke William of Normandy which was principally occupied with making preparations for the invasion of England. He was the duke's chief adviser at that time. It was Lanfranc, strange to say, who before all others encouraged his master to make the daring attempt, and who carefully formulated the Norman claim to the English crown. It was Lanfranc whose rare skill in diplomacy and statecraft converted what really was a reckless, daring invasion of a peaceful country—an invasion in no respects more justifiable than that of the Scandinavian Harold Hardrada, which ended so disastrously near the walls of York—into a *religious war*, carried on under the direct sanction of the highest authority in Christendom, under the sacred shadow of the gonfanon of the saintly Pope of Rome.

Secondly, Lanfranc comes before us as the foremost champion of that strange doctrine of *transubstantiation*, which all through the Middle Ages exercised so mighty an influence over the fortunes of the church; of that doctrine which is still exercising its strange and marvellous fascination over a great section of the Catholic church, the concluding chapter of its eventful story still belonging to the history of the future.

And, thirdly, Lanfranc comes before as the great reorganiser and remodelle the Norman Church of England. We h commented on the singular dearth of e nent men of the first rank in the Eng Church during the reign of Canute his sons, and of Edward the Confessor. Lanfranc we have one of those true g ones, who, like Theodore and Wilf king Alfred and Dunstan, through t own individuality infused a nobler sp into the church of which they w members, and gave it new life and po and long enduring influence.

His story is of singular interest. He born in the first year of the eleve century, his father being an eminent L bard lawyer, of the northern Italian cit Pavia, and his years of early manhood w spent in following with distinction same calling. Rarely gifted, with tire perseverance, eloquence, and a strang winning personality, a singularly pros ous, though perhaps an uneventful ca seemed to lie before the young sch lawyer. In the year 1039, however, w about thirty-five years old, he left Pavia took up his abode in Norman Avranc Various reasons have been alleged for migration from the country of his bir possibly his prospects were marred ow to some change in the political circu stances of his native city, and he de mined to seek his fortune in that Norn realm, then becoming famous in Eur After his migration into Normandy, v rapidly grew the reputation of the brilli and eloquent scholar. He was ackn ledged to be one of the profoundest Gr scholars north of the Alps, and his sch at Avranches by the sea was soon thron

th pupils. But the mere fame of a cher and scholar soon palled upon Lanfranc. He longed after nobler aims, and a more spiritual and higher life than e position of a mere teacher, however ught after, enabled him to lead. So of a lden we find him forsaking Avranches d the famous school which he had founded ere, and determining to join the ranks one of those many monastic communities at that time rising into repute in ormandy. He chose for his novitiate a use comparatively undistinguished in the eat world, but which, among earnest d devout men, was known for the simple sterity of its inmates.

Some thirty miles from Rouen, a little the east of the ruins of the old donjon Brionne, so rich in memories of the ormandy of the dukes and their turbulent ssals, rises a long wood-covered hill. e traveller from Rouen to Caen passes often without observation, but the scholar o would visit the scene of the most hly storied shrine in the north of France ll do well to rest awhile at the little ionne town. After wandering for about hour through the wood of Brionne he ll come suddenly upon a quiet secluded lley, in the midst of which runs a clear nding brook or bec. A lofty graceful ver at once will catch his eye; then he ll notice the ruins of a long wall, which s evidently once enclosed a vast group buildings; the remains of these buildings, now sadly disfigured, and curiously d sadly adapted into modern covered eds and stables, to the eye resembling a st farm, occupy the centre of the little lley of the Bec or Brook. This is Bec-llouin, once the home of Lanfranc and Anselm, two of our greatest English archbishops, who take rank among the greatest of the sons of our proud Church of England. These are the sad remains of Bec-Hellouin, a monastery which for some seven hundred years was reckoned as one of the richest and most illustrious of the religious houses of Europe. Modern France has ruthlessly destroyed the mighty church round which the monastery was built; a church one of the noblest in France. The great religious house has become a vast depôt for cavalry horses; but its undying memories no people, no government, however careless of its great traditions, will ever be able to wipe out. Herlwin (Hellouin), the founder of the once famous house of prayer and study, was a Norman noble, world-weary, who, in the days of duke William the Conqueror, built the first monastery by the banks of the little flowing Bec. In its early days it was but a small, unknown society of religious men, very poor, and very austere and simple in its life. Thither came the famous Pavian scholar Lanfranc, seeking something higher than the applause of his many scholars in his Avranches school.

"Manual labour was the principal employment of the holy house of Bec. Hard and fast Herlwin its abbot worked, aiding with his own hands the building of his rapidly growing house, except when chanting in the choir, or partaking of the one coarse meal which he grudged himself. You would always find Abbot Herlwin digging and delving, or his hand grasping the spade, or with hod on shoulder, as Lanfranc found him, all begrimed with mortar, engaged at vaulting an oven." Lanfranc—so runs the story—humbly made his obeisance

to the abbot. Herlwin asked him what he wanted. Lanfranc replied that he sought the cowl. "Herlwin, trowel in hand, desired a monk to bring the volume containing the rigid rules of the society, and the stranger was duly admitted to the community." *

lable of *docĕre*, thus. Lanfranc obeyed a once. Very soon, however, it was noise abroad that Lanfranc of Pavia, the famo teacher of Avranches, had become a mon at Bec. Then flocked to that hitherto u known and humble house of God, numbe of students from all parts eager to learn fro

RECEPTION OF LANFRANC BY HERLWIN.

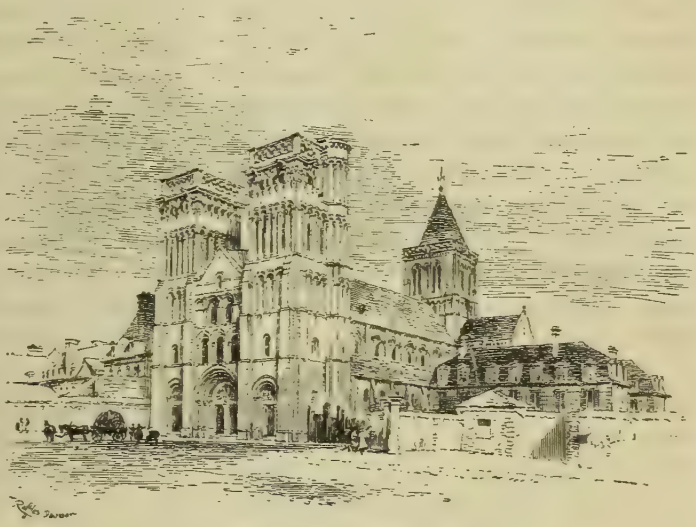
Strange stories are told about the great scholar's life at first at Bec. It was a poor unlearned community, and they guessed not that a mighty man of letters had taken refuge from the world and the flesh within their holy walls. One day, when reading in his turn to his brother monks in the refectory, the prior corrected his reading, and bade the late teacher of the famous Avranches school shorten the second syl-

* Palgrave: "Normandy and England."

the greatest scholar in France. Lanfran was eventually induced to become prior the house, under Herlwin, the abbot an founder. Bec became soon the resort clerks and men of noble birth, of eve sons of princes. The poor abbey wa quickly enriched with gifts, thanks to th presence of the renowned brother who ha in all humility joined their community.

His fame reached the ears of duk William, who, struck with his great learning

nd perhaps still more with his evident apacity, made him his trusted friend and ounsellor. The friendship between the uke and the monk was, however, soon nterrupted. William had married Matilda, he daughter of count Baldwin of Flanders. here is no doubt that this was a love arriage, upon which William had set his eart; but there was a bar which could ot be got over. Vhat that bar was uncertain; most robably some relaonship existed beveen William and Iatilda, distant cerinly, but still suffient to afford caonical objection to he marriage. Maler, the archshop of Rouen, ho was subseuently deposed, it believed, though ot quite certain, xcommunicated Villiam in conseience; even Lananc the scholar gravely censured the duke, nd for a season there was enmity between e friends. Lanfranc, however, consented plead the duke's cause at Rome, and proised to win Pope Nicholas II.'s forgivess of William and Matilda's sin against urch ordinances. The embassy was successful, and the chief pontiff's blessing on e uncanonical marriage was eventually tained, upon the condition of the duke d duchess each founding a monastery of piation: they were, however, under the ban of the church for several years. The two stately abbeys of Caen, which William and Matilda built, are still in existence, and serve as an enduring memorial of Lanfranc's influence at Rome. More than 800 years have passed, but these famous churches of expiation have outlived all the changes of these many years, and in their severe and perfect beauty tell us of the skill and taste of the Norman architects of William's day.



ABBAYE AUX DAMES, CAEN.
[*This was Matilda's Church of Expiation.*]

Lanfranc, who became the first abbot of St. Stephen of Caen, William's abbey, rose higher than ever in the counsels of the great duke, and in the momentous period which immediately preceded the conquest of England, was the minister and adviser who guided and directed the whole Norman policy. As we have said, it was Lanfranc's skill and wise statecraft which gave to the invasion of England the character

of a holy war, waged under the direct approbation and blessing of the chief pontiff of western Christendom at Rome. We shall meet with the scholar and statesman-monk next, as the first Norman archbishop of Canterbury.

It is, however, the position which Lanfranc, before he came to England as archbishop, took up with reference to a church doctrine involving questions of the highest importance, which especially interests us in our story of the Church of England. He became the leading advocate and teacher of the new view which churchmen were taking of the holy Eucharist, and which had, when it was generally accepted as a Catholic doctrine, so momentous an influence upon the church and her power over the souls of men. And his subsequent elevation to the primacy of the English church, gave him the amplest opportunities of stamping his views respecting the sacrament of the Eucharist permanently upon the teaching of the great Anglo-Norman church over which he was called to preside.

We have already treated of the genesis of this doctrine, which still is so strangely influencing the opinions and claims of so many of the ministers of the Catholic church. As early as 826, Paschasius Radbertus of the monastery of Corbey, had boldly formulated the doctrine, afterwards so widely received under the well-known name of "Transubstantiation;" and Radbertus' new views had been earnestly opposed by such eminent men as Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz, Johannes Scotus Erigena, Ratramn, and others. The doctrine, notwithstanding, gradually gained an ascendency in the course of the tenth century in the churches of t continent of Europe. In England, howev as we have seen from the authoritat works of Elfric, it was not received by t Anglo-Saxon church. What was, howev a *floating* doctrine, largely accepted, thou not as yet authoritatively acknowledg became crystallised in the middle of t eleventh century, very largely through t influence of the learned and power Lanfranc, the favourite minister of du William of Normandy.

The year 1000 witnessed the birth Berengar. This celebrated man we h of as a teacher at Tours in 1035, and the year 1045 he had already acqui some considerable notoriety as an ponent of the new Eucharistic doctr which was rapidly gaining ground in t teaching of the church. His celebra letter to Lanfranc, then master of t school of Bec, seems to have brou the question to a crisis, and from t time Lanfranc stands out as the promin defender of the new view. "I have be told"—so runs the letter of Beren of Tours—"Brother Lanfranc, that y have actually pronounced as heretical opinions of John Scotus (Erigena), which he differs from Paschasius Radb Now, if this be the case, you have p nounced a judgment rash and unwor of the powers of mind with which G has endowed you. You have not as grounded yourself in Holy Scripture. conferred much with those who h been more diligent in Scriptural stud than yourself. If you reckon John (E gena) a heretic, whose opinions on Eucharist I (Berengar) maintain, must be supposed to count as here

nbrose, Jerome, Augustine, not to ention others."

This public challenge threw the gauntlet wn. Lanfranc took it up, and a series church synods and councils discussed e question, now made a vital point of thodoxy. At Rome in the year 1050, d again at Vercelli, at Brionne in ormandy, near Bec, in 1051, at Tours 1054, again at Rome in 1059, and later Poitiers in 1075, at Rome in 1078-9, re the views of Berengar condemned th more or less severity, and the ctrine of transubstantiation, of which nfranc was the ardent advocate, affirmed. nfranc's celebrated treatise on "The dy and Blood of the Lord" was written d put out between 1063 and 1070. In he reproves Berengar for spreading his rors, and boldly asserts his own recep- n of the doctrine as formulated by schasius Radbertus. It is maintained at it was this treatise which for the first ne established transubstantiation and all consequences in the church.

It must, however, not be assumed that rengar's views were by any means iversally rejected. He seems on more an one occasion to have temporised, t it is clear that he held fast to his position to Lanfranc to the last, dying the year 1088. His memory was long erenced in the district of Tours, and wn to late times there was a yearly emnity at his tomb. Moreover, on this at question the opinions of Hildebrand egory VII.) are doubtful. Holding, as did, the greatest position of power and uence in the church all through this iod, it is of the deepest interest to in all the later burning discussions upon the doctrine, to remember that Hildebrand, in spite of the almost universal feeling of the church of his day in the matter, never could be brought to brand Berengar as a heretic. Indeed, the reproach has been thrown at the head of this foremost son of the Church of Rome—the chief maker of her awful and far-reaching power—that he himself doubted the real bodily presence of the body and blood of the Redeemer in the sacrament, "*infidelis est.*"

Lanfranc of Bec, of St. Stephen's, of Caen, of Canterbury, triumphed; and the doctrine of transubstantiation, first forged in the workshops of the abbey of Corbey by an unknown brother, known in history as Paschasius Radbert—the doctrine which teaches men "that the priest has the power of *making God*" *—passed into the doctrinal treasure-house of the Catholic church of the West; and with it a new and mighty source of sacerdotal authority, sacerdotal wealth, sacerdotal dominion. It was not long before it reached our shores. The ink of the first draft of Lanfranc's famous treatise on "The Body and Blood of the Lord" was scarcely dry, when Lanfranc's master crossed the narrow silver streak which parted his Normandy from Harold's England, with that great host sheltered by the sacred gonfanon of the Pope of Rome. Where William went, Lanfranc was sure to follow. In the year 1070, less than four years after the fight at Hastings, Stigand, the Anglo-Saxon archbishop, was formally deposed, as might have been expected, by the action of a council, with the sanction of the Norman king of England and the Pope

* Dean Milman: "Latin Christianity."

of Rome, and Lanfranc was placed in the vacant chair of the primacy of England. With the great Norman archbishop the doctrine of transubstantiation, of course, became part of the formal teaching of the Church of England. But when, in the sixteenth century, another teaching on the Eucharistic Presence took its place, this was no new thing to England. The teaching of the reformers in

legates sat with the English king to g
and assist this work.

He began with the bishoprics.
primate's throne of York was just va
Aldred, the Saxon archbishop, was
In his room William appointed Tho
a canon of his brother Odo's se
Bayeux, a man of high and stai
character. From this time onward
through William's reign, as En

SEAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

this matter was, as we have shown, simply a *return* to the old paths in which the fathers of the Anglo-Saxon church had walked, and which Elfric in the last years of the tenth century had so clearly and unmistakably marked out.

It was in the Lent of the year 1070—when the Conquest was virtually completed—that William in a solemn assembly at Winchester commenced the work of remodelling the government and discipline of the English church. For the first time in the history of England, three Papal

bishops died, or were from various rea
deposed, strangers—generally Norma
took their place. At the time of the k
death, in 1087, only one of the En
bishops remained, the saintly Wulf
of Worcester.

In the same year, 1070—some sa
a council held at Windsor—archbi
Stigand was formally deposed, the t
Roman legates acquiescing. Charge
accusation against the old Anglo-Sa
arch-prelate were easily framed.
gand's ecclesiastical position, as we
seen, even when Edward and Ha

ed, was ever a doubtful matter. No *wledged* Pope had ever granted him herished insignia of the pall. But al crime in William's eyes was that s too deeply attached to -Saxon usages ever to t to the new state of . His throne, too, was wanted for Lanfranc. s a sorrowful ending for d man, who for so many had filled the chief in his beloved church. emned to perpetual cap- in the strong castle of hester he was, some think, to death by hard and usage.* Stigand was re- hed with parsimony, with ng to betray the secret st treasures he still pos- . When literally starved eath, men say that on shrunken person was the key of a cellar his hoard was deposited cret which he had in life d to betray. His place illed by Lanfranc, who w arbiter of the fortunes Church of England.

franc was a great scholar heologian, a wise and statesman, a devoted and admirer of William rmandy. But he evidently preferred the part of minister, of the trusted r of his sovereign, with some leisure to pursue those studies he loved so well, and to which he had consecrated the best years of his life, to occupying the uneasy throne of an archbishop, with all its accompanying cares and ceaseless troubles. Already had he refused to be archbishop of Rouen, and at first he steadily declined the vacant chair at Canterbury. But William was determined that his friend and chief adviser should take in hand

*Photo: Neurdin.*

THE NAVE, ST. STEPHEN'S, CAEN.

me writers, however, describe his imprison- s wanting these harsher features embodied ext.

the work of remodelling the powerful church of conquered England. At this time Lanfranc was abbot of the new abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, and it was indeed with great reluctance that he left that quiet home, where he was loved and honoured, for Canterbury, where his life must in future be spent in the midst of a sullen people, and surrounded by stranger ecclesiastics, who would view all his acts with suspicion, if not with dislike. It needed all the strong pressure of his master, king William, all the influence of queen Matilda, the expressed wishes, if not the actual command, of Pope Alexander II., to induce the scholar-statesman to accept the hard and difficult charge vacated by Stigand.

It was a gloomy beginning, too, for Lanfranc in Canterbury; for the cathedral had been lately destroyed by fire, and his consecration was performed in a rough and temporary church. Only nine of his suffragans were present. Before him, indeed, lay a difficult and thankless task. But the choice of William, and his persistency in forcing Lanfranc to accept this nomination, was justified. For nineteen years the Italian monk-scholar filled what was perhaps the most difficult and arduous post in the church of the west. During his English career he remodelled the church of the conquered island, and yet contrived to win an almost universal love and admiration among the conquered people. He became in England a true Englishman, and that without forfeiting the friendship and confidence of William. As his trusted adviser, in a hundred ways he was enabled to soften, if not to change, the harsh measures too often adopted in the early days of the Conquest. N friend to the vanquished Anglo-Saxo lived in those stormy days, than th and generous scholar-statesman La His entire devotion to the country reluctantly adopted as his own, in s the momentous changes in the ch which he was the chief pastor, a which changes he was mainly respo was amply recognised even in hi lifetime. The memory of Lanfranc's as archbishop is one of the brigh the many noble and true traditions Church of England.

One of his first cares was the rebu of his own metropolitan church. seven years were spent in the work. franc took as his model his own church of St. Stephen of Caen. church, when finished, was in all r a minster of the Norman type. building thus raised was carefully en with every ornament known in th and the skill of the goldsmith an painter were lavishly bestowed on th first great Norman church built aft Conquest. But little, however, of franc's work remains in the present and stately cathedral of Canterbury, was almost entirely reconstructed o grander and more imposing scale days of his great successor, Anselm his own city he largely increase numbers of the monks at Christ C and gradually introduced a severe cipline in the community. He hospitals for the sick and the poor, the archiepiscopal palace, and carefu in order the temporal affairs of the

But the work of Lanfranc extende a far wider area. He was something

wise and prudent bishop. Under
e whole government and policy of
urch of England underwent a great
mentous change. The old English
, under the Anglo-Saxon kings,
st distinctly national. The reforms
franc weakened the insular inde-
ce of England, and made her
less national, but more like the
ntal churches of the west in
and Italy, and enormously con-
d towards the growth of Papal
Losing much of its insular
dependent character, the Anglo-
n Church was started on a new
The moment was singularly pro-
for bringing about this change.
ndently of all special circumstances
nt upon the great Conquest, and
sequent change of government, the
of England at the time of the
of the Normans was no doubt
in vigour and energy. The re-
life and energy under Dunstan and
ol had worn itself out. The time
ne for a new and vigorous revival;
nfranc did more than merely raise
ndard of the Church of England
tually and morally: he changed its
position as regards the state, and
completely its ancient relations with
man see. The Church of England
e than four centuries and a half
y ceased to be a national church,
her ecclesiastical side, became a
e of a foreign empire.

principal changes introduced by the
s were as follows:—*

The most important ecclesiastical measure of the reign of William the Conqueror, and the one that had the most far-reaching influence, was the separation of the church jurisdiction from the secular business of the courts of law. The bishop and the archdeacon no longer held ecclesiastical pleas in the hundred court, but held courts of their own. Causes connected with spiritual matters were henceforth tried by canonical, not by customary law; no spiritual question came before laymen as judges. The bishop no longer, as in the days of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, sat with the aldermen in the assembly of the shire as joint president. He presided in his own court, where ecclesiastical causes were alone tried. When he sat in the popular assemblies it was as a baron rather than as a bishop. The archbishop henceforth held his synod distinct from the great Gemot, or assembly of the realm. The effect of this was to separate in a great degree the life of the church from the national life. It created new aspirations, new thoughts on the part of ecclesiastics; making them members rather of a great foreign empire, whose chief and ruler resided in Rome, than members of a national church, whose interests were closely bound up with those of their own country.

(2) The Church of England under Lanfranc, was brought into much closer dependence on the see of Rome. In Anglo-Saxon times the only acknowledgment of dependence on the part of the English church was the payment of a tribute of a penny on every hearth, a tax which was collected and sent to Rome from the beginning of the tenth century, under the general name of Peter's pence. The origin and purpose of this singular

pare Stubbs' "Const. Hist.," ch. ix., and
's "Norman Conquest," ch. xix.

payment is somewhat doubtful. It seems really to have originated with Offa, king of Mercia, who instituted the payment

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.
(*From an Old Relief in Chichester Cathedral, late 11th or early 12th Century.*)

when, with the assistance of the Roman bishop, he founded the arch-see of Lichfield—which, however, soon ceased to exist—as a rival to the arch-see of Canterbury. Probably this payment was in some way, too, connected with the maintenance of the English school in Rome, and the frequent presence of English pilgrims to the hallowed sanctuaries of the Eternal City.

The only other acknowledgment on the part of the Anglo-Saxon church of the supremacy of Rome, was the reception of the sacred emblem of the pall by the English archbishops after their appointment, at the hands of the Roman bisho interference of legates from Rome after the Norman conquest, per exercised so great and baleful an i on the government and policy English church, was virtually *unk* Anglo-Saxon days. There was no legation before the days of Offa, in there are only scanty vestiges of suc ference for the next three centurie traces indeed of Roman influence noted in Anglo-Saxon history; and ever interference on the part of Ro attempted it was resisted. Duns instance, even refused to obey sentence.

But directly after the coming Normans all this was changed. from Rome, possessing a great thou haps at first an undefined authori make their appearance in England. of these foreign officials were presen council held after the completion Conquest, in A.D. 1070, when arch Stigand was deposed, and other ecclesiastical changes were made; a to the proceedings of this import sembly, the weight of the approv sanction of the Roman see.

(3) A sterner and more ascetic living was gradually introduced i Church of England by Lanfranc Norman suffragans. The long-d question of the marriage of the cler again prominently brought to the fr the Norman archbishop. The refo Dunstan and the men of his school England largely fallen into abeyan marriage among the clergy in th days of the Anglo-Saxon rule wa customary. It will be remembered,

*hoto: Charles H. Barden, Chichester.*

CHICHESTER: THE CATHEDRAL, MARKET CROSS, AND TOWER

of the reforms attempted and largely out in foreign churches in this the h century, how rigidly this question bacy was pressed and enforced. ic was intensely convinced of the ge and even of the solemn duty of orous abstinence on the part of stics of all degrees; but was too wise, too kindly natured, to press his ere with all severity. He passion- esired it as a rule of ecclesiastical t he set to work cautiously. He vith the canons of cathedral and pitular churches. To the capitular under the Norman rule marriage olutely forbidden, without reserve ption; even those already married lled on to separate from their but a milder discipline was at forced on the parochial clergy, me relaxation of the stern edicts Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) was by the legislation of Lanfranc. s relaxation of a rule intended to ced was only temporary, and the vas carefully provided for. Those ho were not already married were enjoined not to marry, and the were strictly warned against ordain- ied men.

has been already mentioned that he changes in the English church e coming of the Normans, the axon prelates were speedily re- make way for foreigners. Stigand rbury was deposed, York and Lich- e vacant by death, Dorchester had d up since the battle of Hastings by s, the monk of Fécamp. The bishop m was removed as guilty of treason. l, Wells, Ramsbury, Exeter, and London were already in the hands of foreigners. After the year 1070 only two sees retained native bishops; henceforth the bishops and most of the abbots were Norman. The Conqueror's bishops were, however, generally good and able men, though un-English in character; and the various changes were brought about in the church without harshness or oppression. Lanfranc's wise and holy influence over his suffragans cannot be over-estimated.

Nine years after the Conquest began a long series of changes in the sites of episcopal sees, which were gradually completed

CHRIST VISITING MARTHA AND MARY.
(*From a late 11th or early 12th Century Relief in Chichester Cathedral.*)

during the reigns of the first two Norman kings. In a council held at St. Paul's in London, it was directed that the site of

sees, hitherto often placed in villages or small towns, should be removed to cities. In most cases these changes have endured in the Church of England all through the eight hundred years which have elapsed since the days of the Norman William. The seat of the united sees of Sherborne and Ramsbury was moved to *Old* Salisbury. (The present *New* Salisbury was only adopted as the bishop's home in 1221.) Selsey, the old seat of the South Saxon bishopric, was now changed for Chichester. Chester was substituted for Lichfield, but Chester was soon deserted for Coventry, and Coventry and Lichfield were acknowledged as joint seats of the north-western Mercian see. Remigius, the monk of Fécamp, who as a reward for his energy at the time of the Conquest received the see of Dorchester, the old seat of the famous missionary Birinus, near Oxford, and whose vast diocese stretched far to the north, reaching from the Thames to the Humber, chose as his new home the hill of Lincoln, on the summit of which he built the first proud cathedral, dying only a few hours before the consecration of his new and lordly minster-church. Elmham, long the episcopal seat of the East Anglian prelates, gave place to Thetford, but before the close of the century Thetford was exchanged by the great building bishop Herbert of Losinga for the eastern rival of Exeter and Winchester, the populous and wealthy Norwich. Lastly, the little city of Wells ceased for a season to give a home and name to the Norman prelate of Somerset, who more naturally chose as his episcopal seat the time-honoured city of Bath, the famous Aquæ Solis of the days when Roman legionaries were stationed in Britain before the of the North-folk.*

All these changes which the of the Norman brought upon Eng years went on, were in a way fo The new sees, the new ways of ment, the separation of the intim peculiar connection which in Angl times had existed between the state church: all this eventually settle and men forgot that there had ev a time when these things were no greatest change of all, that which acknowledged the right of the bi Rome to interfere and to act as j grave matters pertaining to the and which effectually placed the C England beneath the yoke of Ro some four centuries and a half, w swept away by a series of unlo events, and once more the Ch England became a purely national One feature which the "coming Normans" bestowed on the Ch England has remained, however, all the eventful centuries; through cessive Norman, Plantagenet, an dynasties, through the desolation Wars of the Roses, and the yet misery of the wars of the great Re

That is, the number of mighty *churches*. They are with us stil their changeless solemn beauty, their voiceless testimony to the l splendid story of the Church of so indissolubly bound up with the well-being of the nation. When of the "coming of the Normans," the momentous changes which

* See Stubbs: "Const. Hist." ch.

battle and the conquest which fol-
l brought upon the English people
their church, few realise how far-
ing in their effects many of these
ges really were; but when we point to
reat cathedrals, to our lordly abbeys,
them due to the new spirit infused
the hearts of churchmen by that
erful race of conquerors, the appeal
ce goes home, and the greatness of
orman and his work is recognised by
nass of our people, who have scant
to study and to grasp the teachings
many-hued pages of the civil or
us history of our country.

y soon after the settlement of Eng-
which began directly the Conquest
irly complete, in the year 1070, the
work of building began. Almost the
ning taken in hand by the Norman
after he had taken possession of his
as to commence the building of a
nd stately cathedral. Nor was it
he bishops: in not a few instances
rman abbot of an important English
tery would show a like zeal in con-
g the old church of his house into a
abbey-church. Such churches had
been seen in England before; while
n Europe, north of the Alps, only in
nstances, in famous centres, in cities
s Rheims or Toulouse—centres round
clustered the story of many cen-
—were houses of God to be seen of
nitude and magnificence to be com-
with those minster-churches which,
bidding of the Norman adventurers,
on the hill of Lincoln, on the cliff of
m, in the fen lands of Ely, or in the
-watered meadows of Gloucester.
mighty prayer-houses belonged especially to that age; for in England, with comparatively few exceptions, all those vast piles dedicated to the service of God, which for well-nigh eight hundred years have been the pride and glory of the Church of England, arose in the time of William the Conqueror and his archbishop Lanfranc, or in the years immediately following. In not a few of these stupendous houses of prayer and teaching, the taste or want of taste of succeeding generations has changed, improved or spoiled, the grand work and simple decoration of the first master builders. But the plan and the design, and in some notable instances the bulk of the original work of the majority of our noblest minster churches, remain as in the great building days of Lanfranc and his school.

As men gaze on these vast piles, some of them beautiful and strong as in those far-back days when William the Conqueror and Matilda his queen took counsel with their wise friend Lanfranc, they naturally and wonderingly ask, Whence came *the gold* needful for all these stupendous and enduring works? It is acknowledged to have been an age of rare and exceptional genius, an age which produced architects and builders of singular device and exceptional power; but still the question presses, Whence came the vast resources requisite for so many and for such enormous and superb works? We may reply with very little hesitation, that the prelates and the abbots to whose loving care and far-seeing genius we owe these glorious abbey-churches, were assisted by a *deep feeling of remorse* which took possession of the Conqueror and his queen, and many another of his knightly comrades; remorse for the deeds of blood

and violence which, alas! accompanied the Norman conquest; remorse for the wide-spread misery which their greed of gain and lust of power had brought upon hapless England.

To this feeling, more deep-seated than has been usually supposed, was owing no doubt a considerable portion of the enormous sums of money given to the bishops and the abbots by the king and his Norman barons, in the years which immediately followed the days of the Conquest. These Norman cathedrals and abbeys were cathedrals and abbeys of *expiation*. Nor was the undreamed-of wealth and treasure given by these mighty and successful Norman men-at-arms, alone devoted to those grand cathedrals and lordly abbey-churches which are the chief outward ecclesiastical glories of our land. The gold thus given was far more than was needed even for these stupendous works, on which we still gaze with mingled wonder and admiration. Vast wealth was given by the Norman chiefs to the Benedictines and to the other monastic orders; and the result was that more religious foundations were established in England in the days of the kings of the Anglo-Norman House, than during the whole preceding or subsequent period of English history. For instance, during the nineteen years of the reign of the Conqueror's nephew Stephen, one hundred and fifteen monasteries were built, and one hundred and thirteen more religious houses were founded in the reign of his successor Henry II.

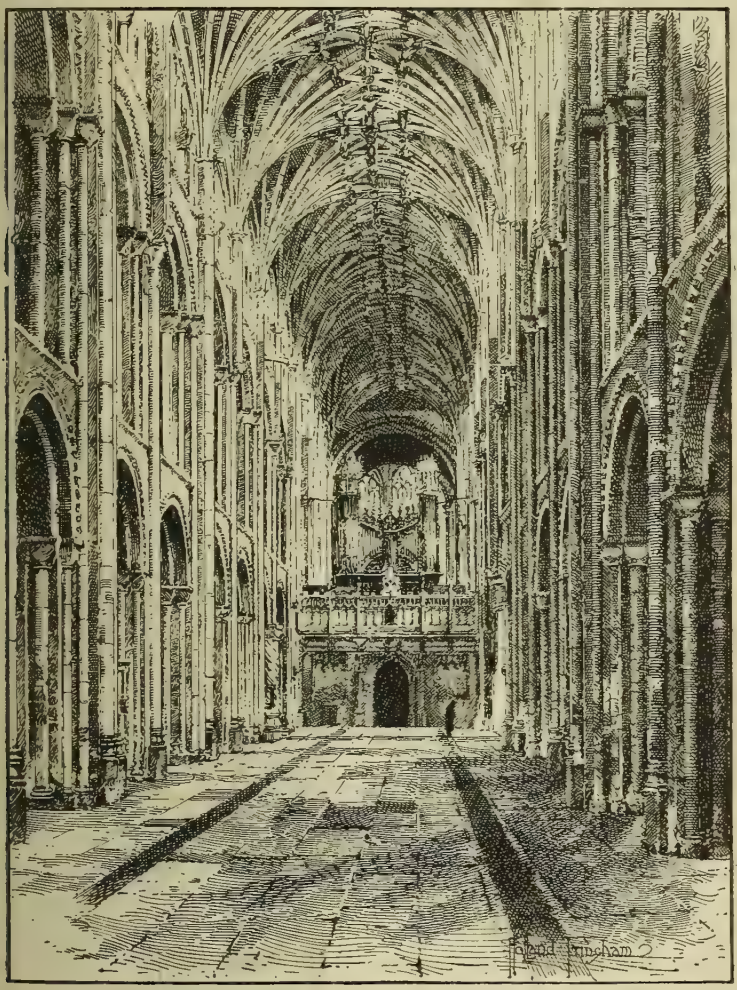
Perhaps the church of Edward the Confessor suggested this new strange work, supplying at once an example to be followed and a model to be copied in the famous West-Minster: abbey, mon and palace, then gleaming in all its beauty by the broad silvery Thames by the great city, with its triple t its long nave with its massy colum gold and gem-encrusted shrines, its of colour and shining gold on and pillar, radiant with all the which cunning sculptor and skilful from foreign lands, in the service of like the Confessor, at once wealth devout, devise.

NORMAN MOULDING, DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

Lanf who fou cathedral ruins, se examp Canterb and in t short sp seven raised metrop church its very dations, rendered it nearly perfect, after the Norman manner," we are told. his work was necessarily hurried, an dently wanting in that stately beau loved of the Normans; and in his cessor Anselm's days the "glorious of Prior Conrad" replaced the ea limb of the building of William Conqueror's minister-archbishop. cathedrals and abbeys rose in succession. Notable among these i matchless pile erected on the bold lofty cliff which overhangs the We Durham—begun by William of

rilef in 1093, and well-nigh completed Ralph Flambard, the minister-bishop Rufus, in A.D. 1128. It stands before

In East Anglia, in Norwich cathedral—largely the work of bishop Herbert de Losinga, which was commenced in the



THE NAVE, NORWICH CATHEDRAL, COMMENCED A.D. 1096.

ow, much as the old Norman builders it, simply peerless in its awful beauty: tin and without perhaps the finest ch in England, some think in the d.

year 1096—we have the second longest nave in England: a triumph of skilful architecture, with its massive nave piers rising up seventy feet, presenting to the eye a marvellous vista of two tiers of

*Photo: Frith & Co., Reigate.*
DURHAM CATHEDRAL, FROM THE WEAR.

dream is the cathed of St. Hugh, yet so of us who love w the unequalled w left to us, would better content if noble conception Remigius of Fécar the Conqueror's frie still crowned the of Lincoln with church of sim grandeur. On Wear cliff over D ham, men still g and wonder at perfect design of Norman Carilef and Flambard, and joice that no later hand, however skil has interfered with the original inspi design.

round-headed arches, resting on Norman shafts, with the well-known cushion and voluted capitals—the whole scarcely changed, though the colour and gold of the Norman builders has vanished in all the long centuries of wear and tear.

The grand conception of bishop Remigius, the monk of Fécamp, who chose with unerring eye the hill of Lincoln, looking over the wide world, for his lordly seat, is alas! almost wholly vanished, and only in the vast and splendid wall which forms the strong west front of the superb pile of St. Hugh, find we any traces of the great house of prayer which Remigius built, but never prayed in, for he died—strange fate—only a few hours before its solemn consecration. There, in that gorgeously decorated lofty wall, above which soar the graceful western towers of the mighty cathedral, set deep are three rude cavernous recesses, the only Norman fragment left us of the eleventh century work of Remigius. Beautiful as a

THE NAVE, ELY CATHEDRAL.

In the Fen lands the hands of the great orman builders were especially busy: ot a little of their work remains with us. the wondrous pile of St. Etheldreda Ely, not inappropriately styled "the onarch of the Fen lands," the massive

THE CHOIR, PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

l stately transepts of abbot Simeon, ther of one of the Conqueror's first hops—Walkelen, of Winchester—to-her with the Norman nave of a htly later date, remind us who first gned and built that exquisite ca-dral, which in its variety of style haps surpasses all the churches of gland.

But if Ely in its very confusion of beauty has somewhat lost its original Norman character, there is another of the great churches of the Fen country which remains an almost perfect monument of Norman industry and marvellous taste and skill. Save in its gorgeous west front, and in a few less conspicuous additions of a later and more fantastic age, the great Mercian abbey of Peterborough, within and without, presents to the Englishman of the nineteenth century the most perfect example of a mighty Norman home of prayer, and has been well described as "completely expressing the aims and ideals

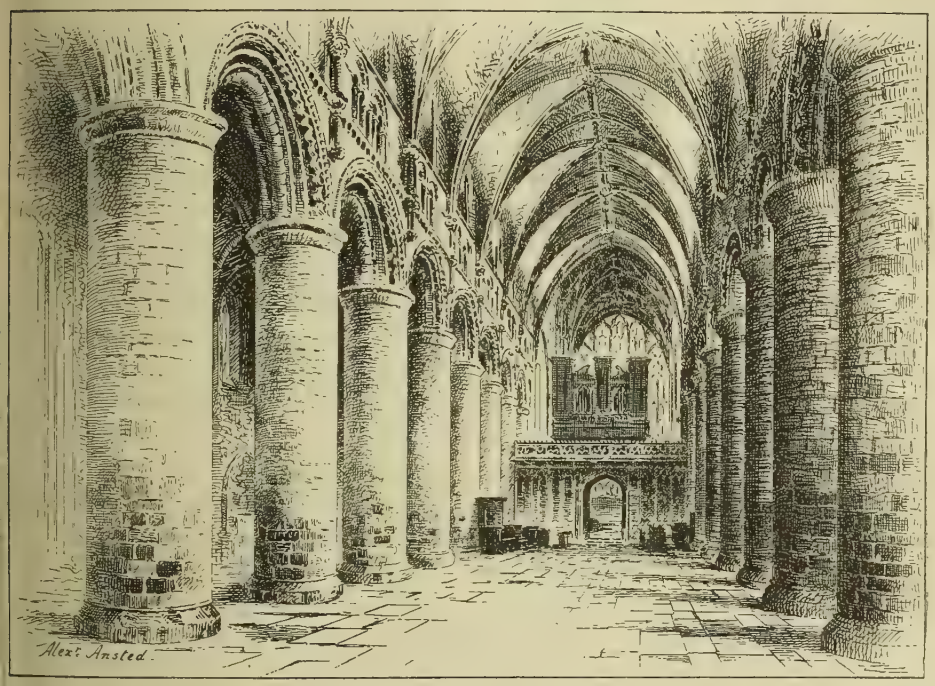
of the Norman race at the apogee of its power." Nothing can be conceived more impressive than the long vista of huge round arches, resting upon the plain Norman pillars of the nave, rising tier upon tier from the floor to the lofty roof. The solemn repose of this Norman nave of Peterborough is almost unbroken by ornaments, and yet the triple row of arches gives an appearance of richness beyond compare. Somewhat painful, perhaps, is the monotony of the stony whiteness of this great interior at Peterborough. But it must be remembered, when this death-like hue in a measure dismays and appals, that the master Norman builder of the early years of the twelfth century who raised the glorious house in the first instance, veiled much of the white stone of massive arch and pillar with a wealth of colour and of gold, which, alas! has disappeared long ago.

In the south-west of the midlands, in that country known as the Severn lands, the Norman builder was especially busy, and very remarkable specimens of his handiwork yet remain in the noble abbeys of Gloucester and Tewkesbury. Singularly little interfered with by the vast lapse of time—eight hundred years—the imposing Norman naves of Gloucester and its twin sister at Tewkesbury, with their lofty arcades of gigantic columns, crowned with huge round arches of the well-known Romanesque type, bear their everlasting witness to the daring and splendid conceptions of the great Norman building abbots of the end of the eleventh century. Gloucester, and its sister abbey of Tewkesbury, on a slightly smaller scale, stand alone among great Norman churches in some particulars. Nowhere in Europe such mighty columns to be seen. Thou in exquisite grace and perfect proporti they fall short of Durham, or even of Pe borough and Norwich, yet in grandeur majesty these vast churches stand ab lutely unrivalled. We speak alone of "naves," for in both these stately Norm churches the east ends—the choirs—h been altered to suit a later fashion.

In the choir of the larger and gran Gloucester, the "perpendicular" arc tect in the fourteenth century has comparatively untouched the mass Romanesque, but has tossed, so to spe a great white veil of delicate st tracery over the low-browed arches the round and massive pillars of Norman builder; but only on one side the masonry. So *within* the choir we g upon a Gothic interior of extraordin richness, and beautiful as a dream; *side*, and round the choir, we walk throu an ambulatory where the sternest, grav Norman composition of round arch a massive shaft, with the well-known Norm capitals and mouldings, tells the wonder student of architecture that, after all, spite of the marvels of the later Got choir, with its walls of cunning lace-wo with its vast transparent tapestry of gl closing the eastern end, the great pale g abbey of the Severn lands was really work of the Conqueror's builders.

We have lingered long and lovingly o these great churches built by William his archbishop Lanfranc and his sch because we could point to these match creations in stone—still with us, after long a lapse of time, preserving th inimitable beauty, their matchless gr

nd, above all, their religiousness—as part f the work of the Norman reviser and emodeller of the Anglo-Saxon church. Vell-nigh all else has disappeared. They ound here a powerful Christian church, urely national, absolutely independent, osely bound up with the civil life of e people; they remodelled it after the ttern of the other churches on the ntinent of Europe, till it became like em, ranking as one of a great spiritual leration which looked to Rome as its solute chief. The great Eucharistic ctrine of the "corporal or material esence of the blessed Lord," formulated out the middle of the ninth century, nfranc introduced into England. It was emphatically *not* the teaching of the Anglo-Saxon theologians. The Normans also enforced a rigorous rule of celibacy among the clergy. All this passed away again in the upheaval of the sixteenth century. Once more the church became an English church exclusively, not a mere province of Rome. Celibacy was pressed no longer. The great Eucharistic doctrine of the corporal or material presence was expunged from her authoritative manuals of teaching, and in its place was substituted, almost word for word, the teaching of the authoritative manuals of the Anglo-Saxons of the tenth century. Thus the Norman work in the English church, after lasting more than four




THE NAVE, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

centuries, was at last mostly undone, and largely in doctrine and partly in practice, our church returned to the doctrine and practice of the pre-Conquest church.

But the Norman abbeys and cathedrals remained, to bear their solemn witness to Lanfranc's foresight and to William's zeal, to their high aims and ceaseless purpose in the matter of spreading and increasing the church's influence among the people. Even in the majority of those great churches, where an architecture of a more ornate and later date seems to point to another race of builders, we may still trace the spirit of Lanfranc and the Norman school; as in the case of such abbeys as Westminster and of cathedrals like Lincoln, which belong apparently to another school of architecture altogether. The size, the plan, and original design of some great Norman builder will be found to have been rigidly followed, with perhaps a few modifications, or with, comparatively speaking, slight additions. The historian of ecclesiastical architecture in England can point to very few of the great churches of the land which are not the outcome of Norman skill and power, awakened by the fervid enthusiasm of Lanfranc and his disciples in the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries. The cathedral with its changeless beauty, the great minster-church, the stately abbey, those noblest and fairest productions of Christian art, not the least of the precious possessions handed down by our fathers to the immemorial Church of England, come to us from the Normans.

Whence did these Normans learn the wondrous art, acquire that strange skill, which designed and built Durham a Peterborough, Norwich and St. Alba Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and ma another stately minster and abbey-chur enduring as it was beautiful?

The history is simply as follows: Rome—we are speaking now of the tin which preceded the Christian era—*bef* the days of the perpetual dictators a the great emperors, the "round arc architecture seems, certainly in large a important buildings, to have been common use. As time went on, the Rom people borrowed much from the Gre and amongst other things the architect of Greece; so that in what is genera and roughly termed the *classical Rom* styl of building, the old "round-arche construction is more or less disguised features borrowed from Greek architectu

Then came a period in Roman buildi when the Greek features were cast aw and when the round-arched constructi stood out again without any attempt disguise. A conspicuous example of t "renaissance" of the old "round-arche building is to be found in the splend palace of the emperor Diocletian Spalatro, erected with all the skill a taste and boundless resources of the Rom empire, in the early years of the four century of the Christian era. From th time onward, with various developmen and peculiarities of detail, the "roun arched" style, *the Romanesque*, as it h been generally termed, became the arch tecture of the western world.

When, on the gradual dismemberme of the Roman empire, the northern trib overran a large portion of Europe, a gradually settled themselves in the countr

y had so successfully invaded, they nd the "round-arched" building style ost universally the favourite architec- e in the various countries they appro- ated. They developed it with different tures in their several adopted countries. w forms, fresh and independent de- opments of the common "round-arched" a, sprang up. For instance, in the lands th of the Loire, forms of singular novelty re struck out; we trace them still in the at churches of Aquitaine and Provence. the north of Gaul a people of rare ver, equally distinguished for their love daring adventure as for their ability organisation and peaceful settlement the countries they conquered, under name of Normans, somewhat later ablished a powerful realm. These rmans, too, found the "round-arched" e the current architecture of their ever- eading dominions. Between Italy and rmandy a close connection existed. The rman had also gradually established self as master over a large portion of thern Italy. There was a constant pas- and repassing on the part of the soldier scholar between the two countries, and arently out of this connection between and Normandy, grew the peculiar manesque" called Norman.*

ut it was not until after the conquest ngland that this style attained its full ection. The churches, even the most ble, built by this great people in their own rmandy were comparatively small, and lly simple in arrangement and ornament. when the great Norman ecclesiastics ined sees in conquered England, and when apparently almost limitless resources were placed in their hands, largely as expiatory offerings, then Norman Romanesque attained its full development, in those magnificent and lordly churches erected in England during the later years of the Conqueror, and in the course of the reigns of his immediate successors; so many of which, in part or in whole, have survived the wear and tear, the changes of art and fashion for eight centuries, and which still remain the delight and wonder of our own time.

Two important legislative measures which belong to the primacy of Lanfranc and the reign of William the Conqueror, must not be forgotten. The first of these pieces of work exclusively concerned the church. There does not appear to have been any fixed "use" or service in the English church. A considerable variety in the manner of performing divine service existed in the several dioceses. Nor was the "use" of the cathedral or mother church of the diocese always taken as the pattern by all the churches and monasteries even in its own diocese. Varieties in the mode of chanting, arrangements of certain portions of the service, introduction or omission of collects, constituted a distinct "use." We hear of the "uses" of York, Hereford, Exeter, and others. The coming of the Normans, and the subsequent appointment of many Norman prelates, abbots, and priors over the English sees and religious houses, no doubt greatly contributed to this divergence in "use," each being more or less wishful to introduce into his own diocese and religious houses the "use" to which he had been accustomed.

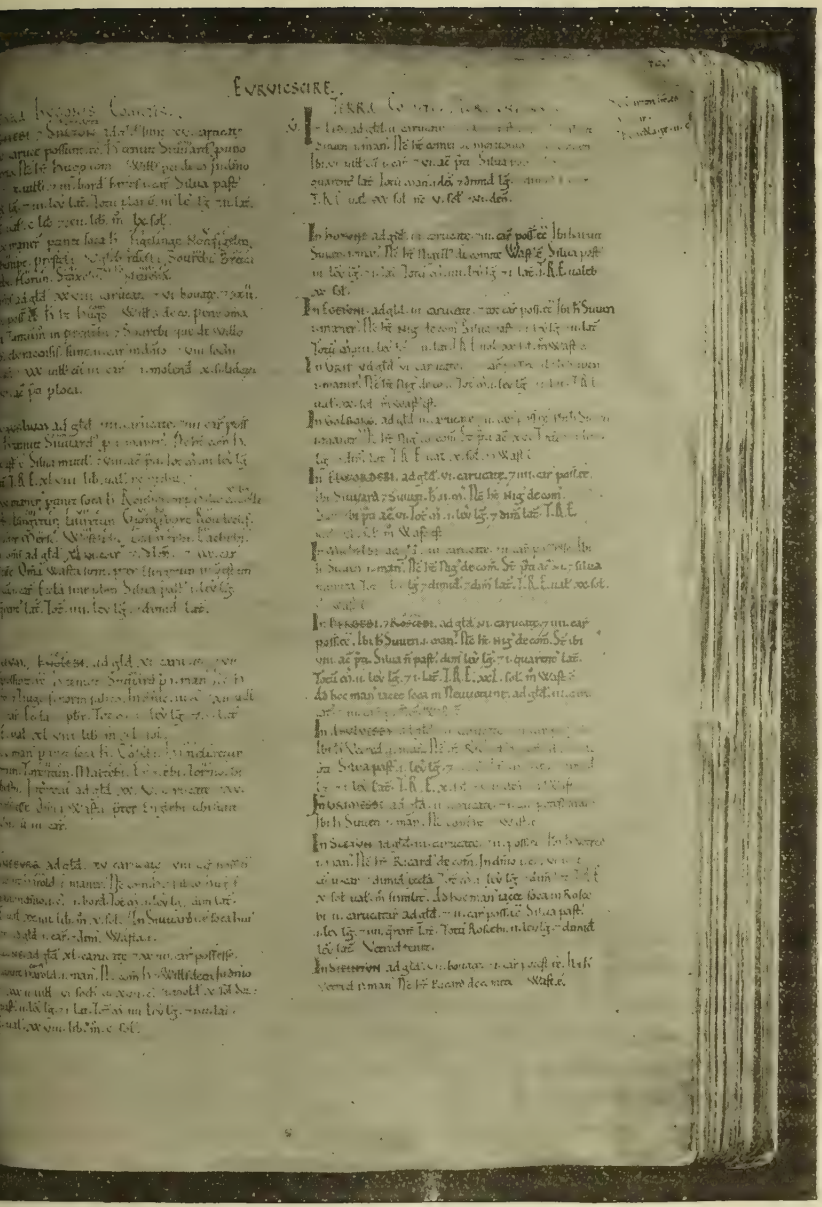
*For further details see Freeman: "Norman uest," chapters xix. and xxvi.

A bitter quarrel which in the year 1083 took place in the abbey and monastery of Glastonbury, attracted public attention to the grave inconveniences occasioned by such divergences. In the case of Glastonbury, the abbot Thurstan endeavoured to force upon his monks, proud of their ancient house and its time-honoured "use," a peculiar style of chanting invented by William of Fécamp. The innovation was stoutly resisted by the Glastonbury monks, and a tumult and even bloodshed ensued, for the abbot called in to his assistance armed men. In this lamentable disturbance many of the inmates of the monastery were wounded, and some were even killed. This terrible scandal apparently suggested the investigation into ritual and practice set on foot by Osmund, bishop of Salisbury (Sarum).

A number of clergy and persons learned in ritual were gathered together, and the result of their deliberations was the famous "custom book" or "use of Sarum," which was drawn up under the direction of bishop Osmund, under the sanction of the archbishop and his suffragans. This "use of Sarum" was wholly or partially adopted in various parts of the kingdom, more particularly in the south of England. It was generally regarded as the model ritual of the Church of England all through the Middle Ages. In the reign of king Edward VI. and in that of queen Elizabeth it became the basis of our present Book of Common Prayer. The "use of Sarum" was put out by bishop Osmund in the year 1085. Osmund was one of the most distinguished of Lanfranc's suffragans. He was one of the most devoted servants of the Conqueror, who created him earl of Dorset, and subsequently this Osmund h office under him as chancellor. He bec bishop of Sarum A.D. 1078.

The second of these great measures embodied in "Domesday Book." T great record is simply unique in its kind. It has been well said to rank a national possession, side by side w the contemporary English Chronicle. other nation possesses such materials draw upon for its history. At the W held at the midwinter feast at Glouces in the year 1085, king William presi wearing his crowned helm, and held "d speech" with his barons and chiefta The result of this "deep speech" was commission of inquiry which resulted the great survey of England, afterw methodised and abstracted in the volu of "Domesday," which were deposited the royal treasury of Winchester. It exists, as fresh and perfect as when scribe wrote it, and it is the oldest sur of a kingdom now existing in the wo It bears the date A.D. 1086.

The "deep speech" of William with Witan, which resulted in the compilat of Domesday Book, was held in the pl vast chapter-house of Gloucester cathed which, save that the apsidal east end transformed and beautified in the fiftee century, still remains to us scarcely chan from that far-back day, when the mig Norman Conqueror sat in all his st wearing his crown, with his barons ministers of state sitting round him, in Christmas feast of the year 1085. Remig of Fécamp, bishop of Lincoln, the builde the Norman cathedral we have spoken was one of the four principal commissio



A PAGE OF DOMESDAY BOOK. (*Record Office.*)

who conducted the survey. The caligraphy of the precious volumes which we still possess betrays an Italian hand, and leads to the supposition that it was under the inspection and direction of the learned Lanfranc that the work was compiled.*

The following little extract, translated from the original Latin in which the book was written, will give a fair idea of the thoroughness and completeness of this most precious document. The entry is from the Domesday survey of the county of Dorset :—

"XLVI.—Lands of Mathew de Moretania.—Mathew de Moretania holds Melburn of the king, Johannes held it in king Edward's time, and it was taxed for five hydes; there is land for four ploughs, in the demesne are two ploughs, with one villane and nine cottagers; a mill pays thirty-two pence; there are five acres of meadows and six acres of coppice wood; it was, and is, worth a hundred shillings." (The "hyde" was variable, but consisted generally of a hundred acres.)

From the Domesday survey we gather that the number of tenants-in-chief at this period of the Norman rule amounted to nearly seven hundred. Very few Saxon names are found in the list. The ecclesiastical tenants are about two hundred and fifty of the entire number. *More than one-third of the whole land of the kingdom, at the close of the Conqueror's reign was in the hands of the church.*

The "passionless record" of the great Domesday survey bears also terrible witness to the cruel harrying of Yorkshire and the north, which resisted for a lengthened

* Palgrave: "Normandy and England."

period the Norman rule. Some si years had passed since the frightful pu ment had been inflicted by the Conq on the unhappy northern country, a page after page of the Yorkshire lord we read the monotonous and sadd entries of "waste," "waste." To ta page as an example, after a long stri places, we read the following—"*O wasta præter Engelbi*"*—pages 305- The entry of "wasta" occurs als many other places in the page we have chosen as an instance!

Two years after the completio the Domesday Book survey, came th of William's brilliant, stormy life. minister and archbishop Lanfranc sca survived his loved master two The closing scenes of William's life strangely interesting, and some accou the death-scene of the Norman remo of the Church of England, must fi place in this story of ours.

In our brief sketch of the fortun William the Norman we have, of co mainly confined ourselves to his worl influence on the church of the countr had conquered and literally made his possession. After the Conquest was pleted William was the richest and powerful prince in Christendom. He master of a large portion of France solute lord, even possessor of we England in a way no king before had ever been, and after a fashion no since has ever dreamed of being. wealth, largely, of course, derived England, was simply boundless. One

* See asterisk in the photographed page on p. 145.

privileged to look at the mighty king he days of his highest prosperity and deur, when presiding over his national ncil at one of the royal feasts, wearing royal crown, dwells upon his majestic kingly presence. Nor does he, in the tide of his success, in the midst of his ous, prosperous life, seem to have been ted with any remorse for the untold ry he had wrought. This hideous ct of the Conquest was only unveiled im at the end.

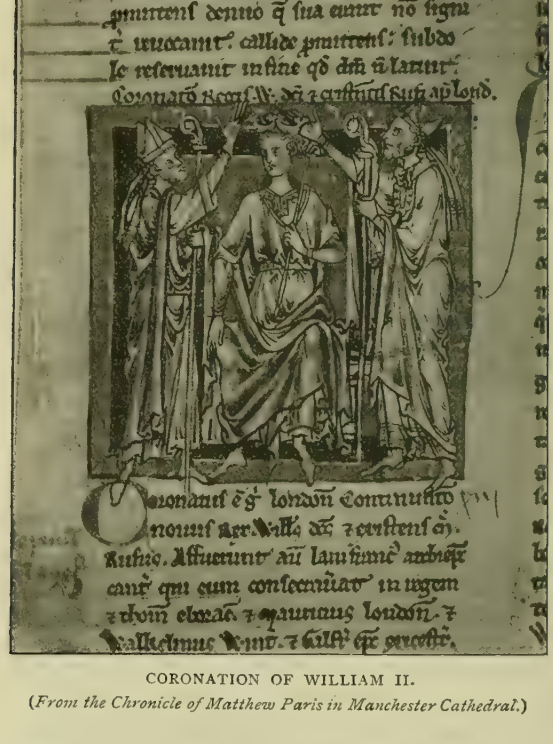
was in the year 1083 that Matilda, his l queen, was taken from him. After he never smiled, and his own end but four years later. The petty ier war in the year 1087, in which iam received his lingering death-nd, was an unworthy and melancholy to such a career as his. Some gross insulting words spoken by the king of ce concerning his increasing corpulence, mined the Conqueror to execute a vengeance on the little frontier city Mantes and the smiling country which round it. Mantes had previously ex- his wrath owing to some border s. With a powerful array of armed he swept over the doomed district. trouveur and troubadour dwell with iar picturesqueness on the events of brief invasion, so memorable in its quences. They relate how the ripen-orn and the fast-growing vintage were oyed by the Norman soldiery, how king ruthlessly burned the little of-ng city, and how in his wrath, as alloped through the burning ruins of es, he received the fatal internal e from the tall iron pommel of his e, upon which he was jerked as his horse stumbled. Fainting and sick, the Conqueror was borne from the ruins of Mantes to the not distant city of Rouen. Then came on a lingering inflammation.*

The old palace of the dukes of Normandy was in the heart of the great city near the river. Comparatively few travellers now penetrate within the vast half-ruined building of the ancient ducal palace of Rouen, which is now used as a customs warehouse for stores of wine and oil; but the long rows of massive Romanesque columns which support the stonework of the vast halls are still eloquent with memories of the mighty dukes. The noise of the busy city, the heated atmosphere of Rouen—it was summer-time—were intolerable to the fevered, dying sufferer. He was removed to the priory of St. Gervais, on a hill just outside the city, and there the great Conqueror went through the long agony which preceded death. Some forty days of suffering were lived through, and never during that long-drawn-out period of sore sickness did William lose his consciousness or even his power of speech.

Chroniclers and trouveurs who, on the whole, were friends and admirers of the great king, unite in depicting the awful agony of mind of William during these last sad days. Many bishops and abbots kept him company during that long watch. Curiously enough, his oldest friend and adviser, Lanfranc, was absent: weighty cares of church and state no doubt kept him in England. Two ecclesiastics famed for their skill in surgery are specially

* See Palgrave: "Normandy and England," book ii., chap. xiv.

mentioned among those who were with the king at the priory of St. Gervais by Rouen — Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux, the favourite court physician, and Gunthard, abbot of Jumièges.



CORONATION OF WILLIAM II.
(*From the Chronicle of Matthew Paris in Manchester Cathedral.*)

The momentous state question which principally harassed the dying man was the succession to the crown of England. For a long time he shrank from formally bequeathing the splendid inheritance which he had won—he felt *now*—at the cost of so much unspeakable woe to others. He remembered the awful slaughter of Hastings, the terrible harrying of the northern counties, the "waste" entries in h true Domesday record, the many tho of the noble English nation wh perished by sword or famine or in exile—alas! at his bidding: we are quoting the chroniclers' word England, to that grand inhe so won, the Conqueror *dar* appoint a successor; he coul leave the disposal of that cr the Almighty Ruler of the wor for Robert, his eldest born, as his heir had already receiv homage of the Norman baron Robert certainly would fall th heritage of Normandy and virtually the north and nort of France. But to Robert, wild and wayward life, faithle disloyal, gave promise of a ca disaster and shame, he would never entrust England. In W Rufus, his second son, who ha ever loyal to him, he discern signs of that future great which distinguished the Red in future years, but failed t in his favourite the beginni that cruelty and greedy ra which surely must have disf even the early years of that though brilliant man.

At last, however, he was induc write to Lanfranc at Canterbury, a commending Rufus. Lanfranc the bishop, whom conquerors and conq alike loved and trusted, might Rufus king of England if he pleased. young prince hurried with this let Canterbury, and in due course, whe Conqueror at last slept in Lanfranc's

t. Stephen at Caen, the loved arch-
op, assisted by Thomas of York, placed
is head the blood-stained diadem of
and.

few more restless days followed at

THE CONQUEROR'S LAST DAYS.

ervais. At the last, many noble host-
and prisoners of high degree were
from captivity. In those long, weary
ıer days, while he lay slowly dying on
hill looking down on the old ducal

city, the mighty and successful king took careful thought as to the disposition of some large part at least of his vast treasure hoard. Much was left to be distributed among the poor. Yet larger donations were to be given to the many churches of his broad realms. All the churches of England were to receive a rich gift of money, besides sacred vessels and ornaments. One special bequest tells of the earnestness of

his repentance, and how vividly the memory of special sins came up before him in his long-protracted agony. All the churches of the hapless little city of Mantes, where his horse stumbled over the burning remains and gave him his death-blow, were to be rebuilt at his cost.

The final summons came to the Conqueror on the 9th of September of that fatal year. The night, as usual, had been restless. At last he fell into a fitful slumber. The king was awakened by the sound of the great cathedral bell pealing over the city. To a question as to what it rung for, he was told it was only the usual summons to the service of prime in the metropolitan church of Our Lady. William, it is said, looked up, and stretching out his hands, was heard to murmur, "To my Lady Mary, holy Mother of God, I commend myself, that by her sainted prayers she may reconcile me to her dear son, our Lord Jesus Christ"; and so he died. In the contemporary English Chronicle the writer, after impartially summing up the good and evil of that wonderful life, closes his record with a pious prayer which all true Englishmen will surely re-echo: "May Almighty God show mercy to his soul and grant him forgiveness of his sins!"

Lanfranc was now an old man, and his race, too, was nearly run. Only a short space of time remained for him, and he, too, would be summoned to join his master, and Matilda, and the mighty men of valour and counsel who had shared in the Conquest. But his record was the whitest possessed by any of those great ones who, amidst all the terrible scenes of the invasion, had yet laid the foundations of the future greatness of England; and had he made amends for his sh the counsels of preparation which before Hastings. Perhaps alone a the Normans of the first generation Conquest, his name would be men in his adopted country accompanied a blessing. His enormous influen good is shown by the behaviour new king, who, as long as Lanfranc showed no signs of the unrighteou of later days, but who eventually execrated throughout the land over he was called to rule.

But the death of Lanfranc took pla less than two years after the death famous master. The immediate ca it was singular. He was spending days in retirement at Canterbury, w archbishop though he was, he exe the office of abbot—a duty possibly congenial to him than the manifold which must have perplexed and ha the head of the English church an trusted minister of the king. While e ing this brief interval of repose and stud old man sickened with fever. The n infirmier at once prescribed a re But the archbishop refused all medi he was going to receive the holy Euch and must not break his fast. The p cian warned him of the danger of but Lanfranc was determined. Th was too late. The fever rapidly sa the old man's failing strength, and th followed all too soon. To whatever s of theology the student of our chu eventful story may belong, he will honour the memory of Lanfranc the that he closed a noble life in doing he felt was honour to his Lord.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### ANSELM. GROWTH OF THE PAPAL POWER.

Character of William Rufus—His systematic Simony—Anselm—A Royal Sick-Bed Repentance makes him Archbishop—Long Battle with the King—Appeals to Rome—Years of Exile—Death of Rufus and Accession of the Beauclerc—Character of the new King—His Marriage—Royal Claims to Investiture—Anselm again Appeals to Rome—Settlement in Favour of the Church—Anselm's Influence and Work—His Last Days and Death.

long as Lanfranc lived, Rufus had in all public affairs, especially in church matters, been substantially d by his counsel. When the influ- of the wise and good Lanfranc was rawn, another spirit guided the gs of the new king with the Church gland. William Rufus was beyond a most able sovereign, brilliant in the field and in the cabinet; but m the old ungovernable wildness of orthern sea-pirates seemed to have d again, and with it the Viking d and scorn of the Christian religion. s side stood a clever and unscrupulous er, nominally a Christian priest, but and willing to carry out his fierce r's will.

e famous Ralph Flambard, the chief er of William Rufus, was a native of x, where the old Danish families aditions lingered longer than in any Norman centre. When compara- young he entered the royal service, y degrees rose from the superintend- of the king's kitchen to the chief in the king's cabinet. Rufus on his ion found him a prominent member of this inner circle of royal clerks, and on Lanfranc's death honoured him with his friendship and confidence. He appears through the reign, now as chancellor, now as treasurer, but always as the favourite and powerful minister. "Priests," Rufus is reported to have said, "hold half my kingdom." Flambard's appointed work was to get as much as possible out of these churchmen, whom the king hated with all the old Viking hate.

The principal device adopted by the unprincipled minister of this great pagan—for this was what Rufus really was—consisted in a disgraceful traffic carried on for all bishoprics and abbeys. It was the old curse of simony, which in the tenth century had so wounded all the western church life and work, revived in an especially shameless form. Under William Rufus and his friend and adviser Flambard, the old sin was enhanced by a prolonged confiscation of any rich piece of preferment on the occasion of a vacancy. Canterbury was thus confiscated for nearly four years after Lanfranc's death. The stern, grave entry in the contemporary English Chronicle—under the date of the year 1100

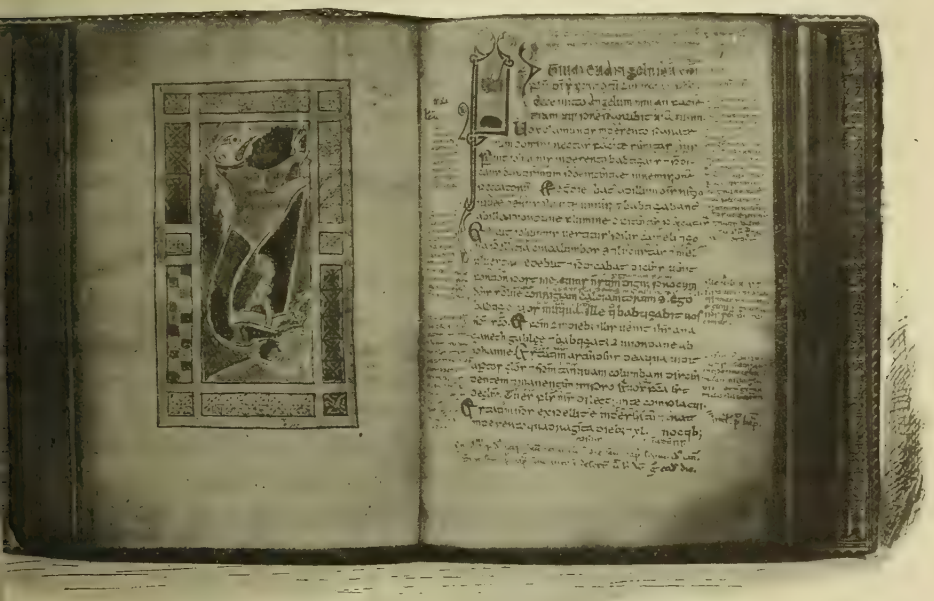
—tells the story of Rufus and Flambard's evil dealings with the church tersely but effectively. "In his (Rufus') days all justice sank, and all unrighteousness arose in the sight of God and of the world. He trampled on the church of God, and as to the bishoprics and abbacies, the incumbents of which died in his reign, he either sold them outright, or kept them in his own hands, and let them out to renters, for he desired to be the heir of everyone, churchman or layman; so that on the day on which he was killed he had in his own hands the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Salisbury, and eleven abbacies, all let out to farm."

To stem the torrent of all this high-handed iniquity on the part of this "pagan" sovereign, in the providence of God one of those rare great ones was raised up in the Church of England, who in the dark days of the Red king kept alight the torch of goodness and earnestness. When the Conqueror lay on his forlorn death-bed at St. Gervais by Rouen, we read how he longed for the presence and the comfort of the holy abbot of Bec, Anselm; but his dying wish was never gratified, for Anselm was just then prostrated by sore sickness.

The story of this remarkable man is an interesting one. In the little north Italian city of Aosta at the foot of the great Alps, in the year 1033, Anselm was born. His family were small, insignificant nobles, vassals of the count of Maurienne. Nothing remarkable is told of his childhood and boyhood. His father was a thriftless and violent man, who showed, apparently, little sympathy with the studious, religious boy; indeed, he opposed his early desire to share in the conventual life. This love, however, passed away, and the y Anselm in early manhood threw hi with ardour into all the pleasures dissipations which too often make wreck of the young and untried. young, apparently driven away by troubles after his mother's death, he d in search of fortune into Normandy there had the good fortune to fall the influence of Lanfranc, then a p and much sought-after teacher at ranches. The great scholar obtain lasting influence over the plastic natu Anselm, awakening in that young so great powers which were lying sle there.

Lanfranc betook himself to the s austere community of Bec: the followed the master. For a time An though he loved Lanfranc with a grea passionate love and admiration, was je of his master, and felt that where Lan was there was no room for him. nobler thoughts gained the mastery he put himself body and soul into hands of the great teacher. Under franc's direction he became a monk of This was in the year 1060. From he became teacher—a teacher of ordinary power and sympathy. "W days," his biographer and devoted fr Eadmer, afterwards tells us, "he w spend in giving advice and help to younger pupils of the holy house of and then would spend the night in recting books for the Bec monastery, growing into vast repute as a semin he was as ready, too, and unweariel doing the work of a nurse in the infir or at the death-bed, as he was to teach

liscuss in the cloister. Behaving so all men loved him as their dear father, ore the ways and weaknesses of each, lying to each what he saw they ted." It was to this deep, true sym- y with others that Anselm owed the ndless influence he afterwards obtained the souls of men. No man in his own



THE BEGINNING OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. MARK.
*From the MS. Gospels, written* A.D. 1138 *by the Monk Maelbrigte at Armagh.* (*British Museum.*)

and time possessed the key to men's ts like him. When Lanfranc left Bec e year 1063 for another and a higher Anselm, then thirty years of age, was en prior of his house.

the biography of Eadmer the following ode in Anselm's work at Bec occurs, throws light upon his ways of working. n at a comparatively early age, and only three years' profession as monk, was made prior, much jealousy was excited. A strong party against him was formed in the monastery. Among the angry monks was a young man of talent and ability named Osbern, whose hatred of Anselm was singularly bitter. Anselm determined to win him, and treated his enemy with every possible kindness. Time went on; Osbern was completely softened, and grew to love Anselm with a love greater than the old hatred. Then Anselm proceeded to train the young brother in the severities and austere living of a true monk. Osbern sickened—so runs the story—with a fatal sickness. Then Anselm watched and waited on him like a mother; day and night was he at his bedside, ministering to all his wants, doing everything that might ease his body and comfort his soul; but in spite of care and tenderness

the end came, and as Osbern was dying, Anselm bade him, as a friend speaking to a dear friend, to make known to him after his death what had become of him. Osbern promised, and so passed away.

During the funeral service, as Anselm sat alone in the church weeping for his dear departed friend and pupil, and praying, he fell asleep, and as he slept he dreamed. He saw in his dream certain very reverend persons enter the room where Osbern had died, and sit round for judgment; and as he wondered what the doom of his dead friend would be, Osbern entered, pale as a man just recovering from grievous sickness. Three times, he said, had the old Serpent risen up against him, but three times he fell backwards, and the bear-ward of the Lord had delivered him. Then Anselm awoke, and believed that Osbern's sins were pardoned, and that God's angels had kept off his foes as the bear-wards keep off bears. "Wherever Osbern is," he afterwards wrote to Gundulf, the bishop of Rochester, "his soul is as my soul." Anselm prays his friends to offer for Osbern the prayers and masses which they would offer for himself. "I pray and I pray," he writes to Gundulf; "remember me and forget not the soul of Osbern my beloved; if I seem to burden you too much, then forget me and remember him."

In the year 1078, when Herlwin, the abbot and founder of Bec, died, Anselm became abbot. During the fifteen years of his rule over the now illustrious house of Herlwin, he became known in England, and indeed throughout the western church, as one of the profoundest theologians and deepest thinkers of the age. But singular as were his gifts of intellect, his principal title to honour in his own was his widespread reputation of b a rarely just and holy man, the frien every living creature, "the loving sympathising Christian brother, full sweetness, full of affection, full of good full of all allowances and patience others, whom men of all conditions to converse with, and whom neither nor low ever found cold in his friendshi

When Lanfranc died, "there wa count in England," his faithful biogra tells us, "or countess, or powerful pe who did not think that they had merit in the sight of God if it had chanced to them at that time to have some service to Anselm, the abbot of B and there is no doubt that when trusted friend and minister of the queror, full of years and honour, passe his rest, the eyes of most serious ch men in England looked to Anselm as only fit successor to Lanfranc at Ca bury. But the Red king had other regarding the church, as we have seen, felt no desire to place the saintly An in a position where his great influ would be surely used to protect a ch marked out by him for plunder and gradation. So for several years Lanf had no successor, and the great reve of the arch-see, with many another sm ecclesiastical spoil, found their way the royal treasury.

In the year 1093, however, when scandal of the vacant archbishopric lasted well-nigh four years, William R found himself at Gloucester grievously —sick, as he and many others deer unto death. Anselm was then in Engl

* Dean Church: "Life of Anselm."

me months before he had come over, on e urgent and repeated prayer of Hugh pus, the powerful earl of Chester, to nsult and advise on church matters in earldom. Rufus, for some reason now known, had refused to allow the abbot Bec to leave the kingdom, and during e king's grave illness Anselm was in the mediate neighbourhood of Gloucester. ings grew worse with king Rufus, and ose round him hoped or feared that the l of the wicked sovereign was close hand. For the first time it seemed as ough the old pagan spirit of the ancestors the Red king failed him, and he turned, ng as he fancied himself to be, to the nsolations of the religion he had so long ited. In all haste the holy Anselm, o had the greatest reputation of all his time for that higher knowledge soul-healing, was sent for. The king nfessed his many sins, and promised to all by way of reparation that Anselm uired, pledging himself if his life were red, in the words of the English ronicle, "to correct his life, to sell no re churches, nor to let them out to n, but to defend them by his kingly ver, to take away unrighteous laws, l to establish righteous ones."

But the great question still remained to settled, who was to be archbishop of long-vacant see of Canterbury? The tanders looked for some court favourite ome royal clerk like the all-powerful mbard—to be chosen by the sick man. last the name was pronounced by the g. "I choose," said Rufus, "the holy n Anselm." In an agony of fear and ulsion, the abbot of Bec refused the ffered dignity. Then followed a strange scene in the royal sick-chamber. The very room is perhaps still with us—the room adjoining the old solar in the abbot's apartment, with its quaint and beautiful Norman ornaments of the end of the eleventh century, adjoining the vast abbey of Serlo at Gloucester, now part of the Gloucester deanery. Prelates, priests, clerks, monks, flung themselves at Anselm's feet, but the abbot would not yield. "Bring a pastoral staff," someone cried; and surrounding the struggling Anselm, they pushed him close up to the king's bedside, and the sick king offered him the staff. Anselm clenched his fist. The bishops and the bystanders forced the fingers open, and the pastoral staff was pressed into Anselm's unwilling hand. The old man, it is said, cried out with pain, exclaiming, "*Nolo, nolo, non consentio*"; but in spite of his resistance he was hurried, as it would seem, into the adjoining abbey-church, while the "*Te Deum*" was hastily sung over him, and thus Anselm became archbishop.

The king recovered, contrary to expectation, and then began a long and obstinate contest for the rights of the church between Rufus and Anselm. For no sooner had the Red king regained his health and strength than, forgetful of all his promises, he recommenced his work of oppression and misrule. But now the church possessed a chief able and willing to confront its powerful and remorseless royal enemy.

Anselm might well shrink from the splendid burden of the archbishopric forced upon him by the sick king at Gloucester in the Lent of 1093. He had lived at Bec for thirty-three years as a simple monk, prior,

and abbot, and for one like Anselm the Norman monastery had been a very happy and congenial home. Loved and honoured not only in his own famous house of prayer and teaching, but far beyond the comparatively narrow circle of Bec, he felt that both as a teacher and student he was

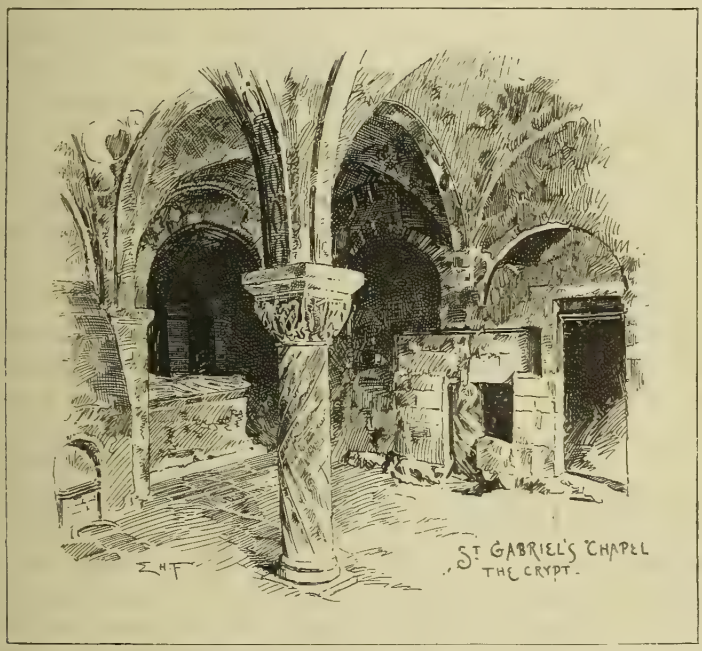
SEAL OF ANSELM. (*British Museum.*)

playing his part well and faithfully in the world. A profound thinker and theologian, he possessed ample leisure in the still cloisters of Bec to pursue those studies in which he had attained a world-wide distinction, and he was conscious that the exchange from the retirement of the quiet monastery to the ceaseless distractions, to the never-ending cares, to the bitter hostilities, which would of necessity belong to the high office of primate of the English Church when such a king as William Rufus was reigning, would not only dest all his earthly happiness, but, what was more important in his eyes, would proba mar his future usefulness as a teac thinker, and writer.

Some such thoughts as these were his mind when he bitterly exclaimed to bishops and nobles, after the hurried ser of his election to the archbishopric, "T knew not what they were doing; they yoked together to the plough the unta able bull and the old and feeble sh and no good could come of the unic By the image of the plough the archbishop pictured the Church of E land. This plough was drawn by the k and the primate. To the fierce king, he felt would speedily recover from sickness, they had joined a poor weak who would only be the victim of a viole which he would be powerless to preve However, Anselm felt it was now the of God, and he nerved himself to the l and bitter conflict. Never again for f teen long years did he enjoy rest or qu and when peace came to him he was old and dying man.

The contest between Anselm and crown had indeed a momentous influe upon the fortunes of the English chur The king, as Anselm had foreseen, rapi recovered; with health came forgetfuln of all his promises of amendment. Eadm Anselm's biographer, who saw it all w his own eyes, writes with terrible clearn of the misery and suffering through whole realm. "Nothing," he says, "v ever seen like it before in England." "assured, bishop," said Rufus, speaking his late grave illness, one day to Gunc of Rochester, "that by the holy face

cca (the Red king's favourite oath), God ll never have me good for the ill that has brought on me." In these evil s the unhappy church was a principal ferer. The buying and selling of church eferment went on as shamelessly as ever ; bridled licence of manners everywhere no small importance and weight. The most bitter hatred was excited by Anselm's championship of law against the king's unlaw ; hence the beginning of the long bitter quarrel between the king and the archbishop. The causes alleged by Rufus and his advisers were, after all, fictitious




ST. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL, THE CRYPT, CANTERBURY.
*(Built in the time of Anselm.)*

vailed ; Christianity had well-nigh per- ed in many men, and the influence of its chers was rapidly waning under the evil id of disgraceful simony. Archbishop selm gravely remonstrated, and worked h hand and brain against this corrupt e of things ; and his great office, and deep love and veneration with which was generally regarded, made him an onent to the king and his ministers of and mostly vexatious ; the real reason of the long enmity was Anselm's determined opposition to wrong.

The first pretext for the fierce quarrel was the question of acknowledging Urban II. as lawful Pope. Once more in Rome there was a dispute as to the succession, and the legality of Urban's election was disputed. Anselm would have his archbishop's pall from Urban, whom, in common with other

high ecclesiastics in Normandy, he had already recognised as the lawful bishop of Rome. Rufus maintained that until he, the king of England, had acknowledged Urban as Pope, no pall for Canterbury could be received. That this was only a pretext for quarrelling with Anselm was soon apparent, for Rufus sent an embassy to Rome which quickly acknowledged the justice of Urban's claims; and then the pall, at Rufus's own request, was sent to England by the hands of Walter of Albano, the Pope's legate. The king then claimed the right of giving it himself to the archbishop, but this dispute was at length settled by the legate placing the pall upon the high altar of Canterbury cathedral, and Anselm taking it himself from its silver box and laying it on his own shoulders. The stern conflict between the king and the champion of right and justice went on, however, as bitterly as ever.

The next pretext for humbling the archbishop was more skilfully chosen by William Rufus and his ministers. In the new Norman constitution the archbishop was a great temporal baron, and for his vast estates owed the king feudal service, and was liable for an important contribution towards the state expenses, especially in war time. It was in the year 1096 that a great opportunity presented itself of extorting money. Duke Robert pawned or sold his Norman duchy to his brother William for a great sum, to enable him to equip a force for the famous Crusade war which then was agitating the western world. It was a hard time for England, which had to find for its king this sum of money, for which the ducal coronet of Normandy was to be purchased. T lands were sacked; the churches were spoiled of their hallowed treasures, s as their gold and silver reliquaries, t priceless volumes of the Gospels bound precious metals encrusted with costly ge Anselm was called upon for a conting of soldiers and for money. The king sco fully rejected the archbishop's offering, as his feudal lord summoned him to court as a defaulter. Anselm felt that would obtain neither justice nor merc the king's hands, and, utterly wearied w the hopeless contention and persecut determined to seek counsel and stren and direction from the head of the chu at Rome.

On two memorable occasions alre had a great subject presumed to app to Rome from the decision of the king his council—once in the far-back time Wilfrid in the seventh century, and ag in the days of Edward the Confessor, wh archbishop Robert of Jumièges (A.D. 10 deposed by king and Witan, had appea to the reigning Pope. In both th instances the papal rescript had b disregarded. Anselm referred his case Rome, but not without strenuous and p longed opposition from the king, and without successive meetings of the Wi of England refusing his request. "T who can dare blame Anselm," wr our scholarly historian,* "for appeal from mere force and fraud to the o shadow of right that was left on eart In appealing to Rome in the person Urban, he at least appealed to someth higher than the personal will of a proflig and capricious tyrant." In England.

* Professor Freeman.

st be remembered, "Anselm had stood only for right and liberty; he, the chief ness for religion and righteousness, saw around him vice rampant, men spoiled what was their own, justice, decency, our trampled under foot. Law was nown except to snare and oppress. inst this energetic reign of misrule injustice a resistance as energetic wanted. Anselm resisted lawlessness, kedness, oppression, corruption. When ers acquiesced in the evil state, he re- d, appealing from force and arbitrary to law. It was idle to talk of appeal- to law in England; its time had not come. But there was a very real and ng law in Christendom—on *it* Anselm himself—it was the only appeal prac- ble then from arbitrary rule to law." *

hat the cry of Anselm to Pope Urban II. nst the lawless tyranny of king Wil- u Rufus gave an enormous impetus to ever-growing claims of Rome, is in- utable. "They grew, did these claims, e shall see, to be shamefully abused; had in their turn to be resisted, re- ned, and at last, in England, to be elled. But there is no reason why at time when Anselm laid his righteous e and the cause of his church before court of Rome it should not have been best, perhaps the only defence of the test interests of mankind against the nediate pressure of the tyrannies and shness of the time." †

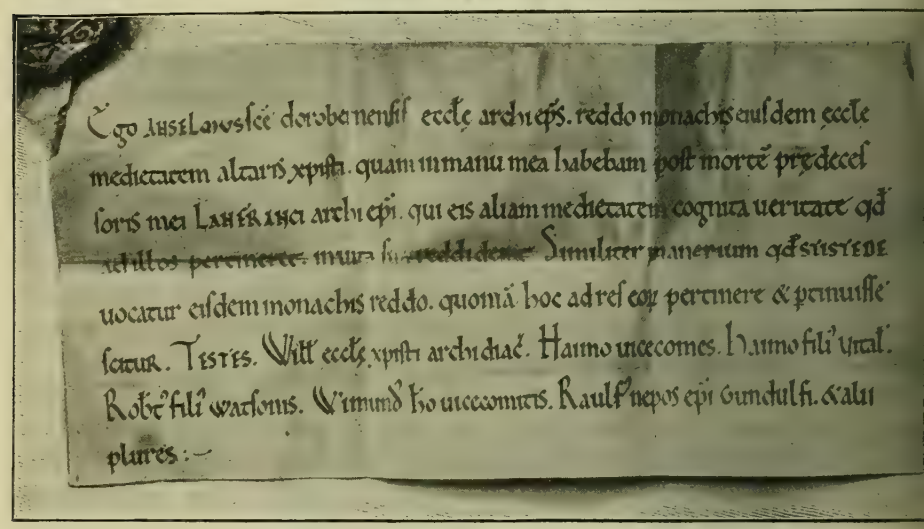
es; who can blame Anselm? He stood e alone in his conflict with the world- rs. The English bishops of his time e, it is true, able men, but they were e or less creatures of Rufus; loving the world and its pleasures and ambitions too well, they were men who stood altogether on a lower platform than their saintly and brave archbishop, and gave him but scant support. Again, in estimating this act of Anselm, which bore such disastrous fruits in after-years, it must not be forgotten that another and one more powerful by far than the holy Anselm had already set the example of referring great causes to the arbitrament of the supposed apostolic see. Never had the mighty father of Rufus won the fair heritage of England for the Norman, had he not invoked the same awful spiritual power for his own ends, and under the banner of Urban's predecessor, Alexander II., fought the fatal field of Hastings. It was the Conqueror who had first placed the Pope upon a supreme throne of appeal, and rendered the subsequent appeal of Anselm possible.

At last, the scornful permission of the king was given to Anselm to leave the kingdom if it pleased him; but the permission was rather granted to a voluntary exile forsaking his citizenship and its duties, than to one going forth on a solemn and momentous mission. The instant the archbishop left the shores of England, the vast property and lands of the arch-see were seized as the rightful heritage of the royal treasury. But the parting scene between king and archbishop was a strange one, and tells us something of the commanding personality of Anselm, and of the marvellous influence his presence exerted even over such a king as Rufus. He went—says the story—to see his master for the last time before he started. "My lord," he said to his king, "I go; would it had been with your good

* † Dean Church: "Life of St. Anselm."

will. Now, not knowing when I shall see you again, I commend you to God, and as a spiritual father to his beloved son, as the archbishop to the king of England, I would fain before I go, if you refuse it not, give God's blessing and my own." "I refuse not thy blessing," the king answered. He bowed his head, and Anselm lifted his right hand and made the sign of the cross on him; and so they parted. Rufus never looked on the face of Anselm again. The tragedy of the New Forest happened before the exile returned.

For the next three years Anselm dwelt abroad. It was a comparatively peaceful time, but that the thought continually must have haunted him—what of the great charge he had thrown up? It was not in his power, surely, to lay it down at his pleasure. The delight he experienced in those deep studies he pursued with so much success at that time, in the intervals of his journeyings, must have been marred by the consciousness of the responsibilities which were still During this absence of three years, ever, wherever Anselm went he wa ceived as a most honoured guest. Rome, Pope Urban entertained him every mark of sympathy and respect; spoke of him as his equal, as the patr



CHARTER OF ANSELM TO THE MONASTERY OF CANTERBURY. (*British Museum.*)

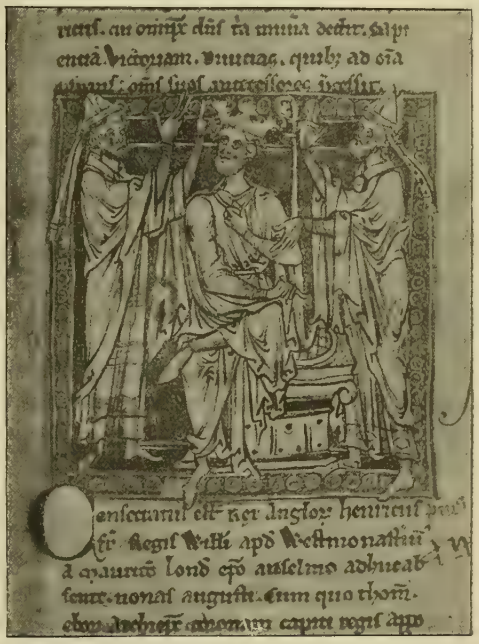
or pope of a second world. But th Urban addressed grave remonstrance the English king on the subject of intolerable grievances with which English church was oppressed, he fe by any strong pronouncement in favou Anselm to excite the enmity of so po ful and unscrupulous a sovereign. Du Anselm's stay in Italy he was invite be present at the council of Bari in 1 There, as the most famous living theolo the English archbishop was called o defend the language of the western c

st the charges which the Orientals Greeks brought against it—a task Anselm performed with consummate After a lengthened stay in Rome, ope still temporising in the matter of ispute between the archbishop and , Anselm went to Lyons, where for e he assisted the prelate of that see.

ring all this lengthened period of m's absence, William Rufus spent on ars and wicked pleasures the vast ues of Canterbury and of many other vacant sees and abbacies, continuing ort money and gifts on all sides and l pretexts from the church. In the e of the last year of his reign the le Red king reached the height of wer. He was absolute lord from the sh border to the centre of western e in the Maine country. Abroad, was no enemy to threaten his vast . At home he was able to work his d will unhindered, unreproved. The n was entirely submissive to his s, agreeing to his ever-growing exac- if not without murmur, at least ut strong remonstrance. The one who had the will and power to resist perious and impious will was abroad, ently enduring a hopeless exile.

the end of that wicked prosperous us at hand. It was in the year 1100 Anselm determined to give himself her to those sacred studies in which n so world-wide a reputation. He tired to the abbey of Chaise-Dieu in gne, when in his seclusion he was ed by the visit of two well-known —the one from Bec, the other from bury. They were closeted for a time with the great scholar, when the immediate attendants of Anselm heard from the student's cell the sound of bitter weeping. The exile had just learned from his visitors the news of the mysterious sudden death of Rufus, the king of England, his relentless enemy, in the New Forest glades.

Never, perhaps, had so hated a monarch passed away. The halo which ever surrounds a king, invested with a kind of sacredness even the poor, disfigured corpse of Rufus; so a grave was hastily prepared



CORONATION OF HENRY I. BY MAURICE, BISHOP OF LONDON (IN THE ABSENCE OF ANSELM), AND THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

(*From the original MS. of Matthew Paris' Chronicle in Manchester Cathedral.*)

for him in the newly-erected cathedral at Winchester, and William was laid to rest with his royal predecessors, the old West

Saxon kings. Winchester and its minster, with its many royal memories, was not far from the scene of the sudden death of the dreaded sovereign. Cut off in a moment, without shrift, without repentance, the unanimous voice of priest and people pronounced the dread sentence which Pope Urban had feared to utter upon the mighty, reckless lord of so many lands. At the lonely funeral of Rufus, king of England though he was, no bells were tolled; no mass was even said for the soul of the wicked prince. No cross, no sacred symbol, no word of praise or hope, was engraved on the tomb of William Rufus. Men felt that for *him* prayers were hopeless.

Immediately on the king's death the exiled archbishop was summoned back to England in hot haste. The monks of Canterbury, the great lords, and, lastly, the new sovereign, Henry Beauclerc, all wrote or sent urging his immediate return. The archbishop landed in England in September of the year 1100, and very shortly after we find him with king Henry at Salisbury.

Then began the second series, so to speak, of Anselm's famous disputes with the crown, the results of which had a most important bearing on the subsequent relations of the Church of England with the sovereign and with the Pope. But although the contest between Anselm and Henry lasted well-nigh seven years, it must be remembered that their mutual relations were very different from those which existed between Rufus and Anselm. Henry Beauclerc was a very different man from his brother Rufus. His private moral life was doubtless open to the gravest censure. Cold, crafty, politic, often c with self-interest as his guiding rule thr his whole brilliant career, he seems to excited little enthusiasm among his sul and contemporaries, and to have wo little love even from his intimates; b the other hand, in many respects, for rough, lawless time he was the model great ruler, and is so painted by men were no flatterers. "He was a good r writes the impartial Peterborough s in the national English Chronicle, great was the awe of him; no man ill-treat another in his time; he peace for men and deer." The last cu reference applies, of course, in the first to that excessive love for hunting was a peculiar feature of the king's fa but it also refers to his studious taste as a naturalist he brought together a lection of strange animals in his pa Woodstock for the purposes of stud

These literary tastes and acquiren were especially remarkable in that re rude age. His well-known title of "I clerc" is *the* title to honour, per by which he is best known. Very similar to Rufus, in whom seemed to again the pagan spirit of the old Vi from whom he sprang, he ever tr religion and its ministers with respect consideration, and was known both liberal founder and benefactor of reli houses. On his accession, Henry Beau solemnly promised to redress the wrongs inflicted on the nation, espe emphasising his intentions towards church in the matter of the most spicuous grievances endured in the reign. "The holy church of God I free, so that I will neither sell it, nor

ı ; nor on the death of archbishop
nop or abbot will I take anything
ıe domain of the church or from its
ill the successor comes into posses-
So ran the first article of the royal
aking. To England, then, full of
or a happier future, Anselm returned,
s to infuse a new and nobler spirit
ıe church so secularised by the evil
of the late king, and not a little de-
sed by the worldly spirit of most of
elates, friends and ministers of the
who had been lately appointed.
first important transaction in the
ign in which Anselm was intimately
ned, was the pronouncing legal of
iage king Henry eagerly desired—
perhaps for state reasons—with
the daughter of Margaret, queen of
ıd, and king Malcolm, the child of
l royal Saxon house of Cerdic and
Edith had been generally known
land as a cloistered nun of Romsey
but the young princess stoutly
that she had ever taken the vows;
Anselm, after a careful investiga-
f the facts, with the approbation
important council summoned at
th, declared that she was perfectly
marry king Henry. The marriage
ony was at once performed by An-
in 1101, with great pomp, and
under the new name of Matilda, was
ly crowned queen in the abbey of
tinster. This Edith (Matilda) won
dinary popularity among her new
s. To her wise influence were, with
or less truth, ascribed the "good
which Henry Beauclerc made. Her
tful character united piety with a
great devotion to work and duty. The queen's especial love for the poor was said to be boundless: she is related to have been discovered by her husband washing the feet of lepers; while on the other hand she was a good Latin scholar, and skilled in all the accomplishments of that age. Sacred music, it is said, was her favourite recreation. "Good Queen Maude" became the object of the most earnest affection in England.

But Matilda's posthumous fame, after all, rests principally on her direct descent from Alfred and the kings of the West Saxon house of Cerdic: for from this marriage all the sovereigns of England trace their descent, not only from the Conqueror, but from king Alfred. The following table shows the descent of some of the principal personages of the old West Saxon line of kings, united to the Norman house of the Conqueror on the occasion of this marriage of Edith with Henry I.

WODEN. (*From whom descend.*)
|
Cerdic, the first West Saxon king.
| (*From whom descend.*)
Egbert. (*From whom descend.*)
|
Ethelwolf.
|
Alfred. (*From whom descend.*)
|
Ethelred the Unready.
|
Edmund Ironside.
|
Edward the exile, the Atheling.
|
Margaret, queen of Scotland.
|
Edith (Matilda) = Henry I. (Beauclerc).
|
Matilda = Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou
(Empress Maud.)
|
Henry II. (Plantagenet)

But Henry Beauclerc demanded of Anselm, friend though he was, a new and somewhat strange thing. Anselm, who had been archbishop now for some seven years, king Henry insisted, must receive the great office afresh by a new act of investiture at his hands! A small matter this would seem, on first thoughts. Yet it would have involved, if conced acknowledgment on the part of the p of the English church that on the of the sovereign the archbishop's co sion expired; that his office was, af subordinate, and that the dignity the reverted to the crown on the death king who had bestowed the office.

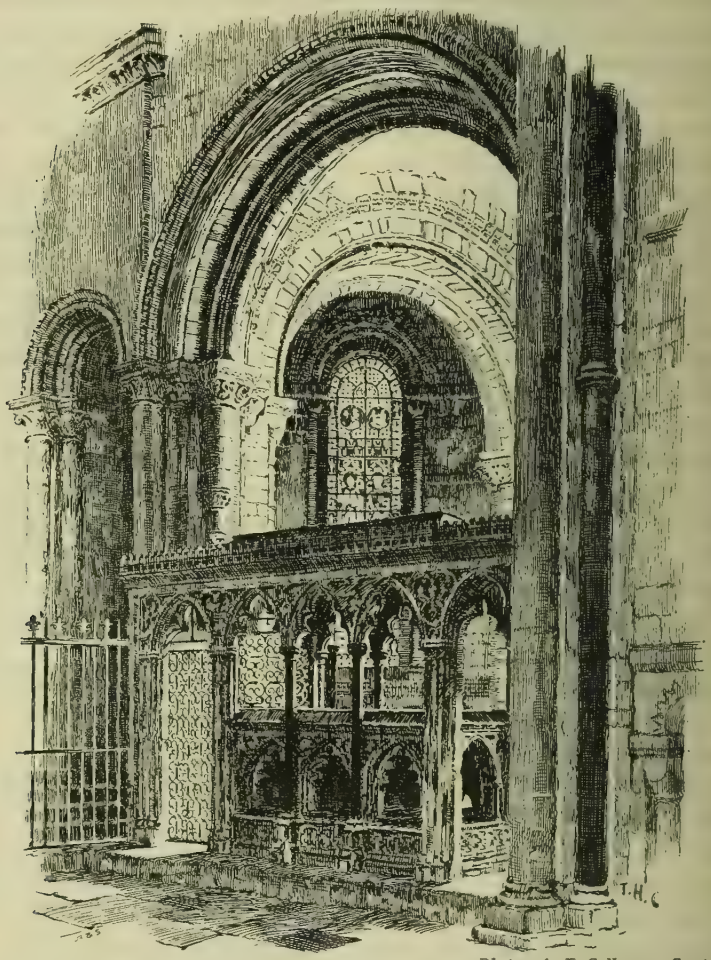


*Photo: A. F. Colbourne, Canterbury.*

ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

trace of such a claim on the part of reign of England ever having been before. Anselm absolutely refused nply with Henry's demand, not only ing any re-investiture, but asserting s that the king had no right even to bishop or abbot with pastoral staff g.

s last was a new departure on the f Anselm. Seven years before it e remembered, that in the royal amber at Gloucester he had felt no about receiving the pastoral staff Rufus's hands, or at a subsequent about consecrating other bishops ad received their staff of office in the vay. But during those seven years had changed. The customs which ed this formal investiture of the al office at the hands of a king, had ondemned in one of those Italian s at which Anselm himself had been c. "Rome had spoken, and Anselm ined to obey." "The question between Henry and Anselm was sense a question of eternal right ong; it was a question between the d custom of England and the ins of Rome." To Anselm this mere struggle "for privileges or for but for righteousness; only in his was part of righteousness to yield t obedience to a power that he had to look on as higher than his own of his sovereign."* To him "a ke that of the Red king was a lesson be soon forgotten. Customs which his father, the Conqueror, had natural and endurable, received a eaning and a new sting under the

* Professor Freeman.

policy of the son. The see of St. Peter was the acknowledged constitutional centre of spiritual law in the west—the judgment-seat to which an appeal was open to all, and which gave sentence on wrong and vice without fear or favour. The hopelessness of all justice at home drove him on what offered itself, and was looked on by all, as a refuge for the injured and helpless. The Popes attempted at this period of the Middle Ages to create an independent throne of truth and justice, above the passions and the force which reigned in the world around. It is the grandest and most magnificent failure in human history; but it had not then proved to be a failure."*

Thus the question in dispute between the king and the archbishop was referred by Anselm to Rome, but this time with the full consent of Beauclerc. It was in the year 1103 that Anselm again left England for Rome. He was absent for nearly three years. He left England, however, not a banished man, but as one who

* Dean Church: "Life of Anselm." The whole of this fine passage is too long for quotation, but his words on the *result* of this view of their office by the great popes — which Anselm in his day adopted—are remarkable when read in the light of events which have happened since Church passed away. "The idea was imperfectly realised, it was marred by the extravagance of assertion, the imperiousness of temper, the violence of means with which these claims were urged; it was spoiled by the inextricable mixture of by-ends with grand and noble purposes, of unscrupulous cunning and crafty policy with intense and self-sacrificing conviction; it was more fatally degraded and discredited by the selfish and faithless temporising and the shameless greediness which grew into proverbs wherever the name of Rome was mentioned. And every succeeding century these things grew worse; the ideal became more and more a shadow, the reality became more and more a corrupt and intolerable mockery."

went with the king's full licence. The king, too, sent ambassadors to Pope Paschal, who in the sequel, as might have been expected, quietly but determinedly supported the views of Anselm. The pleadings and negotiations went on for some three years. The words of Eadmer—"The wishes of so great a man as the king of England were on no account to be overlooked"—expressed the views of many of the Pope's advisers, and explain the reason of the lengthy deliberation, although it was known that Paschal himself felt that from Rome's point of view Anselm was absolutely right. Indeed, a recent council of Lateran had already pronounced on the question authoritatively.

The dispute between the crown and the archbishop at length was settled, through Beauclerc's virtually yielding. Concessions were made to him by Rome and Anselm to enable the king to yield with better grace, but the victory really remained with Anselm. The settlement of the great question was as follows:—King Henry I. granted and decreed that from that time no one should be invested in England with bishopric or abbey by staff and ring, either by the king or by any lay hand; Anselm on his side conceding that homage for the temporalities of the see or the abbey might be done to the king. Thus, by the surrender by the sovereign of the ceremony of delivering the bishopric or abbey by means of the symbols, "the staff and ring," it was openly declared that spiritual powers were not the sovereign's to give; or, as Eadmer tersely expresses the deliberate views of his master, "Anselm would not give his advice that mortal man should be made the door of the church."

It may be asked, what induced so ful and determined a monarch Henry Beauclerc thus to yield? P weariness of the long conflict with the king, while the great imp of the concession to Roman views strike Henry I., who could not see handle such a concession of the would afford to future usurpations part of the same great and ur spiritual power. Then, too, it r remembered that the policy of the kings, inaugurated by Henry's father, the Conqueror, had ever recognise the supreme authority bishop of Rome. No son of the Co could ever forget the famous refer the see of St. Peter which prece Norman invasion of England, wh fought and won under the shadow sacred gonfanon or banner of th Nor must the personal influence of be forgotten. No living church that day was comparable to the archbishop, who was loved and rev alike in Canterbury as in Rome. Beauclerc was too far-seeing a st not to perceive that "in Anselm h Canterbury the greatest Christian his age;" as it has been well said, English king "was unable to re spell and charm of his nobleness, of soul, his unselfish truthfulness."

On the life of the Church of the presence of such a man as was was not lost. The Norman prela abbots of the Conqueror, more c ously perhaps those chosen by Ruf for the most part able and distin men, but statesmen rather tha pastors; trained as they had been

et of the sovereign, instead of in the ed solitude of the cloister. Their too, were not a little soiled by the itmosphere in which they had long ; they were sadly accustomed to the sight of the royal traffic in benefices. n many cases were their own hands iled by the universal practice of open y practised in the days of Rufus. of them, however, devoted them- in good earnest to the raising and ing of their cathedrals. Magni- builders certainly were these early an bishops and abbots, but they scarcely any of them pretend to the cter of saints. It has been remarked great justice, that towards the close selm's career the life of the Norman es and abbots was becoming more nying and spiritual, and that a loftier ption of the work and office of a o began to prevail in Norman England. n a life as Anselm's was not lived n."

e point we find especially urged by loved English primate. The decrees lanfranc respecting the marriage of ergy were made vastly more strict, and effort was made rigidly to enforce Members of chapters were not only y forbidden to marry, but those who already married were directed at once t with their wives. No married man e future was ever to be ordained. nge was utterly forbidden to all nmen of the rank of sub-deacon and ds. To this stern legislation there aturally much opposition, but from n's days onward the rule of celibacy e the universal law of the English val church. "The mass of the married priest was not to be heard," writes Eadmer.

But the end of the great and saintly life was now at hand. Anselm only survived the solemn pact, result of the mutual concession, two short years. He was an old man, worn out with care and trouble, and a long life of ceaseless, restless study ; and his last two years, although he had won much of that for which he had so long and patiently contended, although he was surrounded with all the love and admiration which his beautiful life had so well earned, were years of suffering and weakness. But even in these pain-filled hours he never permitted himself to rest. Frequent and wearing attacks of sickness, ever increasing in severity, continually prostrated him during his last two years. But he worked on unweariedly. In the intervals of the labours attendant upon his great office he still used the pen which had produced so many learned and exhaustive treatises, on the deeper questions which exercise theologians, though the hand was growing more feeble every day ; and several masterly works were the fruit of his dying efforts. Soon every kind of food became loathsome to the worn-out old man. His devoted friend Eadmer lovingly records his closing days. Mentally he continued as strong as ever, though very feeble in the flesh. After he no longer could walk, he was carried every day to the cathedral in a chair. "We who attended him tried to prevail on him to desist, because it fatigued him so much, but we succeeded, and that with difficulty, only four days before he died."

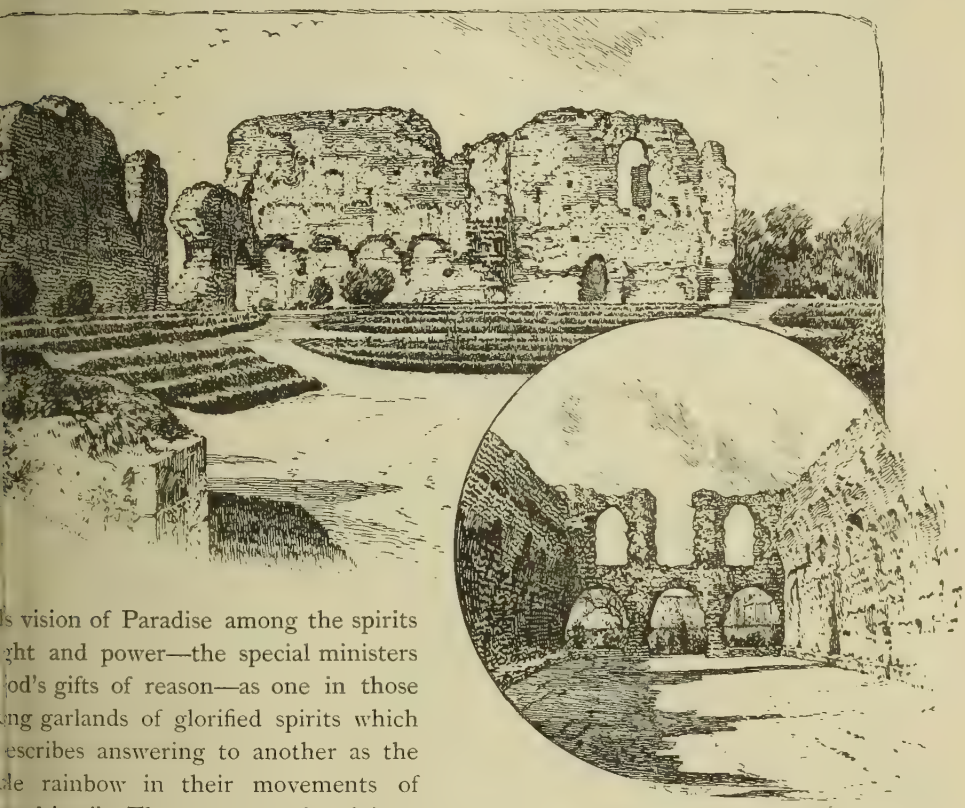
On the Palm Sunday of the year 1109, the daily visit to the cathedral now being

given up, Anselm was conversing with some friends standing round his bed. One of them, speaking of the attendance of the great at the Easter festival, then close at hand, at the king's court, said to the dying archbishop, "Lord father, we understand that you are going to leave the world for your Lord's Easter court." He answered simply and quietly, "It seems so, and I shall gladly obey the summons; yet I should be glad if my Lord would leave me a little longer with you all, for I wish to solve a question now working in my mind about the origin of the soul, and I do not know if anyone will finish my work on this subject when I am gone. I feel no pain; I am only so weak. If I could but eat, I think I might get better again." This was on Palm Sunday. The weakness increased, and Tuesday evening his words had become confused. "Ralph, bishop of Rochester, asked him to give his blessing and absolution on us," writes Eadmer, "and also on the king and queen with their children, and on the people of the land. He raised his right hand as if he were suffering nothing, and made the sign of the holy cross, then dropped his head, and sank down. The congregation of the brethren were already chanting matins in the great church. One of those who watched our father took the book of the Gospel, and read aloud the history of the Passion which was to be read that day at the mass. When he came to the Lord's words, 'I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table,' he began to breathe more slowly, and we saw that he was passing; so he was lifted from his bed and laid upon sackcloth sprinkled with ashes. And thus, the whole of his children being gathered roun he slept in peace."

In reading the above touching a of the last hours of one of the profo mediæval thinkers and theologians also was one of the most saintly of th line of archbishops of Canterbury, we are reading the words of an eye- of the quiet, solemn scene. There to add to Eadmer's graphic pictu few, but very few marvels are rela connection with the remains of th Anselm. We hear of the balsam which his body was embalmed se inexhaustible, and how the stone which seemed too small, wonderfu larged itself; but of the miracles wh should expect to have read of as performed round the sacred spot Anselm slept, there is no record. A with all his greatness, was never a p saint like Dunstan, who preceded h Thomas A'Becket, who followed hin not many years. His body was fir by his friend and master Lanfranc, the mighty rood which rose in fr the Canterbury cathedral choir; bu sequently was translated to the beneath the "Tower of Anselm." Rome, which owed him so great a for a long time hesitated to enrol h the calendar of saints. The distincti asked for, but asked in vain, by T A'Becket. In the end Roderic E the evil Pope known as Alexande formally canonised him.

But the honour which the po cared not to give him, and which and the church he loved so well, strange neglect, was so tardy in accord

, has been in later times freely and amply owed by the unanimous voice of istendom. That voice has been well truly expressed by the great singer of istian Europe. "Dante has placed him



*Photos: W. S. Wyles, Reading.*

RUINS OF READING ABBEY.

's vision of Paradise among the spirits ght and power—the special ministers od's gifts of reason—as one in those ng garlands of glorified spirits which escribes answering to another as the le rainbow in their movements of and joy." The great poet has joined gish Anselm with the Hebrew Nathan, d's fearless seer, who dared rebuke aster; with John Chrysostom, who his fiery words undismayed before t's greatest ones; and with Donatus, amous grammarian:

han the seer, the metropolitan
h Chrysostom, Anselm, and he whose hands—
atus—deigned the primer's help to plan."

is his right place in the noble company of the strong and meek, who have not been afraid of the mightiest, and have not disdained to work for and with the lowliest; capable of the highest things, content as living before Him with whom there is neither high nor low, to minister in the humblest."*

Henry Beauclerc survived Anselm twenty-six years, dying, as said the gossip of the day, from the effects of a feast of

* Dean Church: "Life of St. Anselm."

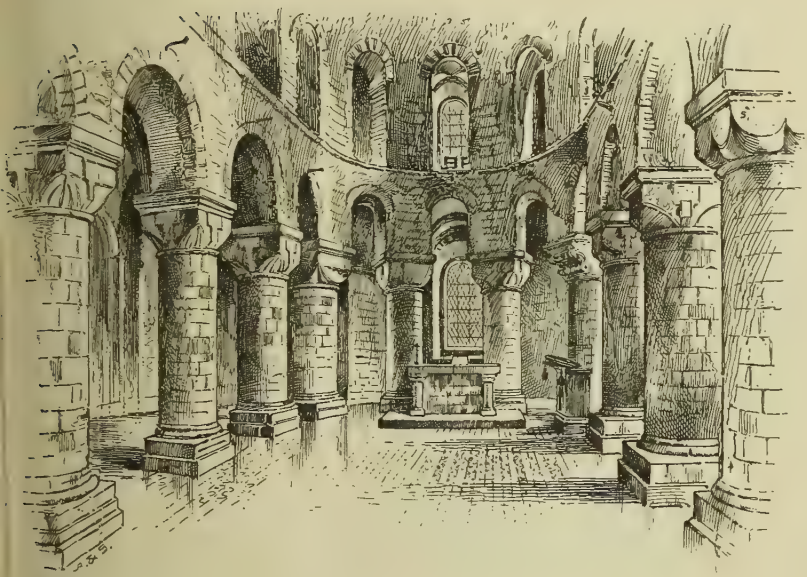
lampreys, a favourite dish with the famous king, at his hunting-seat in the "Forest of Lions," near Rouen. His biographer tells us that his last words were a solemn charge to all his great ones who were gathered round him, to keep the peace and to protect the poor. He was laid, alone among English kings, in the stately abbey he had founded at Reading, built probably with some of the mighty stones which once had formed part of the temples and colonnades of the neighbouring Roman provincial city of Silchester. Only a few ivy-covered fragments of huge walls remain to mark the site of the once proud abbey of Reading, and we possess no vestige of the tomb which covered the body of one of the most renowned of our sovereigns. The contemporary words of the Peterborough scribe in the English Chronicle, which no doubt embody faithfully the estimate of the men of his time, telling of the peace and security which prevailed in England during his long reign, are his best and most fitting epitaph: "He (Henry Beauclerc) was a good man, and great was the awe of him; no man durst ill-treat another in his time; he made peace for men and deer; whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good."

One of the many titles to honour of Henry Beauclerc, is his behaviour to Anselm after the final settlement in the year 1107 of the protracted dispute about investitures. The victory had remained with the archbishop, but Beauclerc never allowed the memory of his great concession to affect the cordiality of his after-relations with either Anselm himself, or the church after the archbishop's death. In Anselm the wise statesman-king was conscious he had for his primate the greatest Christian bishop, and he loved that a man should be his real friend adviser. In the church, too, Bea was conscious that he possessed the stable element of national life; he fel in those rude, disturbed times the E people looked on the clergy as their friends and champions. With them, fore, during the greatest part of his even during the period of the dispu maintained the closest alliance. "Hi of order led him to admit the can rights of the chapters of the chu the synodical powers of the clergy (as we have seen in the case of the investiture question) even the occa exercise by the Popes of a su appellate and legative jurisdiction."

But this conspicuous friendliness of H with Anselm and his general amity the church, must not blind us to the importance of Anselm's victory, and t momentous consequences which re from the concession of his claims b powerful king of England. It is true the king continued generally to ex the power, still possessed by the cro *choosing* bishops and the higher siastics; but by giving up the rig *making* bishops and abbots by the de of the pastoral staff, the sovereign fessed the meaning and sanctity of offices, and acknowledged their para spiritual and religious character. Th might still select the man for the but another and a different power confer the right of exercising the of

* Stubbs: "Constitutional History," cha

n. So far, the victory of Anselm ed a lasting benefit on the Church land, and secured to it a spiritual e which rightly belonged to it. e victory of the saintly archbishop nately involved, besides, an acknow- nt on the part of the church and gn of England of the supreme jurisdiction of Rome; an acknowledgment which Rome was not slow to avail itself of, which laid the foundation of Roman pretensions to supreme authority, and which grew, as we shall see, with years, till the yoke grew to be intolerable, and eventually became one of the chief causes of the "Reformation" upheaval.



ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL, TOWER OF LONDON (11TH CENTURY).

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### THE CRUSADES, AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE CHURCH.

Dates of the Crusades—Original Tolerance of Pilgrims by Mohammedans—Outburst of Persecution in 1010—Indignation in Europe—Peter the Hermit—Urban II. and the Clermont—War for the First Time Preached as a Christian Duty—Miserable Result of Crusade—Jerusalem Stormed in 1099—Check of Mohammedanism—Spirit of Mohamm into the Church—Further Development of Papal Authority—And of Papal Taxation—Red of Property and Aggrandisement of the Church—Development of Mariolatry—Its with the Growth of Chivalry.

WHILST in England and in the Continental dominions of the sons of the Conqueror, partly from the policy of the Norman sovereigns, and partly as the outcome of Anselm's ideas, a vast impetus was being given to the claims of the bishop of Rome to a universal spiritual empire in the western world, a mighty movement was taking place among the nations of western Christendom, which contributed to the same result. In the year 1095 Pope Urban held his famous council of Clermont in Auvergne, which decided upon the first Crusade. In the year 1099 the allied army of Crusaders took Jerusalem by storm. The second Crusade, mainly excited by the preaching of St. Bernard, was in 1147. The third Crusade, in which Richard Cœur-de-Lion was the prominent figure, was in 1191. There were several other Crusades between 1191 and 1275, of more or less importance; but with Pope Gregory X., who died in 1276, these strange and terrible wars came to an end. For nearly two centuries they had played an important part in the history of the church and the world.

The immediate cause of the Crusades was the contemptuous treatmen sacred sites in Jerusalem by th barbarous and fanatical Turkish co of the Holy Land. This same pe sistently maltreated and persecu crowds of pilgrims ever journeyi western lands to Jerusalem, to wo the scenes hallowed by the Saviou ings. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem historic scenes of the Saviour's death and resurrection, although longing to the days of very early ianity, had grown up from a comp early period, as a practice dear hearts of men. There is no d that the Holy Land was visited by pilgrims long before the time o and her son Constantine in the ea of the fourth century, when it that the wonderful relic of the tr was disinterred. The "invention true cross, and the erection of th church built over the traditional s Holy Sepulchre, tell us that the "h were already precious to devout souls. Nor was the habit of pi to Jerusalem from the lands of Christendom seriously interfered the Mohammedan conquerors of

seventh century. Christians were owed to worship at the sacred sites, ly occasional interruption, until the ears of the eleventh cen- nd to maintain buildings ecclesiastical establishment salem.

ne year 1010, however, we a fierce persecution of the ans of Syria by Hakim, the l Mohammedan sultan of At this period the church Holy Sepulchre and other Christian buildings were o the ground. But things ettled down in Syria, and ore, during the earlier half eleventh century Christian s from all parts of the world ermitted to perform their ns in what was to them st sacred spot on earth. n even of the quiet, peace- s of the great caliphs was for. For a long period phs had treated the bands ern pilgrims with courtesy spect, and we even read of the most eminent of Mohammedan rulers, the Haroun al Raschid, pre- to his brother emperor of t, Charlemagne, the keys Holy Sepulchre. This in- of quiet in the distracted s, however, of short dura- he fierce race of Turks became in Jerusalem, and from that time stian population in Palestine occu- position of despised and hated The resident clergy became the victims of every imaginable insult. The pilgrim bands were looked on as intruders, hateful to the followers of Mohammed. We hear, for instance, of the patriarch of Jerusalem dragged along the pavement by his hair; while, wounded and mutilated, plundered and ill-treated, the few survivors of the pilgrim companies from the west came

VISION OF ST. HELENA: THE "INVENTION" OF THE CROSS.

*(From the picture by Paul Veronese in the National Gallery.)*

back to Italy and France, Germany and England, with lamentable stories of their wrongs, with bitter memories of the shameful insults done to sanctuaries so dear to every Christian soul.

As the eleventh century drew to a close, the story of the wrong-doing of the infidel had excited the bitterest indignation throughout Christian Europe. It only needed a match to be applied to the slumbering fires, to kindle a terrible conflagration. This match was applied by a wandering pilgrim-monk, who had seen himself the scenes he so eloquently and pathetically painted. Peter the Hermit, for that is the name by which he is known in history, passed through Italy, crossed the Alps, and then in western Europe told his tale. He preached now in the pulpit in great churches, now on the roadside, now in market-places; his moving eloquence stirred the multitude wherever he appeared. His influence was marvellous; all ranks and orders were excited by the news he brought them of the shame done by the unbeliever to the sacred places, of the cruel sufferings inflicted on the crowds of devout pilgrims to the Holy Land.

Amongst those so moved, the principal person was the Pope Urban II., who with heart and soul put himself at the head of the universal movement. It was indeed a splendid stroke of policy for Rome. Still, it would be unfair in the highest degree to ascribe Pope Urban's action entirely or even mainly to mere policy. Urban was an intensely religious man, and to him the Crusade he inaugurated was indeed the cause of God. But still he could not have been blind to the enormous power which his act of putting himself at the head of so wide-spread a popular movement win for the Papacy. Urban, once of Cluny, had been the friend ar fidant of the great Hildebrand gory VII.), and had by him been as fit for the succession to the c St. Peter. As far back as 1074 brand had dreamed of uniting Christendom in one mighty effort rescue of the Holy Land and the sites, but the time then had not c the supreme effort; now, mindful far-seeing plan of his wise master, witness of the wide-spread general ment aroused by the preaching o the Hermit on the sufferings Christian pilgrims and the insults to the holy sites, saw that the mom at hand for the realisation of th design of a universal western Crusad Hildebrand had first conceived.

It was at Clermont in the Au where met the famous council sum by Pope Urban to consider the q of a general Crusade. It was a v mixed assembly that gathered toge the bidding of the bishop of Ro the year 1095. It included thirtee bishops, two hundred and twe bishops, eighty crosiered abbots, an other ecclesiastics, some of disting rank and reputation, besides an countless assemblage of laymen, m them of the highest rank. Never, p did a single speech of man work extraordinary and lasting results the words of Pope Urban II. at Cle We have several reports of that and inspiring speech of the Pope dwelt on the sanctity of the L Promise, the land chosen of God;

y City, hallowed by the life and death the Saviour. In the chosen Land of mise and in the Holy City the foul lels now were lords. Then Urban ted the present state of ruin and de- tion of the Temple and the Holy ulchre, and told them how shamefully e Christian men and women, who as rims went to worship in those sacred s, treated in the holy precincts. And ly, perhaps for the first time in Christian r, appealing to the passion of the er at the same time with the fervour ne devotee, he proclaimed the solemn of undertaking this deadly war, nising that, in the fierce strife to h he urged them, the Saviour Himself, God of battles, would be their leader commander; while to the man who ld take up this sacred cause the Pope his burning address offered instant lution, even from the most deadly sins. happy soldier who might fall in this ous war, the chief bishop in western stendom dared to assert, would pass nce into Paradise and eternal bliss. t the close of Pope Urban's speech loud cry broke forth from the vast as- bly, "It is the will of God; it is the of God!" The result of the Clermont cil is well known. A war of Christen- with Mohammedanism was pro- ned. A vast undisciplined multitude gathered together from all European tries, under Peter the Hermit and a ht called Walter the Pennyless. These hed towards the east by way of Hun- , and perished most of them miserably yriads. Scarcely one of the divisions his great host ever reached even the iers of the Holy Land.

But the decrees of Clermont sent forth at the same time another and very differently equipped army, under the leadership of some of the most notable chiefs of Europe—men like Godfrey de Bouillon, Bohemund, bishop Odo (the Conqueror's brother), duke Robert of Normandy (the Conqueror's eldest son)—with many other counts and princes innumerable, bearing the noblest names in Europe, men of the highest rank. This host, after hard fighting and tremendous losses, were completely successful. Finally, in the last year of the century they stormed Jerusalem, and after one of the most fearful massacres which history relates, entered the Holy Sepulchre as victors, drunken with fury, their garments dyed with the blood of the hideous slaughter, and there wept, knelt, prayed. Over the conquered Holy Realm, conquered for only a comparatively speaking brief season, one of the most popular and most distinguished of the chiefs of the allied bands of Crusaders, Godfrey de Bouillon, was elected king; but —strange combination of hideous cruelty with a real humility—Godfrey refused to wear a golden crown in Jerusalem, where his Redeemer had worn a crown of thorns.

Looking, however, down the ghastly perspective of the Crusades, a period stretching over nearly two centuries, we have in this history of ours only to glance over the *effect* of these strange and awful wars, in which such enormous numbers of human lives were thrown away, upon the Christian church generally, and especially upon the church of our own England.

The first effect was to roll back for ever the advancing tide of Mohammedan invasion, which for a long period had spread

a deep panic through Christendom, especially in the southern parts of Europe. That wave was first broken by Charles Martel, Charlemagne's grandfather, at the battle of Tours in the eighth century. But the danger was very real again in the eleventh century, and the fairest provinces of southern Europe were again seriously threatened. The Crusades for ever warded off this danger from Christendom.

But with the defeat of Mohammedanism by the Crusaders, the spirit of Mohammedanism, alas! largely entered into Christianity. "It would be impossible to conceive any more complete transformation than Christianity underwent during the period of 'Crusades,' a transformation that left, even after that long period, an enduring impress upon the religion of the Crucified. Its divine founder had taught his disciples that they must encounter the spirit of violence and war with the spirit of gentleness and peace; and with rare exceptions this had been the general teaching and practice of Christian preachers and professors. But from the end of the eleventh century, for nearly two hundred years, every pulpit in Christendom proclaimed the *duty of war* with the unbeliever, and represented the battle-field as the sure path to heaven. The religious orders which arose out of the Crusades, such as the Templars and the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, united—strange spectacle—the character of the priest with that of the warrior, and when at the hour of sunset the soldier knelt down to pray before his cross, that cross was the handle of his sword."* This strange and sad fusion of the military spirit with Christianity, direct outcome of the Crusades, wa all respects similar to the teachin Mohammed—a teaching thoroughly preciated and carried out by his and fanatic followers, and to whic large measure they owed their rapid enormous successes.

Another effect of the Crusades, and that largely affected the future of church in England, as on the Conti of Europe, was the position they to the bishops of Rome. The sple dream of Hildebrand, of the univ spiritual dominion of Rome, was in realised, owing to the attitude taken u Hildebrand's friend, pupil, and succe Urban II., and the Popes who immedi followed him. It is singular that enormous upward bound of the Papa position and influence took place at very time when England, largely thr the work of the saintly Anselm, was tangling herself ever more and mor the meshes of this same Papal powe

We speak of the Crusades, those g expeditions which appeared and re-appea casting the broad shadows of their influ over Europe for nigh two hundred ye but their various influences for goo evil began with the very first of t "holy" wars, which ended in the storm of Jerusalem, and the election of Go de Bouillon as king of Jerusalem, and decisive as regards the Pope of R That great spiritual potentate, thr the agency of the first Crusade, with great and sudden leap rose in ge estimation to a position greater grander than that occupied by any poral sovereign, to a position so high

* Compare generally, Lecky: "History of European Morals," chap. iv.

PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE.

*(By James Archer, R.S.A. From the Reproduction published by the Autotype Company, London, W.C.)*

men refrained from questioning his title or limiting his power. The Pope, in the last years of the eleventh century, in fact, became the liege lord of the western world, bequeathing this great legacy to his successors in the so-called Apostolic see. The Crusades that followed the first, at intervals, served to consolidate his tremendous and well-nigh limitless powers.

These powers were, in fact, awful. The sovereign prince who, at the bidding or instigation of Pope Urban and his successors, took the Cross, left his dominions under the protection of the bishop of Rome. "The noble who became a Crusader was free from most feudal claims. He could not be summoned to the banner of his lord. Even the yoke of the down-trodden peasant and the serf was broken. They were free if they became soldiers of the Crusading force. The very creditor could not arrest the debtor." The Pope, in theory, was the liege lord of all Crusaders. It is true that in numberless cases this supreme power could not be enforced; but it was often claimed and not resisted; and in theory, probably, no one seriously denied it. Almost incredible were the spiritual promises which this preacher of deadly war, who claimed to be St. Peter's successor, dared authoritatively to make. He offered absolution for all sins—there was no crime which might not be redeemed by this act of obedience—absolution without penance to all who would take up arms in this sacred cause. The Crusader became the soldier of the Church; "the Pope was general-in-chief of the armies of the faith." He assumed this lofty position in the preaching of the first Crusade; he maintained it in theory to the end of these strange wars. Roman bishop thus obtained a sup absolutely unprecedented in the hi the world.

We have before spoken of Papal and have shown how they were rare and exceptional instances—abs unknown in the Anglo-Saxon first making their appearance in E with the Norman followers of th queror. "The Crusades gave a n vast impulse in all European coun this form of developing Roman in and authority. The popular mover the Crusades supplied the opportu sending legates into every cou western Christendom, to preach urge the inescapable duty of help with men and treasure the holy war by the believer against the infidel protection and custody of Jerusale the Holy Land. Thus every co Europe, every religious house, church, became familiarised with th ence of the authorised representa the Pope, who superseded in the of his legate all regular and o authority."*

The free-will offerings and contri of the clergy and monks to Rome purpose gradually became a regul and thus, imperceptibly, the p crept in of Roman exactions from churches for objects very differen the one originally contemplated—th wars. The vast additions whi Crusades brought to the coffers churches and religious houses, at firs such contributions to the Papal co

* Compare generally Milman: "Latin ianity," book vii., chap. vi.

y matter; indeed, they were generally erfully made, and even regarded, per-s, in the light of thank-offerings to a se which so largely enriched them. But time came when the thank-offerings ame a hateful tax.

n the history of the Crusades England ds no mean place. But it must be fessed that it was largely owing to spirit of adventure introduced by the mans, that England became so deeply olved in the wars of the Crusaders. m Normandy the contingent of warriors o took the Cross was conspicuously e. Its duke, Robert, and its most minent bishop, Odo of Bayeux, belonged the first band of Crusaders. Among more notable sacrifices made by the n of this first Crusade was the pawning he duchy of Normandy by its duke, ert, the Conqueror's son, to his brother, king of England, for a great sum, to ble him to equip himself and his owers for the holy war in a manner tting his high rank and position. No among the allied Crusaders, except, haps, Godfrey de Bouillon himself, won great a reputation for valour and skill did this duke Robert of Normandy, se conduct during the terrible war t far, in men's eyes, to redeem a ted and disgraceful career. The largest most important share, indeed, in these paigns, which in their after-effects so ely affected and so powerfully in-nced for ages all life, both in the rch and state, was taken by the nks—using this term as generally sig-ing the inhabitants of old Gaul. This may see to this very day; as the rank" still, in Oriental countries, is the common name used for the nations of the west. And among these crusading Franks the Normans of England and the Continent held a foremost place.

The results, also, of these Crusades, especially the wonderful growth of the Papal power we have been detailing, in a peculiar and especial degree affected the life of the Church of England. In England, as on the Continent, the result of a Crusade was considerably to redistribute property. Money was scarce, and the needs of the barons and knights starting on a distant and costly expedition were great. Horses and armour and means of transit had to be purchased for themselves and their followers at a short notice. At such times not a few communes or associations of towns and villages bought privileges and liberties from their feudal lords, privileges and liberties which were enlarged in future years.*

But the great gainers at this juncture were ecclesiastics. No church lands could be alienated; but in these feverish moments of great excitement the church, by gift or still more by purchase, gained large additions to its landed property. Many excellent bargains were made by religious houses and churchmen in the last years of the eleventh century. "At the sight of the red cross, when the purchaser entered the stone-vaulted store chamber, the monk-treasurer was prepared to make the smallest bidding." Lands in every country were comparatively cheap, while all articles needful for the equipment of the Crusaders rose to enormous rates. The pawning of the duchy of Normandy was not the only instance of an important

* See Dr. Storrs: "Bernard of Clairvaux."

principality being sold for crusading equipment. The duchy of Bouillon was parted with at the same time to the prince-bishop of Liége for a great sum of ready money.* But while some sovereign princes, like Rufus, made great and permanent acquisitions, and not a few merchants laid up large stores of wealth which in time became diffused about Europe; while many communes, too, trading upon the sud and pressing needs of their feudal superi laid the foundations of their future liber and subsequent p perity, it was the chu generally, and especi the great monastic fo dations, which w chiefly enriched by strange fever of religi adventure which infec England and much western Christendom.

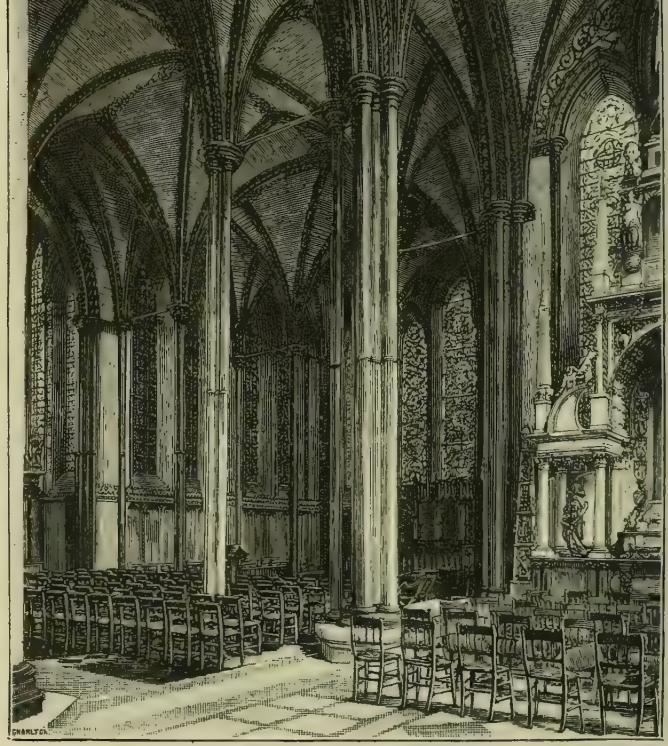


*Photo: Frith & Co., Reigate.*

LADY CHAPEL, SALISBURY CATHEDRAL (EARLY 13TH CENTURY).

Everywhere on spot to avail herself the pressing needs of neighbours, the all-absc ing church, for the centuries during wh the crusade-fever last silently gathered in m and ever more weal accumulating and accumulating land, pe ably but at the sa time surely despoiling world of its wealth, ing all the while it her bounden duty increase what was deer the property of "Ge Thus in England a la portion of the land of realm gradually passed into hands wh claimed—though the claim was not alw made good—exemption from many of ordinary burdens of the kingdom. result of this sudden and vast increase wealth by the church, and especially the monastic houses, was naturally to cite, as time went on, jealousy and cupid

* See Palgrave: "Normandy and England," book iv., chap. xi.

he day came when, in her turn, the urch was despoiled by a process less ntle and lawful than that by which she d despoiled the world. "The structure sooner because of its inordinate height: riches would have been safer if less idly acquired, and less disproportionate the wealth of society." *

In the great Norman and mediæval beys and cathedrals, erected, some in latter years of the eleventh, and others the course of the twelfth century, and plified and beautified in the course of two centuries following—the period in —there is no feature more remarkable than that usually important and often carefully decorated portion of the vast building known as the "Mary" or the "Lady" chapel. Take one well-known example of this limb of our churches, the stately and storied cathedral of Gloucester, one of the noblest of the great churches erected by the Benedictine order. There, at the east end of the vast cathedral, stands a magnificent and complete church—for this, in fact, is what it is—still strikingly beautiful in its scarred and mutilated loveliness, dedicated by its skilful builders to the especial honour and worship of

*Photo: H. W. Watson, Gloucester.*

LADY CHAPEL, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL (LATE 15TH CENTURY).

ry generally termed "the mediæval" the blessed Virgin Mary.* Nor in this

See Dr. Storrs: "Bernard of Clairvaux,' p. viii.

* The present Lady chapel replaces one built in the thirteenth century.

possession of a gorgeous Mary chapel does Gloucester stand alone. "Every mediæval cathedral—indeed, almost every spacious church—had, and, in many cases, still preserves its chapel of Our Lady." *

At what period this extraordinary reverence for the holy virgin mother first made its appearance in Christian teaching, is uncertain. All signs of it are absent in the New Testament. It certainly was unknown in apostolic and sub-apostolic times; and when it first appears, it was of a nature strangely different from the mediæval estimate of Mary on which we are now dwelling. To take an example: In the ancient liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, still in common use in the Greek church, the *Virgin Mary is prayed for.* In this liturgy we read: "We offer unto Thee (God the Father) this reasonable service for the faithful dead, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, . . . martyrs, confessors, . . . but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady the Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary." This most venerable liturgical compilation, no doubt, has been considerably altered and added to since the days of Chrysostom in the fourth century; but emphatically not in the direction of lowering the position of the blessed Virgin, a position which, in the theology of the eastern church, has been estimated, as the ages passed, higher and ever higher, till such a place of eminence has been assigned to her, that no loftier a one is conceivable. Similar testimony is given in the ancient liturgies of St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Cyril.†

* Milman.

† Compare "The Divine Liturgies of Chrysostom and Basil," etc., edited by Robertson, 1894.

But the doctrinal teaching on the sub of the Virgin developed as time went especially in the east, until the wor of Mary appeared as an integral par Christianity. Among the emperor tinian's splendid foundations in the s century arose many churches dedicate the "Mother of God." The feast of Annunciation was already celebrated u Justin and Justinian. Heraclius, we r had images of the Virgin on the mast his war-ships, and before long we Mary the tutelar deity of Constantinop

In the western church the developn of Mariolatry was slower; but it stea grew, even in the less imaginative c tries of Christendom. From the er Gregory, the great Bishop of Rome, in first years of the seventh century, worship of the Virgin became more more a part of Christian belief. Alre in the last half of the eleventh cent Peter Damiani, bishop and cardina teacher of vast influence, speaks of M as deified, as exalted to the throne of the Father, and placed in the very of the Trinity. "To thee," he says, given the power in heaven and in ea nothing is impossible to thee, to who is possible even to raise again the despe to the life of bliss; for thou approac the golden throne of man's reconciliat not only asking but commanding, a mistress, not as a handmaid."

In western Christendom, strange a may seem, it was the new teaching w arose out of the wars of the Crus which popularised, so to speak, Mariola for we can scarcely speak of the attitud

* See Milman: "Latin Christianity," book chapter vii., and book xiv., chap. ii.

val Christianity towards the Blessed by any other term. We have noticed how the preaching and ng which led to the first Crusade, r nearly two centuries kept alive the iasm which continually renewed costly and terrible wars, ever in- fresh hosts to take up the Cross, l upon men that these religious vere not only just, but were posi- holy and Christian. The result of range fusion of religion and war was oduction of a new character on the of the western world, "the ideal of the Crusades and of chivalry, all the force and fire of the ancient with all the tenderness and ty of the Christian saint. This new er sprang from the conjunction or o streams of religious and military ; and although this ideal was a e of the imagination, although it rely or never perfectly realised in t it remained the type and model or excellence to which many genera- ispired."*

alry, "at least the religious tone chivalry assumed in all its acts, ge, and ceremonies,"† may be said e been the result of the Crusades; ore the Crusades chivalry, if it may med to have existed at all, appears e had no particular reference to n. But war was now hallowed by n, and men were persuaded by their rs that the noblest end to which ould dedicate their lives was the of Christ's sepulchre from the infidel. The Christian knight was inspired by many noble sentiments—by self-sacrifice, by self-devotion for others, especially by compassion for the oppressed and the weak. Now, a great respect for the female sex had always been a remarkable characteristic of the northern nations; and courtesy towards, and protection of the weaker sex, became *the* especial duty and privilege of knighthood. Next, therefore, or even equal to devotion, stood gallantry among the principles of knighthood. The love of God and the ladies was enjoined as a peculiar duty in the teaching of chivalry. In the strange confusion of ideas, this devotion to the female sex took a religious tone. There was one lady of whom, high above and beyond all, every knight was the special servant: the Virgin mother of the Saviour, the rescue of whose sepulchre was the primary object of the Crusades. Thus the adoration of the Virgin, long taught by theologians, became strangely popularised among the Western nations at this epoch; a popularity which showed no signs of diminution for a very long period, and which largely continued through all the Middle Ages to influence and to colour Christian worship throughout the whole of western Christendom.

Religious chivalry, that product of the Crusades, those so-called holy wars, seemed "to array the Christian world as the church militant of the Virgin. Every knight was the sworn servant of Our Lady; to her he looked especially for success in battle." And from the soldier this deep sentiment of adoration passed to the people. Rapidly this worship became the worship of western Christendom. Soon, as we have remarked, every cathedral

cky: "History of European Morals," v.

an Milman.

and abbey, every spacious church, had its Chapel of Our Lady. Hymns were composed and universally sung in her honour. Liturgies in which her name was the principal feature were introduced. Manuals of private or of public devotion were copied and recopied a thousand times in every monastic scriptorium. A new and startling theological addition was thus generally added to popular Christian teaching. "The incommunicable attributes of the Godhead were assigned to Mary. She was represented as sitting between cherubim and seraphim, as commanding by her maternal influence, if not by authority, her Eternal Son."* The idea of a Queen of Heaven became a familiar one in popular theology; and before the fifteenth century had run its course, the new devotion, largely called into existence by the Crusades, showed the migh it had obtained over the popular n England, as on the continent of E by the erection and lavish adornm such s and costly as the grea Chapel, mentioned famous B tine abb Glouce Among th and swe changes passed ov Church o land at period o Reformati theologian give uns praise to a one great c owing t stern s which, w pitiless ha out from liturgies her form every tra this strange, unnatural cult who, "blessed among women" she be, possesses no title to w no claim to the adoration of Ch people.

CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY AS QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

(*From a Book of Bible Miniatures written in the 12th Century*)*

* Milman: "Latin Christianity," book xiv., chap. ii.

* This illustration with another are p by an Italian hand, and were inserted in t at a later date.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### HENRY II. AND THOMAS A' BECKET.

hy of Stephen's Reign—The First of the Plantagenets—Character of Henry II.—His Moral Defects—The Chancellor Becket—Questions between Church and State—Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury—Sides with the Church—The Constitutions of Clarendon—Becket signs them, then recants, and flees into Exile—His Intrigues and Austerities—Apparent Reconciliation—Undone by Becket's Intolerance—Henry's Wrath and Unhappy Exclamation—Murder of the Archbishop—Indignation in the Church and throughout Europe—Henry's Bitter Regret—His Humiliating Penance—Yet the King's Policy Prevails—Learning in this Reign—The King's Death—His Abiding Influence on English Law—Canon Law.

HE reign, lasting nineteen years, which succeeded that of Henry Beauclerc, was a period of law-ss, anarchy, and confusion. Stephen ed the crown through his mother , the Conqueror's daughter, but he stoutly opposed by Matilda, Beau- daughter, somewhiles empress of any, and then wife of Geoffrey of . She had been designated as the before his death by king Henry lf. A desolating civil war harassed nd for some fourteen years. During time king Stephen, alternately a er and a conqueror, was utterly less to enforce law and order in nd. Men in England in his days at was right in their own eyes ; the nd weak were grievously oppressed ; rrible and almost universal suffering led. Though the civil war only during some fourteen years, the nineteen years of this disastrous was a period of misery and confusion. ords of the Peterborough Chronicler s the impressions of a contemporary e state of things which prevailed in py England in king Stephen's days. "All became forsworn, and broke their allegiance ; for every rich man built his castles and defended them against the king, and they filled the land with castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot and I may not tell of all the wounds and of all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land, . . . and this state of things ever grew worse and worse. . . . They plundered and burnt all the towns, so that thou mightest walk a whole day's journey without finding a man seated in a town, or its lands tilled. Then was corn dear, and there was no flesh and cheese and butter for the people in the land. Wretched men starved with hunger ; some lived on alms who had been once rich. Some fled the country. Never

was there more misery. The land was all ruined by these deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and the saints slept."

During this period of civil war and misery, although Stephen had the reputation of caring little for the church, no special acts of oppression of churchmen are recorded ; indeed, as might have been expected in such times of bitter suffering, ecclesiastical power and influence made considerable strides. As an instance of the influence of the church even in warfare at this time, the circumstances under which the famous "Battle of the Standard" was fought, A.D. 1138, are worth recording. The king of Scotland (David), taking advantage of the disturbed state of England, distracted as it was with the long civil war between Stephen and Matilda, for the second time invaded England with a savage Celtic following, and harried cruelly all the northern counties. The aged archbishop of York gathered a strong army of northern barons and freemen to resist the plundering foe. At Northallerton, in Yorkshire, they met the invaders from Scotland, who were completely routed. In the midst of the English army during the fierce struggle was a cart bearing a great standard, at the top of which the sacred banners of the three great churches of St. Peter's of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon* waved round the consecrated Host. The spirit of the age attributed the signal victory to the presence of these consecrated and sacred ensigns.

In fact, when all was in confusion, and there was a universal disregard of all law, the church remained the only home and sanctuary for the poor and th pressed of all classes and orders. enormous number of new religious h were built ; indeed, no period w prolific in the establishment of munities of monks and nuns in En as the nineteen war-filled years of Stephen. The power of Rome had continually advancing. We hear of R legates in England, and we come constant notices of appeals to R Even the king himself did not d making appeals of this kind in his person. Increased submission to the R see is certainly one of the noticeable fe of these nineteen years. There was to notice, much less to resist, these fe encroachments.

The year 1154 witnessed the begi of a new era. The sudden death of Ste leaving no direct heir, left the throne to the son of Stephen's life-long adve the empress Matilda—Henry Planta of Anjou, who was crowned at Wind king of England. The long period o dissension and confusion came to a with his accession. The historian, good reason, dwells upon the long eventful reign of this young son o empress Matilda (Maud), the Conqu great-grandson, who for thirty-five (1154 to 1189) guided the fortun England, under the well-known na Henry II., Plantagenet. It was by his that the foundations of the United dom of Great Britain and Ireland were some vague acknowldgement of Her the superior lord being made eve those parts of the "United King which were never really under his

* Some accounts add to these the banner of St. Cuthbert of Durham

as this first Plantagenet king who ed the relations between church and and decreed that churchmen were subject to the common laws of the . It was through his constitution ssizes that it came to pass, that, all the world, English-speaking races are ned by English, not by Roman law. oulded the government of England he form which more or less has ever nued, and established the judicial n whose main outlines have been ved to our own times.*

tune strangely favoured the young who was destined to work so mighty among us. At the age of eighteen eat career began, when he was in- with his mother's hereditary duchy rmandy. A year later his father's put him in possession of Anjou and oad Angevin dominions. The year ng, his strange marriage with or, the greatest heiress in Europe, him the sovereignty of the vast ces of the south, including Aquitaine ascony, and many a lordship in the and south of France ; Eleanor, who me seven years his senior, divorcing sband, the king of France, for love n young Henry Plantagenet. Two ater, on the sudden death of Stephen, crowned undisputed king of Eng- t Winchester. His courtiers told vith pride and with some truth, s empire stretched from the Arctic to the Pyrenees. There was no rgn in Europe — not even the or of Germany — who ruled so al and wealthy a group of states.

* *Cf.* Mrs. J. R. Green : Henry II.

But the stirring political history of this wonderful reign is not our present work ; we have to do alone with his relations to the church. And no king who ever reigned amongst us exercised a more powerful and abiding influence over the church than did Henry Plantagenet, the sovereign lord of so many lands.

Contemporary chroniclers give us a vivid picture of this king, who occupies so conspicuous a niche in the gallery of our English sovereigns, as he appeared to those who lived in familiar intercourse with him. The picture they present is very different from the ordinary conception of a mediæval monarch, such as somewhat later appears in the illuminated manuscript of a Froissart, in all the bravery of gilded and painted mail ; or on tombs, like the graceful figure which lies in the beautiful shrine of Edward II. at Gloucester, with flowing, embroidered robes, wearing a gemmed crown, with the hands clasping a jewelled staff or sceptre. We see a somewhat rough-looking man, wearing a short Angevin cape, plainly dressed, without gloves, slightly above middle height ; reddish hair, which soon became sprinkled with white, as the cares and troubles of that work-filled, anxious life thickened round him—hair that he kept ever very short, as a precaution against baldness ; piercing grey eyes, a freckled face, a short neck, a broad, square chest, legs bowed from incessant riding ; never sitting, save at meal-times, which were ever brief, for Henry Plantagenet cared little for eating or drinking. Yet on that unlovely face men saw something lion-like. The grey eyes were at times clear and soft, but not unfrequently bloodshot through passion.

His ordinary home was a camp; his companions were mostly soldiers or huntsmen. His chief relaxation was the chase; his overpowering energy found an outlet in violent physical exertion. After a long day spent in hunting, he was never seen to sit down save for supper.*

Many and bitter were the complaints of his courtiers and ministers that there was never a moment of rest for himself or his servants, one day following another in ceaseless journeys from place to place—now for a long day's hunting, now for a visit of inspection and business. He was never at rest. He never spared himself. By arduous labour, by readiness of access to all men, by ceaseless travel, by unwearied patience, he would see for himself how the laws he was at such pains to formulate and to set in motion in his disturbed and unsettled kingdom, actually worked. "O Lord God Almighty," writes one of the sorely-tried confidential attendants of the great Plantagenet, "turn and convert the heart of the king from this pestilent habit [of incessant moving from place to place], that he may know himself to be but man, and that he may show a royal mercy and compassion to those who are driven after him, not by ambition, but by necessity." In these hurried, ceaseless, restless journeys we catch sight of the busy royal secretaries scribbling, at each brief halt, letters, charters, grants, directions, treaties, keeping pace with the enormous mass of business that came to this ever-toiling king of a vast realm.

He became thus known to all his people. He was no mere king hedged round by mystery and awful reverence. His l his presence, his jokes, his very oath kindness, his wrath, became familiar t A new sense of law and justice grew the poor, harassed land under a king was ever present with his people: he complaints, seeing that his judges doing their work, beholding with his eye the misrule and oppression o great and powerful. No one—in Eng at least—could be sure that the te king was not close at hand, about t quire an account of his doings, good o Only the possession of vast and un physical strength enabled this strange to get through this enormous labo hand and brain.

His intellectual gifts were very grea beyond those possessed by ordinary In learning he was ahead of most contemporaries. He is said to have a scholar in many tongues, though he spoke familiarly in French or Latin. chose his friends well and wisely intimates were, for the most part, m deep learning or of saintly life. W ever he could get a breathing-time his many business cares, he occupied self in private reading, or in lea something from his scholarly secret The Plantagenet king was not wi elegant tastes. He loved the readi history, and delighted in the convers of acute and learned men; and he happy in the possession of a won memory.

In his public capacity he was the able and successful politician of his and while a great soldier and s general, he was no lover of war; moved, men said, by a strange pity for

* See Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough (Rolls Series). Preface by Bishop Stubbs.

THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD.

*(By permission, from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S. In the Guildhall Art Gallery.)*

sacrificed, and for sufferings which naturally accompanied the battlefield. The result of his work, his journeys, his restless curiosity, his enormous experience, appeared in his wise and beneficial laws. Henry Plantagenet was one of the most sagacious administrators and wisest legislators that ever guided England; and it has been well said, that when he finally drew up his system of reform in church and state, there was not a single point of principle in it from which his successors found it necessary afterwards to draw back.

Yet in spite of all this amazing activity and zeal for right, and constant endeavour to substitute law and order in place of lawlessness and misrule in that disturbed and turbulent age, which we see and admire with no grudging admiration in the great Plantagenet king, Henry II. was not a good man.. Though most of his work was splendid and beneficial and far-reaching in its after-consequences, he can never be ranked with kings like Oswald and Alfred, Edward I. and St. Louis. His moral life and example were evil; his passions were unchecked. Feared rather than loved, dreaded by his contemporaries rather than respected, a prey to an un governable temper, no one, ecclesiastic or layman, trusted him or believed him.

What his "religion" consisted in remained, and will ever remain, a riddle to which no solution can be attempted. Daily he attended mass; but those with him saw how in the most solemn moments of the sacred service he would be writing, or even drawing pictures, and occasionally whispering to his courtiers thoughts which occurred to him on state matters. He would spend a night fasting and praying, and in the morning would forget passionate prayers and fervid resolutio No one can say how much reality t was in his bitter abasement and volun humiliation after the murder of Bec the like to which on the part of a po ful crowned monarch had never been before!

Was this great sovereign insa Even in his lifetime men whispered well-known legend of the diabolical o of the Angevin house, whence H sprang. Was it not most probable that awful sickness of mind which unfrequently is the sad heritage of absolute, irresponsible monarch, at t peculiarly affected the great Plantage One who has made a wonderful stud the man and his times thus power sums him up: "Neither angel nor d Henry Plantagenet was a powerful, scrupulous man, a man of vast energy industry, of great determination; emine wise and brave, eminently cruel, lasciv greedy, and false; and eminently fortunate also, if the ruin of all the se aims of his sagacious plans, the disapp ment of his affections, and the sens having lost his soul for nothing ca called misfortune." †

By the side of the mighty Angevin during the first eight years of his r stood his favourite and minister, chancellor Becket. This famous who subsequently played so great a in the story of our church, had introduced to the notice of the young

* Mrs. J. R. Green.

† Bishop Stubbs: Preface to "Chronicl Henry II." by Benedict of Peterborough.

his first arrival in England by Theobald, ce a monk of Bec, the archbishop of nterbury. Henry took an extraordinary cy to the young and brilliant ecclesi- c, made him his chancellor, and soon rusted him with the principal direction tate affairs in England.

Becket, who was the son of the port- ve of London, the predecessor of the sent lord mayor, at the age of twenty- r had entered the household of arch- hop Theobald, and had soon acquired confidence and friendship. We have a cription of him at this period of his eer, which describes him as slight and e, with dark hair, and long nose and ightly-featured face, blithe of counten- e, keen of thought, winning and lov- e in conversation, frank in speech, but htly stuttering in his talk, and, above possessing a singular gift of winning ction.

The affection of Henry for his chancellor singular. The king and his minister ame inseparable ; in hall, in church, in ncil-chamber, on horseback, the friends e ever together. Becket, too, like the g, in the intervals of work loved hunt- and hawking. The magnificence of minister seems far to have exceeded state kept by the king, who was ever ugh, plain man. Becket, on the other d, loved to array himself in scarlet and cious furs, with clothes woven with l. His table, too, was sumptuous, and tered with gold and silver plate. Henry shed gifts and rich preferments on his urite, who seems to have thoroughly erved his affection, and ably to have onded the king's efforts in the direction ighteous government. Fifty-two clerks, we read, were employed in the chancery under Becket. The archbishop of Canter bury dying in the year 1161, Henry de termined that his favourite and minister, Becket, although only in deacon's orders, should succeed Theobald in the primacy. Against the advice of his chief friends, the king forced on the appointment; the chancellor-deacon was consecrated priest, and in 1162 was enthroned at Canterbury, the Pope sending him his pall.

Between the Church of England and the state some grave causes of difference existed at this time, to which the king had determined to put an end. The Conqueror, among other constitutional changes, had separated the courts in which secular business was carried on from the purely ecclesiastical courts. The extensive and general study of Roman or canon law had of late largely increased the pretensions and claims of these ecclesiastical courts, which exercised wide powers over the laity, as well as over the clergy. They alone enforced spiritual penalties: they dealt with cases of oath and promises ; they decided as to the property of intestates, and pronounced in every case of inheritance whether or no the heir was legitimate; they declared the law as to wills and marriages. Many vestiges of these ancient rights have survived even to our own times. It was said that in the archdeacons' courts, in the days of Henry II., more money was levied by fines than the whole revenue of the crown. Young archdeacons were now constantly sent abroad to study the Roman and canon law. Bologna was the favourite school for the pursuit of these studies in a law which was to be administered in

these courts, in which the volume of business was ever on the increase. So great, indeed, was it, and so varied was the business which came before them, that those archdeacons who were to act as judges were often kept in deacon's orders, lest the priesthood should be defiled by so much contact with legal and varied secular affairs. Religious men, in view of all the secular business and secular interests with which these important church officials were entrusted, even began to propound the well-known question, which has excited some interest and curiosity, whether in the case of an archdeacon "salvation were possible"—"*an possit archidiaconus salvus esse.*" *

What, however, came specially home to men at this juncture was the comparative immunity which clerks enjoyed from the penalties due to crimes and misdemeanours. We hear, for instance, in the first eight years of Henry's reign, of one hundred murders committed by clerks, who had escaped all punishment save the comparatively light sentence of fine and imprisonment inflicted by ecclesiastical courts.

But the real cause of Henry's own uneasiness at the present state of things was the rapid drifting of the Church of England Rome-ward. The monasteries, owing to various causes, some of which, notably the Crusades, have been already alluded to, had enormously increased in numbers, in wealth, and in power. These religious houses were, for the most part, exempt from all episcopal control, and acknowledged only the Pope as their superior. Appeals to Rome from the Church of England w also rapidly on the increase. Freed pr tically from the common law of the rea the clergy looked more and more to Pope as the supreme judge and arbi in all their causes. This grave and ev increasing danger to the state from interference of a foreign power was view by Henry II. with growing uneasiness, it was with the hope of finding an effici and loyal coadjutor in the archbishop Canterbury, in the important reforms proposed to effect in church matters, t he procured the elevation of his friend confidant, Becket, to that great office.

Never was anyone so deceived an instrument which he had forged carry out his will. Very soon after consecration to his new office, Bec resigned the chancellorship, left king's court, withdrew from all st matters, and devoted himself solely spiritual things. Never was so rapi change. The old splendour of living abandoned, the gay and costly scarlet gold and rich furs were exchanged penitential sackcloth and the monk's bl cloak. His hall at Canterbury was r thronged with the poor and needy, w were fed from the archbishop's table. D was Becket seen in the infirmary, tend and visiting the sick, and even wash the feet of poor travellers, as part of daily penance. He would spend hours the cold cloister studying like a mo Zealous in services and in constant pray his whole life and appearance underwe sudden and startling change. No soo was he made archbishop than Henry fo the subservient and resourceful mini of state merged into the ecclesias

* See Bishop Stubbs: Oxford Lectures (VII.). "The Court of Henry II.," and (XIII.) "Canon Law."

erly devoted to what he looked upon the interests of his order, and of church over which he had been so xpectedly called to preside. Hence the er, irreconcilable enmity between the once friends—Henry II. and Becket. he clergy of the Norman reigns have has close relations with the great ecclesiastical centre at Rome; and there is, thirdly, the man who, not less patriotic than the first, and not less ecclesiastical than the second, acts on and lives up to higher principles of action, and seeks first and last what seems to him to be

BECKET WASHING THE FEET OF BEGGARS.

well described as capable of being nged under three classes. "There is man of the thoroughly secular type, a ister of the king and a statesman, who received high preferment in the church reward for official services; there is professional ecclesiastic who looks to interests of the church primarily, whose lic course is dictated by regard to ical objects, who aims at a mediatorial tion in the conflicts of the state, and the glory of God."* In the first class may be placed such men as Flambard of Durham, Herbert Losinga of Norwich, and William Carileph of Durham, thoroughly secular churchmen, but at the same time able and devoted statesmen. Of the second class, Lanfranc, the great archbishop-minister of the Conqueror, is an admirable instance. In the third stand

* Bishop Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," chap. xiii.

Anselm and, somewhat later in point of time, Hugh of Lincoln. There is a greater difficulty in placing Becket. Until he became archbishop, beyond doubt he belonged to the first, to the secular class of ecclesiastics—chancellor, lawyer, adviser of the crown, unquestionably able and painstaking in each of these capacities. Then he changed, and as archbishop he became the champion of the clergy, the devoted servant of the Pope, the ascetic monk. His admirers, further, rank him as a saint of God, as the equal in his struggles after the nobler life with Anselm and Hugh of Lincoln; others doubt his sincerity, and consider him rather as the consummate actor than the true saint. But there is no doubt that, with all his faults and errors, Becket in the end laid down his life to further the policy to which he devoted the second and more interesting period of his wonderful career.

With or without, however, the assistance of his former dear friend and chancellor Becket, Henry Plantagenet was determined to carry out his purpose; persuaded as he was that it was for the weal of England, firstly, that the perpetual appeals to Rome, a foreign and strange power, should be limited; and secondly, that the powerful ecclesiastical orders should be subjected to the ordinary civil law of the realm. The king determined to bring these vital questions to an issue. So he summoned a Parliament at Westminster, and among other matters insisted on these important points being decided. Becket refused at first to yield to the king's will, but subsequently, with extreme reluctance, gave way. Early in the year 1164 a council was summoned to meet at Clarendon, a royal residence three or four miles fr Salisbury, to ratify these important c cessions of the church. The two ar bishops, eleven bishops, between thirty forty of the highest nobles, and numl of inferior barons were present, and famous *Constitutions of Clarendon* w then agreed to; Becket, after some sionate resistance, giving his consent approval, thus establishing an English c stitution in church and state. By th constitutions the exorbitant powers of ecclesiastical courts were taken away; immunity of the clergy from the juris tion of the king's courts existed no long and the power of appeals to Rome limited.

Becket, however, deeply repented concession. He returned to Canterb submitted himself to the severest penan and applied to the Pope for absolu from his oath to support the decisio the Clarendon council. He at once ceived it. Then and thus commenced bitter contest between the powerful and the archbishop. There was no lo any hope of a reconciliation between two. No trust could henceforth be pl in any promise of Becket, no reli on any solemn oath which he might ta he would probably soon regret it, appeal at once to Rome to be abso from it. A few months later the qu came to a head. At a great state cou at Northampton, the archbishop was ceived by the king with studied in From Northampton Becket fled as tho for his life to France, and thence exile for the next six years (1164 1170), he conducted, partly by intri partly by invoking the assistance o

pathetic but reluctant Pope, a struggle ch filled the chronicles of much the history of Europe during this od.

or two years at a monastery at Pon-y, and then for four years in the nch archiepiscopal city of Sens, Becket d the life of an austere Cistercian nk. The once magnificent and luxu-s chancellor, and powerful minister of mighty Plantagenet king, amazed and ied religious Europe with his awful erities. On him, perhaps, more than any man in the western world at this cture, were men's eyes fixed. The version of so famous and powerful a esman attracted universal attention. posed as the suffering champion of church's rights and privileges; and ry II., king of England, duke of Nor-dy, and lord of Guienne and Anjou, he church's oppressor. Something of ancient magnificence and pomp still ounded the exiled archbishop, whose nue of horses and servants and costly e attracted notice; but Becket person-shared in none of these things. The dishes were ostentatiously distributed he poor, while the archbishop partook of the pulse and gruel of that stern ascetic monastic order to which he affiliated himself. Far and wide were austerities talked of, his long and et devotions. Men told of his tears his groans for his past sins, and how ight he would ever and again rise from bed and submit himself to a cruel ellation. At times he would even tear flesh with his nails, and lie long on the floor in the solitary agony of prayer. health naturally suffered from these mortifications, and wild and terrible dreams haunted his broken slumbers. He studied, too, did this strange man, with passionate ardour, and his studies mainly consisted in those records of Roman canon law which supported his views of church legislation, and uncontrolled ecclesiastical power.

Nor was he forgetful during these years of the arts of intrigue and statecraft, of which he was so consummate a master. He found an ample field for these intrigues; for his former friend the Plantagenet king, from his position as lord of so many and such different nationalities, had many and deadly enemies. Not the least formidable of these was the king of France, whose divorced wife Eleanor was now the wife of Henry Plantagenet, to whom she had brought the great inheritance of the south of France. From his place of exile in France Becket now thundered out the sentence of excommunication against the English prelates who loyally supported Henry Plantagenet. And now, in the name of the Pope, from whom he obtained legatine powers, he threatened England with the stern menace of an interdict.

The wrath of Henry against the great and powerful ecclesiastical rebel who worked him so much mischief, almost drove him to madness. For a time no one dared to mention the name of Becket in his presence. But, in spite of all his troubles and vexations, king Henry pursued his work of legislating well and wisely for England. It was in this period of anxiety and trouble that the memorable Assize of Clarendon (in 1166) was drawn up; and the whole provincial administration of

justice in England was by it remodelled.* Thus the six years wore away. For

*Photo: Paul Robert, Paris.*

EPISCOPAL VESTMENTS OF THOMAS A BECKET, PRESERVED AT SENS, FRANCE.

* Compare generally Freeman's "Norman Conquest," chapter xxvii., and Mrs. J. R. Green's "Henry II."

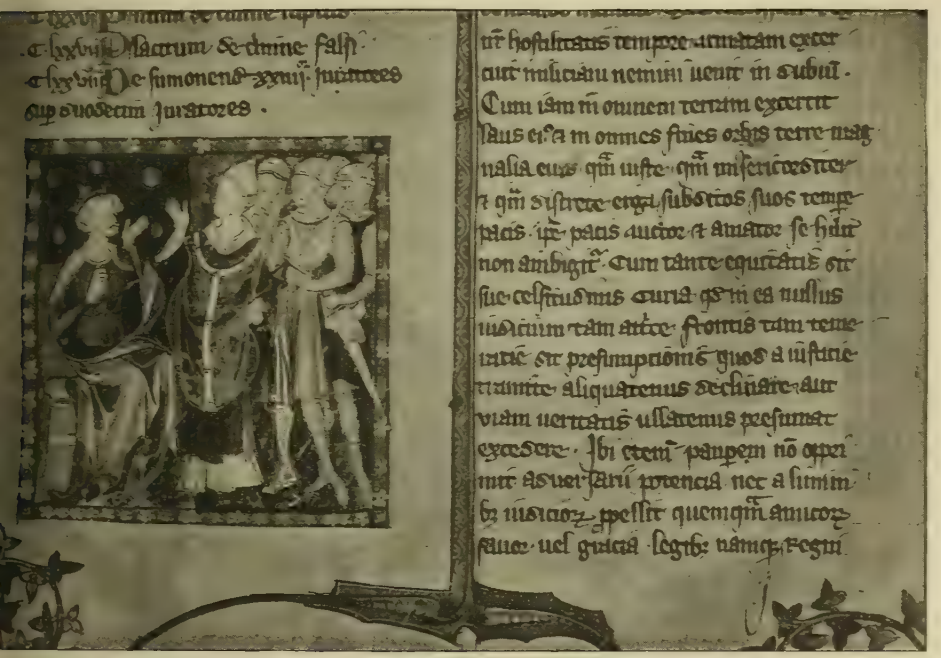
Henry Plantagenet they were work-f
years, years busy with maintaining
authority over his many states, busy
much wise and enduring legislation
England; on the whole, prosperous y
for the mighty Angevin monarch.
the quarrel with Becket and its eff
must sorely have embittered king Her
life during this period. Nor was
conduct towards his enemy wise and
ciliatory. Becket was warring for wha
deemed a great principle, and Henry se
to have ever treated him as one who
fighting rather for his own hand than
the church which he professed to lov
ardently, and apparently did love, as
proved in the end.

As the six years drew to an
Becket's position was stronger than e
for the power of the Pope had
greatly strengthened in the meant
and there was less reason for R
temporising and for conciliating He
than in the earlier years of Becket's e
It was in the year 1170 that He
Plantagenet determined upon the cor
tion of his son Henry, a boy of fift
Now the duty of performing the cerem
the rite of coronation, was claimed by
archbishop of Canterbury as a duty a
lutely belonging to the primacy.
Henry, however, insisted upon the c
mony being performed by the archbis
of York. This fresh and galling aff
seems to have afflicted Becket and
friends even more than the sequestra
of the estates of the arch-see; more
any of the many injuries inflicted u
the exiled champion of church privileg

The same year, however, witnessed
startling spectacle of the formal re

ation between the two enemies. Europe
astonished. When things looked
ker than ever, at a moment when the
ense hatred which existed between
ket and Henry appeared more bitter
n before, the two seemingly irreconcil-
foes met, and the "kiss of peace"
be less dangerous to his peace within his dominions than without; would be easier to deal with, and perhaps to influence, as archbishop of Canterbury, than as an archbishop in exile.

The meeting between the two once dear friends, but for years now the bitterest



ARREL BETWEEN KING HENRY AND BECKET, WHO HAD ENTERED HIS PRESENCE SURROUNDED BY ARMED MEN.

*(From a 14th Century MS. in the British Museum.)*

exchanged. The exact reasons for
sudden change can, perhaps, never be
ctly known. Political motives, no doubt,
ckened Henry's desire for a reconcilia-
n. The dangers which perpetually
naced his wide and divided realm were
bably more threatening than ever; and
ense weariness of the long-drawn-out
rrel not unlikely weighed with the
g also. Henry Plantagenet may have
ne to see that archbishop Becket would
enemies, must have been a striking scene. It was at Fretteville, between Chartres and Tours, that the Plantagenet king and the famous churchman met. As soon as they drew near each other, the king uncovered his head and courteously saluted the prelate. The two old friends then withdrew apart; long and earnest was the conference between them. The attendants, we hear, grew weary. The two, indeed, met as though the old friendship had never been

interrupted. Becket seems to have been very gentle, and the king most conciliatory. The Constitutions of Clarendon were not mentioned: these important decrees were left for a future settlement. Becket dwelt, though, on the late infringement of his rights in the coronation of the boy Henry, and received a promise that the ceremony should be repeated. Before they parted, Becket leaped from his horse and threw himself at the king's feet. Henry would not suffer the homage, but holding the archbishop's stirrup, made him mount his horse again. The reconciliation seemed complete.

Treachery and hatred, though, were in the air. Becket's friends urged him to delay his return to England; they knew his life was in danger. But Becket made light of all warnings. He returned, and was welcomed at Canterbury by a vast procession of clergy, who looked upon him as the champion of their order. Strewing their garments in his way, the devoted crowd chanted, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." But, alas! he came not in peace. Before he landed he sent on letters which he had procured from Rome, excommunicating the king's friends, the bishops of London and Salisbury, and suspending the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York for having joined in the coronation of the boy-king Henry. There was evidently as little as ever to be hoped from the moderation of the restored archbishop.

The two excommunicated prelates at once hurried across the sea to Normandy, and met Henry Plantagenet at his castle near Bayeux, imploring his protection against the common foe. The king held a hurried council with prelates; one of them in his anger reported to have incautiously said Henry, "So long as Thomas lives you neither have good days, nor a peac kingdom, nor a quiet life"; after wh the king fell into one of those paroxysms of fury to which he and all earlier Plantagenet princes were subj This sudden passion is described in Hen son (afterwards king John) as someth beyond anger. "He was so changed his whole body that a man would ha have known him; his forehead was dr up into deep furrows, his flaming glistened, a livid hue took the place colour." Henry in his fury became lik wild beast, and uttered the fatal wo "What cowards have I brought up in court, who care nothing for their allegi to their master! Not one will deliver from this low-born priest!" And these words it is said the king rushed f the chamber of audience.

Among the courtiers who heard Hen fatal words were four knights, whose na will ever live in the memory of me Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Morev Richard le Breton, and William de Tr They stood in close relation to the k filling the offices of gentlemen of the chamber. They lost not a minute, the same evening—it was Sunday, 27th December, 1170—they left Bar Bayeux, and the following day crossed sea and went at once to Saltwood Ca whose beautiful ruins, partially restore our own days, stand near the sea on hill of Hythe. At Saltwood lived a b foe of Becket, one Randolph of B They took council with him, and, acc

ed by a small troop of armed men, ped at once to Canterbury, the home e doomed archbishop. They took up quarters at St. Augustine's abbey, out the walls of Canterbury. The t of St. Augustine's, Clarembald, was rn as a foe of Becket. From St. ustine's they proceeded at once on mission of blood to the archbishop's e, adjoining the cathedral.*

ur days before, on Christmas day, et had preached before high mass in hapter-house, and had alluded to the o-Saxon martyr, Alphege, whose tomb on the north side of the high altar of athedral. It was possible, said Becket his occasion, that Canterbury would have another martyr. At his words congregation wept and groaned, and are said to have murmured audibly, her, why do you desert us so soon?" e is no doubt but that Becket was aware of the danger in which he stood, of the deadly enemies by whom he surrounded; but death evidently was m no thought of terror.

e four knights penetrated without ulty into the presence of the arch-op, who had just dined and had retired private chamber in the palace, where, g on his bed, he was conversing with up of friends. His grim visitors an-nced that they had a message to him the king. Three of them had known well in former years, in the days of his tness, when he was the chief minister e king. Becket at this time was in the vigour of his strength; he was in his fifty-third year, his appearance was striking and majestic, his eyes large and piercing, his figure tall. His robes concealed his thin and probably much emaciated body. On their entrance Becket for a time continued his conversation with his friends; at length, turning towards them, saluted Tracy by name. Fitzurse exclaimed, "God help you!" The archbishop crimsoned at the rudeness. Fitzurse continued, "We have a message from the king. Will you hear it in private?" The monks withdrew, but only for a moment; the thought that their beloved master was in real danger from these rough men-at-arms flashed upon them, and they hurriedly came back.

Then followed an angry colloquy between the archbishop and Fitzurse, who was the spokesman during the fierce war of words which followed. In the end the knights left the room in fierce anger, to seek for their arms, which they had left with their attendants. The archbishop's last words, spoken under strong excitement, rang in their ears: "You threaten me in vain; were all the swords in England hanging over my head, you could not terrify me from my obedience to God and my lord the Pope; foot to foot you shall find me in the battle of the Lord. I marvel that you dare to threaten the archbishop in his own house."

As the knights rushed from the chamber, they cried, "To arms, to arms!" and hastily joined their company of soldiers outside. They threw off their cloaks and appeared in full armour, and at once girt on their swords for the fray. All was now confusion and dismay in the approaches to

*For the detailed circumstance of the martyrdom enerally Dean Milman's "Latin Christianity," v., chap. viii., and Dean Stanley's "Memorials nterbury" (The Murder of Becket).

the palace and the cathedral. Only Becket himself was calm ; he seated himself again on his bed. His faithful friends, however, perceiving the imminence of the danger, besought him at once to take refuge in the sanctuary of the cathedral, believing that his life would at least be safe there. Partly by force, partly by persuasion, they hurried him down to the cloisters leading to the great church, barring as they went the gates of access. Becket, however, insisted on proceeding with some dignity, and with his cross borne before him moved through the solemn cloister walk towards the cathedral ; outside the cloister the din of armed men breaking through the doors was plainly heard.

It was just five o'clock of a winter evening, and the monks were beginning the vesper service, when the archbishop entered. The noise of the armed men forcing their way in terrified the monks who were singing ; the service stopped, and the monks fled in every direction. An attempt was made to close and bar the cathedral doors. The archbishop, however, commanded them to desist. "No one," he said, "should be hindered from entering God's house." Only three of his companions remained by him as he calmly waited. The four knights then burst in ; they had learnt that Becket was in the church. It was very dark, and the vast cathedral was only illuminated here and there by solitary lamps burning before the many altars. The archbishop disdained to fly, and remained with the three faithful friends standing in the north transept, still known by the name of "the Martyrdom." In the dim light the knights could see the little group at the foot of the steps leading from the transept the choir.

They hurried towards them. Fitz ever the speaker, roughly called "Where is Thomas Becket, traitor t king?" and again, "Where is the bishop?" Instantly came the an "Reginald, here ; I am no traitor, bu archbishop and priest of God." Wit white rochet, a cloak and hood th over his shoulders, the tall figure of B suddenly confronted the angry me arms. A few bitter words passed. knights seized the archbishop, and e voured to drag him from the ch Clinging to a pillar, he bitterly reproa Fitzurse. There was a momentary stru and Fitzurse was thrown to the gro The murderers then fell on the archbi One of the three who remained Becket, Edward Grim, a Saxon mon Cambridge, who was staying with hi a visitor for a few days, received a s wound as he tried to ward off the d blows aimed at the dauntless pr When Becket felt himself wounded, wi the blood from his face, he murm "Into thy hands, Lord, I commend spirit." At the third blow he sank o knees, with his face turned towards altar of St. Benedict. Edward Grim, was close by him all the while, in days recalled the words of the dying bishop—"For the name of Jesus and defence of the church I am willing to Without moving hand or foot, he fe his face as he spoke, and with such di that the long cloak which he wore wa disarranged.

While thus lying, probably al losing consciousness, Richard le B

ck a tremendous blow at the arch-
op as he lay on the pavement, and the
or crown of the head was severed
the skull, and the sword snapped in

"Let us go; let us go. The traitor is dead. He will rise no more!" This was the end. Only one of the four knights had struck no blow. Hugh de Moreville

WATCHING THE CORPSE OF BECKET AFTER THE MURDER.

on the marble pavement. Another
lerer—his name has been preserved
igh de Horsea, planted his foot on the
of the corpse, thrust his sword into
ghastly wound, and scattered the
s over the pavement; then exclaimed,

had contented himself with keeping back at the entrance to the transept the crowds who were pouring in through the nave. The murderers at once rushed out of the church through the cloisters.

Two very different stories have been

preserved of their conduct after the dread deed had been accomplished. The story of the monks of Canterbury relates how, with a savage burst of triumph, they burst into the palace, ransacking the archbishop's chamber, opening his coffers, and carrying off many of his private papers and some of his valuables, his gold and silver plate, and beautiful church vestments. Such plundering work, if it took place at all, was most probably the deed of the men-at-arms who accompanied the four conspirators. But Tracy, one of the four, told a very different story long afterwards in a confession made to the bishop of Exeter. When the fell deed was done, he said, their spirits failed them, and they retired at once with trembling steps, expecting the earth to open and swallow them up. Both stories may be accurate. It is probable that Tracy told the truth, and that a sudden revulsion of feeling seized the four guilty knights when the murdered corpse of their victim lay b them, all bloody, in the solemn tw of his great church; and that, appall their awful wickedness, they slunk dismayed and awestruck, while their s soldiers, taking advantage of the confu forced their way into the archbis house and plundered it. It is sca likely that men of the rank of the would care for vulgar plunder o gold and silver the broidered ments.

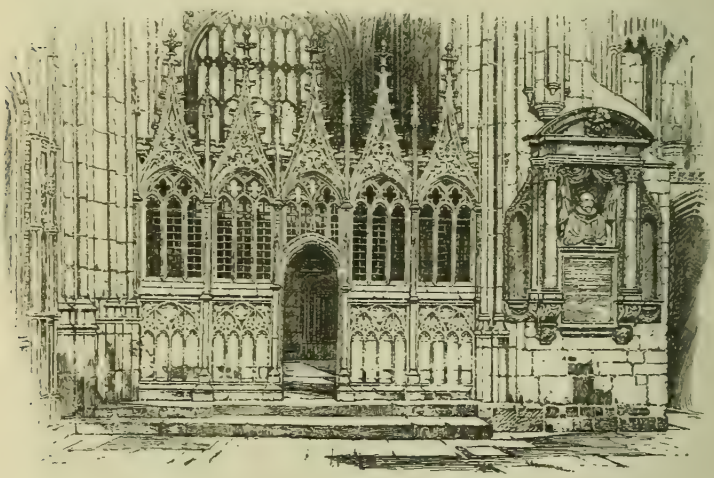


*Photo: Cassell & Co., Ltd.*

PLACE OF BECKET'S MARTYRDOM, CANTERBURY.

The darkened c dral was grad cleared of the p who had rushe singly as curious tators, and for a season all was and the body o murdered archb for a short time deserted on the b stained marble ment of the transe "the Martyrdom." But soon the ter monks crept back. Osbert, the chambe of the archbishop, entering with a light, the corpse still bleeding on the spot w the last savage blow had been dealt sorrowing group followed, and stood r the spot. The poor body was ten lifted, and turned with the face upw Strange to say, no mark of violence figured the well-known features. A seemed to play on the lips, and the were closed as though in sleep. Only faint streak of blood crossed the fa the dead. Carefully covering the ga

M'S BADGE IN THE FORM
A SCALLOP SHELL.
*uildhall Museum.*)

wound in the head, the monks carried the body from the transept to the choir, and there, in front of the high altar, with vessels placed round it to catch the drops of oozing from the gash, weeping, they ied by it through that sad winter .

the slow hours passed on, the ers forgot the many faults, the nate temper, the vengeful, unforgiv- nature of their dead master. The c death of the great priest in his own cathedral had for ever drawn a veil these things; and when one of the ul three who stood by him in the last moments, the aged Robert, canon of n, who had in old days been a tutor cket, lifting up the priestly garments, still clothed the corpse, showed th the rough monk's robe and the oth shirt worn next to the skin, the ng monks fell on their knees, and g the hands and feet of the corpse, d him as Saint Thomas. Nor, in tate of exaltation of the monk- ers, is the first of the many marvels tradition has preserved to us as panying the martyrdom of the arch- , difficult to account for. As the reaks of the grey winter morning through the jewelled windows of the choir, as it was called, of Conrad, the watchers saw the right arm of the dead man slowly raised to the sign of the Cross, as if to bless his faithful followers.

Early in the morning the preciousness of the blood of the sainted Becket occurred to the monks. Every vestige of the blood and brains was carefully collected from the floor of the transept which had been the scene of the bloody deed. "The blood was mixed with water, which, endlessly diluted, was kept in innumerable vials to be distributed to the pilgrims who soon began to flock to the scene of the martyrdom; and, in the same manner as a palm was a sign of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and a scallop shell of the pilgrimage to Compostella, so a leaden vial or bottle with the 'diluted' blood became for ages the mark of a pilgrimage to Canterbury." *

But we anticipate the course of events. There were many fierce enemies still of the murdered man. So it was determined to bury the corpse—at all events for a

LEADEN VIALS IN THE FORM OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, WORN BY PILGRIMS. (*Guildhall Museum.*)

season—in the privacy of the dark and solemn crypt beneath the vast church.

* Dean Stanley: "Memorials of Canterbury."

Tenderly his friends removed the clothing of the dead man. The garments which he wore were many and various. He seems

BADGES WORN BY PILGRIMS TO THE SHRINE OF THOMAS À BECKET, KNOWN AS "CAPITA THOMÆ." (*Guildhall Museum.*)

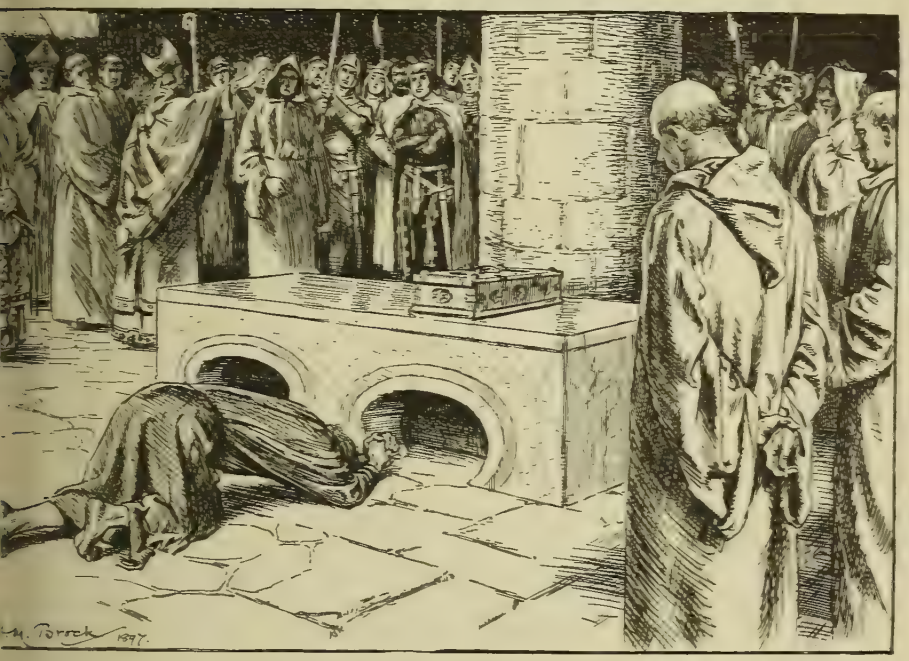
ever to have suffered from chilliness. A large brown cloak with white wool fringes covered all. Below this he wore a surplice over a white fur garment of lambswool; next were two short woollen pelisses, and under this mass of clothing was the black cowled robe of the Benedictines. Next his skin the archbishop wore a haircloth of peculiar roughness; this haircloth,

"CAPITA THOMÆ." (*Guildhall Museum.*)

which encased his whole body, being covered with linen, that no one might suspect the extreme austerity of his habitual practices. The whole wa fitted as to be easily taken off, for Becket seems to have submitted to a scourging. When all the stern aus of this strange man had been disclos the amazed and awe-stricken bystan it was seen that the haircloth, touched the body, all marked wit stripes of a recent scourging, was lit covered with vermin. The monks into tears at the dreadful sight, exclai "See! see what a true monk he wa we knew it not!" Reverently the placed these insignia of what the fa of the times regarded as belonging true saint of God, and over them placed the elaborate and beautiful ments belonging to his archiepis dignity, including altar stole and ma tunic, dalmatic, chasuble, gloves, ring sandals. They laid in his han pastoral staff, and hung over his sho the sacred pall he had received Rome, a new marble sarcophagus stood in the crypt being used fo coffin.

For more than a year in the cath no bell rang, the many crucifixes veiled, the altars were stripped, an services, without chanting, were sa the adjoining chapter-house. The mony of re-consecration of the dese church was eventually performed b bishops of Exeter and Chester. W three years of the martyrdom the hi honours were authorised by the Pop the martyr Becket was henceforth for invoked as a saint by the Catholic ch and the 29th of December was reg set apart as the Feast of St. Thom Canterbury.

ne assassination of Becket was indeed lling. He was, without doubt, in his the most distinguished churchman in stendom, the acknowledged champion e powerful sacerdotal order, the years- implacable adversary of the greatest in Europe; and in the moment



PENANCE OF HENRY II. AT BECKET'S TOMB.

s triumph over his opponent, this us ecclesiastic, a man of the highest of most saintly holiness, was foully ruelly murdered in his own cathedral. horror of the murder ran throughout tendom. For centuries he was the popular saint in England; but far nd England was his memory cherished. r English saints, however great their fame, for the most part have been ely known beyond the seas which girdle our island. No churches on the continent of Europe are called after Cuthbert of Durham, or after Edward, the martyr-king of East Anglia. But there is no country in Europe where traces of the cult of Becket cannot be found. We may instance in very different nationalities where his memory has been honoured: Rome, Verona, Florence, Lisbon, and Palermo. In France memorials are numerous in all parts—in the north at Douai, Lille, and St. Omer; in the south we find them in Lyons. In the gorgeous windows of Chartres are seen the story of his life over the seas. Even in distant Sicily, in the stately church of Monreale, the figure of the great Englishman found a place.

But the centre of all this posthumous

fame was naturally at Canterbury. For three centuries the long succession of pilgrimages placed the cathedral church of Canterbury among the chief resorts of Christendom. Thither wandered to pray and to meditate all sorts and conditions of men of every country of Europe, from the crowned head down to the humblest child of the people, all longing to pour out the desires of their hearts, their sorrows and their joys, or to gain relief from their bodily sufferings, at the shrine of the English martyr; all hoping to gain some relief from sickness or from sorrow through the powerful intercession at the throne of grace of him who on that sad December night in 1170, in his own proud cathedral church of Canterbury, after a noble witness, had fallen asleep.

Quickly the news of the archbishop's murder was carried across the sea to Henry Plantagenet. When the king heard it he shut himself up for three days, refusing all food except milk and almonds, clad himself in sackcloth, and called God to witness that he was in no way responsible for the archbishop's death. Henry was heard again and again to exclaim: "Alas! alas! that it ever happened." So poignant, indeed, was his grief, that his attendants began to fear for his life. Nor is there the least reason to suspect that this bitter sorrow and remorse was in any way feigned. Mingled with dread as to the consequences of the terrible act were, no doubt, many memories of his old and intimate association with the great man who had just been so cruelly done to death at Canterbury.

In Rome the news of the famous churchman's murder was received with horror and burning indignation. Indeed, on the tinent generally the disposition at first to regard Henry Plantagenet as the author of the crime. Excommunic and interdict would have certainly foll had not king Henry, in the most so terms, purged himself of all complici the dread act; had he not expresse deepest grief at what had happened, offered the fullest reparation possib the church for the deed. He unde in person, should the Pope require lead a crusade of expiation to the Land; and what was of more pra importance, he abrogated the Statut Clarendon, the original source of quarrel with the martyred Becket.

As a reward for his genuine peni and practical acts of reparation an piation, the king of England event was formally reconciled to the chur Avranches cathedral, by legates of highest rank specially commissione the purpose by the holy see. But king was not yet done with the re of this terrible Canterbury murder. a little more than three years after bloody deed, Henry Plantagenet, as humblest of penitents, knelt at his friend's tomb. The fame of Becket now in all the lands of Christendom, pilgrims from far and near had b already to visit the place of his sepu and the scene of his martyrdom, and to ask for his prayers. But a dark sh had fallen upon the king of Engl fortunes. Disaster and calamity threat him, and, worse than all, home tro poisoned his whole life. His wife wa enemy, and the sons whom he love well were in open rebellion. Men bel

l probably the king himself partly d in the popular belief—that a curse l on him for his bitter persecution, : for the actual murder of the saint e holy body lay in the dark crypt at erbury. He would win his pardon great public act of reparation and tion at his old friend's tomb, and emove the curse which lay heavy his royal house.

the king determined upon the gest pilgrimage which perhaps history ls. It was in the month of July of ear 1174 that the great Plantagenet to Canterbury. As soon as he came ght of the cathedral towers the king, ounting from his horse, with bare and ing feet walked along the rough and road to the great church where et rested. He threw himself in an of prayer before the saint's tomb, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, the archbishop's determined enemy, hed to the wondering crowd, and s passionate sermon explaining the es of the royal pilgrim, assured the ers that Henry on his solemn oath guiltless of the murder; but as his words had been the cause of the crime, he desired to submit himself e penance of the church. Then pro- d that savage act of punishment tarily submitted to by the most rful sovereign in Europe. As Henry before Becket's tomb, each of the s, then eighty in number, with a n his hand thrice struck the naked ders of the king. At last, when the punishment was over, Henry Plan- et resumed his robes, and tarried ight with bare feet, fasting and praying, in the cold crypt by Becket's tomb.

This deep humiliation of the mighty king at the tomb of Becket, ranks in history with the great submissions of the Christian world; with the humiliation of the emperor Theodosius before Ambrose, and of the emperor Henry IV. at the feet of Pope Gregory VII. at Canossa. The result was naturally a grave attack of illness; but while the king lay sick, came to him the news of the triumph of his army, and the captivity of his enemy the rebel king of the Scots. This was assumed to signify that the great sin was blotted out, and that the outraged and murdered saint had forgiven his old friend and master.

Becket was murdered in the year 1170. In the reaction which followed the great tragedy, we have noticed that king Henry had renounced the Constitutions of Clarendon. But six years later, in the assize of Northampton (1176), with the consent, singularly enough, of the Papal legate (the constant presence of a great Roman official in England, unchallenged and indeed apparently welcomed, marks the gradual but enormous strides which Rome was taking towards universal supremacy), the judicial legislation of the assize of Clarendon was perfected. "Thinking more of the king than of his chief, the legate admitted king Henry's right to bring the clergy before secular courts for various crimes," and religious churchmen looked on with helpless irritation at the king's first formal victory over the principles of Thomas. "In the view of his own day he had renewed the assize of Clarendon, and ordered to be

observed the execrable decrees for which the blessed martyr Thomas had borne exile for seven years, and had been crowned with the crown of martyrdom." * And thus the wise legislation of Henry II. succeeded in the end in effecting those salutary changes in ecclesiastical procedure and custom, which in the first half of his reign had been so resolutely, and for a time so successfully, opposed. His later laws prevented the church from interfering in secular matters, save in the case of marriages and wills.

An impartial historian, however, cannot charge Henry with ill-will to the church. He never desired to quarrel with the ecclesiastical authority, or to deprive the priesthood in England of its deservedly powerful influence. He was too great and too far-seeing a sovereign to wish to lessen the real and legitimate power of the clergy, which he knew to be the best safeguard against general lawlessness, and the high-handed and often cruel misrule of the great barons. He was also fully conscious of the general and efficient support they had given him in the many and dangerous attempts which had been made to subvert his rule. To the last he looked on the clergy as his best advisers and supporters, and for his part he steadily preserved them from unjust burdens and public exactions. In the king's private life, evil and reprehensible though it often was, many and frequent were his acts of devotion; fitful it is true, but still by their conspicuous nature demonstrating his respect for the church and its ordinances.

The chief complaints of the clergy against the great Plantagenet were caused by their preference of the immuniti their class to the common safeguar justice. But here the verdict of poste including the unanimous voice of minded churchmen, will unhesitatingl given on the side of Henry. Still, it never be said that Becket died in the spectacle of such a death crownin life of struggle, noble if mistaken, in a perhaps no other recorded death mortal had ever done, went home t hearts of an entire people, and in an extraordinary degree the p estimation of the order to which B belonged, and for which Becket had Nor was this new and loftier estima the ecclesiastical order, which could duce so popular a hero, confined to generation which witnessed the ma dom. The tradition was handed on father to son, and a long period in story of England had to run out befor memory of the death of Becket can be to have been effaced from the hear the English people.

The reign of Henry Plantagenet ma a great revival of literature in Englan revival in which, as usual, the Churc England bore the chief part. The trou and confusion which followed the Nor Conquest were, of course, fatal for a to any serious cultivation of learning. when Henry II. became undisputed a century had well-nigh elapsed the day of Hastings; the troubles heart-burnings of the first days of Norman occupation were partly at forgotten, and things had become qui under his strong and wise rule.

The church and churchmen, natur

* Mrs. J. R. Green: "Henry II."

k the lead in the work, under the ronage and direct protection of the g. Henry II. had been himself well ful patron; and through his long reign his residence was a centre and a resort for scholars and writers. But the more solid

-COVER OF THE LIBER HUGONIS EPISCOPI, A MAGNIFICENT BIBLE GIVEN BY BISHOP HUGH PUDSEY, NEPHEW OF KING STEPHEN, TO THE MONASTERY AT DURHAM, NOW IN THE LIBRARY OF THE CATHEDRAL (12TH CENTURY).

ght in his youth, and, as far as his busy permitted, cultivated letters, and de- ted in the society of scholars and men erudition. His court was ever open uch men, who, finding there a ready come, naturally flocked to such a power- work in literature was done in the great cathedral schools, and in the scriptoria, or writing cells and rooms of the more important monasteries. Among the cathedrals whose schools were prominent were Canterbury, York, and Lincoln, while in

this reign, to use the words of one of its greatest historical scholars, "we see a great development of university life, if not the very origin of university life itself, at Oxford." Before the death of Henry II. there was certainly a university at Oxford, with doctors and masters and even public lectures.

Speaking of this reign, the historian who has made this period peculiarly his own, says: "Nothing is more curious than the lively historic activity going on in the monasteries. MSS. are copied, luxurious editions are re-copied and illuminated; there is no lack of generosity in lending, or of boldness in borrowing; there is a brisk competition and liberal, open rivalry. St. Albans is especially rich in the collected materials that lie at the foundation of her great code of Chronicles. At Peterborough, abbot Benedict is equally busy, directing transcriptions, and compiling or editing his own recollections of St. Thomas (Becket); but every little monastery has its record. Crowland is thinking of hiring Peter of Blois, to fabricate for her an apocryphal chronicle; at Ramsey there is an invaluable chronicle kept, going back into the old Egbert times, and there is the same at Ely, conducted by a succession of learned and patriotic monks. Coming to Lincoln, there is Walter Map, with his poems and stories about the courtiers, acting as archdeacon or precentor; the wise St. Hugh himself, the bishop, has stories to tell at the high table in the hall, and admiring disciples anxious to gather up every word that falls from his lips. Roger of Hoveden, rector of Howden in Yorkshire, is quite Herodotean, both in the faithfulness of his personal relations, and in the wish to incorporate in his chronicle all that he gather touching the geography and hist of strange lands. . . . If the vis can be prevailed on to go so far north Hexham, he may even reach Melrose, there watch the process of annal mak and come home by Durham. There will find a magnificent court under bis Hugh, the great prince-prelate of period, and in his train poets, preach and writers of histories, who are one a another continuing the work which been begun by Bede, and continued a long breaks by Simeon and the Hexl writers. And so, after having comple traversed the literary world (of Henry he may come south, through either eastern or the western counties, sure find at every monastery or cathedral may visit some one employed in keep up the record of public as well as of l history, or otherwise attempting to k alive the fire of literary zeal." *

Latin, the language of learning and public worship, seems to have been favourite tongue among these schol and often accomplished monks and cler but a demand was springing up in Engl in the last half of the twelfth century f *popular* literature, which could be und stood by the unlearned baron or citi Virgil, Statius, and Ovid were transl into Norman-French. Wace, the cano Bayeux, one of the favourite scholars of k Henry's court, dedicated to Henry's qu Eleanor his translation of the history Geoffrey of Monmouth, which was on the sources of the first English import poem, Layamon's "Brut." Somew

* Bishop Stubbs: "Oxford Lectures," vii. Court of Henry II.

r, the same ecclesiastic, Wace, in
ıour of Henry, told in Norman-French
famous "Roman de Rou," the story of
Plantagenet's Norman ancestors. Other
man-French poems were written, such
on the life of the martyred Thomas
ket; and thus an Anglo-Norman litera-
e of song and of theology grew up in
England in the days when Henry II.
king.

ut as yet *English*, the speech of the
mon folk, still lived on as a tongue
rt, far removed from courtiers and men
etters; a vernacular literature was still
ing of the future. There were English
gs in those days sung by homely min-
ls in fair and market-place; but these,
! are lost irrevocably—they have left
echo behind them. The antiquary and
historian searches for these national
, but searches in vain.

he story of the remaining years of
ry II., with its brilliant successes, its
er disappointments, its ceaseless wars
intrigues, interesting though it be, is
side our work. The unbridled passions,
wild excesses, the evil private example
he great king, received their punish-
nt on earth. Nowhere in the whole
rse of history was the truth of those
mn words, *the wages of sin is death*,
e piteously exemplified than in the last
s of this man, one of the greatest of our
glish kings. The far-seeing and bene-
nt legislator for church and state, the
trious soldier, the wise administrator,
whose heart was not right before God,
ed his brilliant career in clouds and
k darkness. The end came with
tling suddenness in the year 1189.

Henry was preparing for a Crusade on a grand scale. In the eyes of the world, at this period, the Plantagenet was the most renowned of the kings of the earth. For forty years, on the whole, his reign had been one long triumph. He was at peace with the church, and no open enemy seriously menaced his broad, far-reaching dominions. But the eyes of the world were deceived. The king at this juncture stood solitary and friendless. His wife was away, guarded as a prisoner. Two of his well-loved sons, for whom he had sacrificed much, had died traitors to their father. A third son, Richard, afterwards known as Cœur-de-Lion, was in open rebellion against his authority. One child, John, remained with him, his best-beloved; and he too, though Henry knew it not, was a traitor also.

The king was only fifty-six, but forty years of ceaseless cares and anxieties had prematurely aged him, and completely sapped his great strength. A number of vexations at this juncture contributed to harass him. Philip Augustus of France, who had succeeded his life-long foe Louis VII., and his rebel son Richard, took up arms against him. The king's own forces with him at that moment in Anjou, were quite insufficient to cope with his enemies. Hastily he sent to England for reinforcements, but they were too late. Henry, excited, and in considerable personal danger from his enemies pressing round him, fell sick of a fever. He wished for peace; but the French king's terms were heavy and exacting. We catch sight of the sick man, with clouded brain, suffering and weak, hastily concluding a peace ignominious in the highest degree to so great and

powerful a sovereign—a peace he would never have dreamed of agreeing to in the days of his health and strength; and we hear the sick monarch's fierce whisper to his faithless son Richard, who, with the French king, met Henry to settle the terms of this unhappy peace: "May God not let me die till I have avenged myself on thee."

They carried Henry Plantagenet in a litter to the castle of Chinon. There he grew rapidly worse. While tortured with suffering and weak with the burning fever, the list of those who had been concerned in the late disastrous intrigues was brought him. In the fatal catalogue of names he read the name of his best beloved son, prince John. This was the last blow; from it he never rallied. "John!" he was heard to say, "my very heart has forsaken me!" And then he became delirious. In the intervals of his wild ravings, the men who stood by the bed of the dying king heard him cursing the day on which he was born; and at intervals invoking Heaven's vengeance on his fa less sons. Only one of these stood by h lovingly to the end—the illegitim Geoffrey, and he soothed as best he co the dying hours of the great Plantage It was a sad close to a reign of alm unparalleled glory and success, the fam which had filled the world for so m years, all to end "in the cruel desert the baffled rage, the futile curses of chained leopard in the castle of Chin The lawful sons—the offspring, the victi and the avengers of a heartless policy— loveless children of a loveless mother, left the last duties of an affection they not feel, to the hands of a bastard, child of an early, obscure, misplac degrading, but not a mercenary love.*

He was laid with all reverence in abbey of Fontevraud, where the origi effigy of the great Plantagenet, though tomb has been destroyed and the ef

*Photo: Daveau, Rouen.*

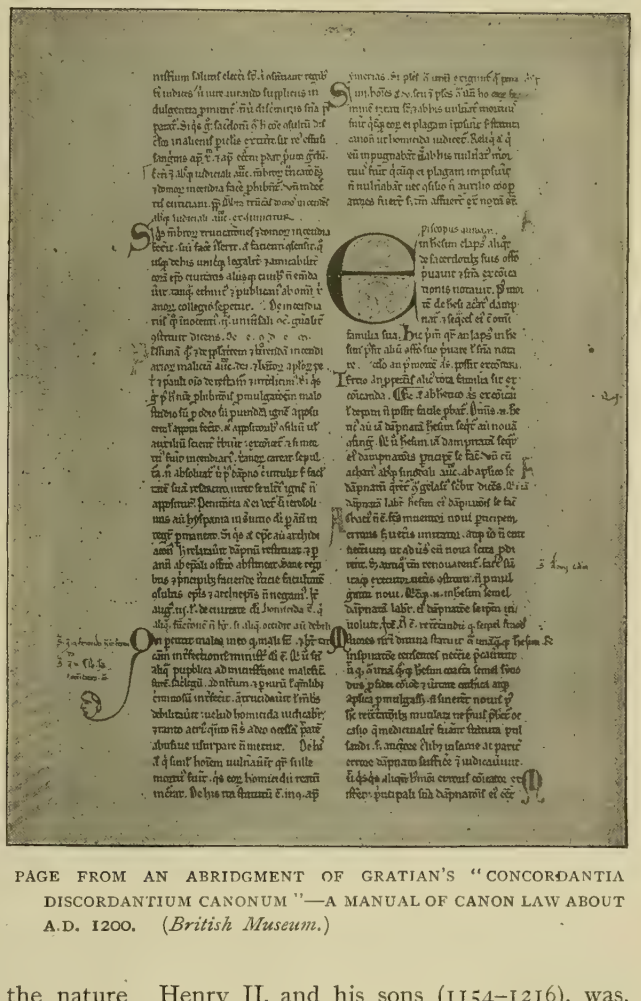
TOMB OF HENRY II. AND QUEEN ELEANOR AT FONTEVRAUD.

* Bishop Stubbs: Preface to "Chronicle Benedict of Peterborough."

mewhat defaced, still remains. The face Henry is clean-shaven. The body is sted in two tunics and crimson dalmatic, th a mantle of chocolate colour. The t are encased in rich bus- ns of green, with spurs of ld. The original crown broken, but the right nd still grasps the sceptre his many realms.

England will ever recog- e him, with all his faults d sins, as one of her great islators; as one of the emost on the splendid l of the makers of her eatness. It was thanks his foresight and perse- rance, that the Church England never passed der the rule of Roman non law. From the elfth century to the esent day, the ground- rk of our law in church d state has been English, Roman. The legislative rk of Henry II. in church d state has been enduring.

Several references have en made in the course the above narrative to s "canon law" and oman law." Without empting anything even of the nature a formal sketch of the history of canon , a few notes on this difficult and truse subject may be serviceable to student of English church history, o must constantly come upon mentions of the law and the customs which have guided the clergy in their dealings with their own order, as well as with the laity. Canon law, as it existed in the reign of



PAGE FROM AN ABRIDGMENT OF GRATIAN'S "CONCORDANTIA DISCORDANTIUM CANONUM"—A MANUAL OF CANON LAW ABOUT A.D. 1200. (*British Museum.*)

Henry II. and his sons (1154–1216), was, roughly speaking, based upon—

1. A compilation of penitentials.
2. A collection of canons of councils.
3. The great body of Roman civil law of the emperor Justinian.

Of these, the *Penitentials* were private compilations of scholars and divines of different ages, the authority of which depended on the estimation or dignity of their authors; but these compilations were of the highest importance. They were "rules of penance," specifying usually special sins and their penances; and they may be said generally to incorporate the rules on which early episcopal jurisdiction proceeded. The *canons of councils* were the authorised church law. Of these, there was a series of important collections; and as councils were continually held, this collection gradually increased. The great body of *Roman civil law* had been arranged by the emperor Justinian in the sixth century—of course, largely based on the ancient laws and customs of the Roman empire. These three bases of canon law overlapped each other everywhere, and contained much common matter.

In the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, first compiled a collection of "Canons," which became the germ and model of all later collections. Nearly at the same time John the Faster made a compilation of "Penitentials" in the Eastern Church; and in the West, under the Irish and Celtic missionaries, a similar compilation of "Penitentials" began. Passing on to the el venth century—the great era when the reformation of the Papacy and the great revival of monasticism took place—Burchard of Worms got together and arranged systematically all the materials he could find, borrowing authoritative determinations from the "Penitentials," the "Canons of Councils," "Articles of the Roman Civil Law," as known to him by the Theodosian (Roman) code, and certain of the "Capitularie the Emperors," bearing on church cipline and customs. A century later of Chartres, a contemporary of Henr produced the "Pannormia," a similar lection improved on that of Burchard the use of the digest and code of Justin

Bologna and Pavia were the great sch where all this elaborate system of ca law was studied—a system which was becoming more complicated, as the cumulation of materials was always g on; and to these Italian universities ceeded from different countries t ecclesiastics who desired to become ficients in this great and important st It will thus be seen that a *Roman* col ing was spread over all this great sys of ecclesiastical or church law, and naturally men would come to look Rome, its bishop and his courts, as central and supreme court of ap Largely based as was the whole systen Roman law, it carried the Roman cedure as a part of church administrati

In England, before the Norman quest, a different system from that ado on the continent of Europe preva There are very few traces under the An Saxon kings of Roman and foreign fluences. Kings such as Alfred, Egl Ethelred, and Canute, with the advice close co-operation of the bishops of realm, made ecclesiastical laws, w clothed the spiritual enactments with ercive authority. "Penitentials," such the famous one put out by archbis Theodore, were no doubt largely use the administration of justice in the An Saxon courts. But these courts, w dealt with all offences touching the cl

ept those of a purely spiritual character, e the ordinary gemots or assemblies the hundred or the shire; there the ops and their assessors, archdeacons deans, sat with the sheriffs and other lic officers of high rank.

After the Norman Conquest, as we have n, king William separated the church cature from its association with the ular judicature, substituting for Anglo-on bishops foreign prelates learned in Roman procedure. This was the first , and a very important one, towards attempted introduction into England of liæval canon law. Time went on; e eighty years after the Norman Con-st, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, first patron of Becket (1139 to 1161), le another important advance in the e direction. It was Theobald who ught from Lombardy, and settled at ord as a teacher, Vacarius, a famous ned canonist, and encouraged a stream oung archdeacons to leave England for ason for the purpose of studying in the an canon-law schools of Pavia and ogna, with a view to their equipment their judicial duties in the English esiastical courts.

hen may be said to have begun that t increase of *appeals to Rome*, which ously disturbed the English advisers of ry II.; then, too, the new doctrines claims to ecclesiastical independence anon lawyers became more and more urbing to the old and intimate English tions between church and state. In ing out the "Constitutions of Claren-," which so largely limited the powers cclesiastical lawyers in criminal matters in all points touching secular interests, Henry Plantagenet had with him, it is plain, the heart of England, and that not only of the lay folk. In the deadly quarrel with Becket, it is clear that many of the leading ecclesiastics were on Henry's side, and never gave but a half-hearted support to Becket's views. These men were English and patriots first, and misliked the growing subjection to Rome.

Thus it came to pass that after Becket's death, partly in the "Northampton assize" in 1176, partly in Constitutions of which we do not possess any record, Henry Plantagenet succeeded in restraining the ecclesiastical judicature from interfering in secular matters, except in the two points of matrimony and of testamentary business. As we shall further see, from the days of Henry II. onward the opposition to any introduction of Roman canon law remained deeply rooted in our country, while dislike, and even hatred of foreign interference served as a partial bulwark against the ever-advancing pretensions of Rome. The dislike grew as the Middle Ages advanced, and in the end was perhaps the most powerful agent in bringing about the Reformation under Henry VIII.

On the continent of Europe, the material out of which Roman canon law was composed, since the days of Henry II. and his sons was largely increased by the accretion of authoritative sentences of successive Popes of Rome. The well-known "Extravagants" are made up of these authoritative Papal sentences which were not yet codified.*

* See generally, Bishop Stubbs' Oxford Lectures on "Mediæval and Modern History" XIII. and XIV., and Stubbs' "Select Charters" Part IV. (Henry II.); on which the above little study is largely based.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### THE RENAISSANCE OF MONASTICISM.

Degradation of the Church in the Tenth Century—Monastic Revival at Cluny—Its Influence on Popes—Camaldoli and Vallombrosa—Foundation of the Carthusian Order—Various L Orders—The great Cistercian Order—Its Characteristics—Introduction into England—Bernar Clairvaux—Intimate Connection with the Knight Templars—Doctrinal Teaching of St. Berna His Hymns still Sung in the Churches—His Personality—Growth of the Cistercian Orde England—Vast Increase of Monasteries Generally—Their great Influence as Teachers of La and Promoters of Trade—Classified Summary of the Religious Orders of the Thirteenth Centu

DURING the later years of the Conqueror, the reigns of Rufus and Beauclerc, and the long anarchy of Stephen, and also during the more settled but still disturbed period of Henry II., a troubled and anxious period, stretching over about a hundred years, much of the inner life of the Church of England, and much of its influence among the people, must be sought for in *the religious houses*. Of these, an enormous number were founded in this period, mostly belonging to the Benedictine and Cistercian orders. It will be well first, however, to give a very brief sketch of the sudden and vast increase of these houses on the Continent, whence it was that they spread over England with such extraordinary rapidity, largely influencing all the religious work of the Church of England for several centuries.

Nothing in the history of Christianity is perhaps so remarkable as the "renaissance" of religious life in the middle of the eleventh century. From various causes, some of which we have dwelt upon in the foregoing chapters, on the continent of Europe all true and noble religious life, save in a few rare centres, was well-nigh extinguished during the tenth cent The story of the two hundred years wl followed the death of Charlemagne the saddest portion of all the an of the Christian era. The Saracens the southern districts of Europe, Northmen in the northern, western, even central countries, the Hungarian the east, had desolated the fairest por of the western world; and as the terr invasion gradually came to an end, these savage invaders subsided by s degrees into stationary life, it see as though Europe was passing b into barbarism. Even population alarmingly diminished. Michelet's w descriptive of his own country were true of other lands: "Herds of seemed to have taken possession France." "In that dreary age," w another historian, "no one thought common defence or wide organisat The strong built castles; the weak bec their bondsmen, or took shelter under cowl."*

As the second of these two a centuries drew to an end, and the terr pagan invasion gradually ceased,

* Bryce: "The Holy Roman Empire."

stian church on the continent of ›pe seemed powerless to effect any practical influence. The sad picture of the most prominent of the Christian

*Photo: Braun, Paris.*

ST. BRUNO CONFERRING THE CARTHUSIAN HABIT.

(*From the picture by Eustache Le Sueur in the Louvre.*)

nation of morals. The example it tself setting, prevented it effectually exercising any really beneficial or churches, the one which claimed a pre-eminence and asserted its right to direct—Rome—has been already painted; but no

picture can adequately represent the awful degradation of Rome in the centuries which followed Charlemagne's death. And the example of Rome was too faithfully followed in other great centres of western Christendom. Very many of the monasteries were degraded: they were houses of sloth, and too often of drunkenness and profligacy. The great churches utterly failed in their duties, either as instructors, monitors, or comforters. What, indeed, could be expected from the lesser and poorer houses of prayer, when important bishoprics were bestowed by such men as Hugh of Provence, famous for his crimes, upon bastard sons; when worldly barons conferred abbeys and bishoprics on their infant children? For instance, a child only five years old was made archbishop of the once great see of Rheims. We read of another boy of ten for whom the bishopric of Narbonne was purchased. Churches and their lands were bequeathed to daughters as their dowries. Simony in its most degraded form was a general curse in western Christendom. The foul disorder was general when Hildebrand, afterwards the great Pope Gregory VII., was made director of the illustrious monastery of St. Paul at Rome. He found cattle stabled in the noble basilica over which he was placed, and the monks of the house were waited on in the refectory by abandoned women!

In the eleventh century, however, a great and startling reformation in the church set in, and very soon its blessed influence was felt in the disorganised and wretched society of that most unhappy age. As early as the year 909 the general corruption in the church and society was deplored in the council of Trosley. the first real sign of longing aft better and a nobler life appeared ir monastic life, so sadly desecrated. subsequently world-famed monaster Cluny, of which some account has al been given, will ever possess this tit honour in the church, that it was w its walls that apparently the first ge efforts after a reformation were r and that to it largely belongs the h of having trained and inspired the Popes who rescued the bishopric of I from its long and fatal degeneration.

Through the tenth century, amid its corruptions and degradations, example set by Cluny slowly mad way, and early in the following ce (the eleventh) an extraordinary zea true monasticism sprang up in va countries on the continent of Europe. Italy, a nobleman named Romuald i year 1018 founded the society of Cam in the Apennines, with a rule of severity. In 1039 Gualbert, a noble Fl tine, established a new order, with a sy of great rigour, at Vallombrosa. marked reform was also carried out i century in the numerous Bened houses; while the regeneration o Papacy, under a succession of saintly vigorous Popes, after the year 1048 a general impetus to this extraord movement throughout the church.

Several new societies, which in coming years played a prominent pa the Christianity of the west, came being in the latter years of this eleventh and in the earlier years o twelfth century. The earliest of received the Papal sanction in 1074

as founded by Stephen, son of a count t Thiers, in Auvergne; it derived its ame from "Grammont" (*grandis mons—rande Montagne*), near Limoges, whither ne brethren removed directly after the ounder's death. The terrible austerity of ne *Grandimontan* monks prevented it, owever, from obtaining a wide popularity.

The year 1084 witnessed the establishent of the Grande Chartreuse, near Grenble—an order which, under the name of *Carthusian*, obtained a world-wide celebrity, nd played eventually no small part in the onastic life in England. In the drama the Reformation in England in the sixenth century, the stern resistance of the arthusians to the harsh measures of Henry III. was one of the notable features of at age of indiscriminate destruction. The arthusian, with the stern, austere life by hich he witnessed against the corruption the eleventh century, is with us still. he founder of this famous community as Bruno of Cologne, master of the thedral school of Rheims, and one of e most illustrious of the great saints who nder God restored the waning influence Christianity in the last years of the eventh century.

The order of *Fontevraud*, named after e mother-house in the diocese of Poitiers, tes from 1106. It included in its rigid le both sexes. Singularly enough, by e arrangement of its founder Robert, nous for his preaching, the superinndence of the whole community was trusted to a female superior; the precent he alleged for this strange regulation s the charge of the Saviour on the Cross, nen he commended St. John to the care the blessed Virgin as His mother. The order increased rapidly, and it soon numbered, besides its monks, as many as four to five thousand nuns. It possessed houses in Spain and England as well as in France.

The *Præmonstratensians*, who derived their name from the mother-house of Prémontré in the diocese of Laon, were founded in 1119. The rigid life of the monk in this order was combined with the practical work of the priest. This community spread widely in many countries, and even possessed houses in Syria and Palestine during the period of the Crusades. They long preserved the severity of their rule, and eventually became a very wealthy order.

In this necessarily short sketch of the new orders which came into existence in the course of the great and sudden revival of religious life in Europe, we have deferred to the last, mention of that famous order which spread so rapidly and so widely in our own country—the *Cistercian*. Its genesis was as follows. In the last years of the eleventh century, when Rufus was king in England and Anselm was in exile, two brothers of the noble house of Molesme in the diocese of Langres, on their way to a tournament, were both tormented with the same evil suggestion: "What if I should murder my brother, and so secure the whole of our inheritance?" The fratricidal thought occupied their minds for some time. The brothers eventually told each other of what was in their hearts, and mutually resolved to abandon a world which abounded in such appalling suggestions; and then they founded together the religious house of Molesme, which soon acquired a reputation for sanctity and extreme severity of life and practice.

Thither in search of a haven of peace came Harding, an Englishman, trained in the monastery of Sherborne in Dorset. He assumed as a monk the name of Stephen.

In 1098 Stephen Harding and a few of the monks of Molesme left their monastery, and in the desolate and unattractive solitude of Citeaux (whence the name Cistercian), near Chalons, some twelve miles from the Burgundian capital of Dijon, founded a new house. Of this plain and undistinguished community Stephen Harding the Englishman became the third abbot in 1109. This Stephen put out a code, entitled the "Charter of Love," formally sanctioned by Pope Calixtus, to be observed by the brethren of Citeaux, who were already attracting the attention of the religious world. The next two or three years saw the foundation of several daughter houses by monks sent out from Citeaux.

There was something strangely attractive to religious minds in the charter or rule of Stephen Harding, the real founder of the great order of Citeaux, whose monks were known as Cistercians. They were to be Benedictines; but nobler, more spiritual, more austere Benedictines. Their dress was to be white, not black. This white habit was shown to them in a vision by the blessed Virgin Mary, who had constituted herself the special patroness of their order. This belief in the special protection of Mary not a little contributed to their marvellous popularity. Every monastery and Cistercian church was to be dedicated to her. Cities were to be avoided; desolate, lonely sites were alone to be chosen by the new brotherhood. Different from the monks of Cluny and old Benedictine houses, the Cisterci were to aim at extreme simplicity of rit By them architecture was to be regarded, as well as the kindred arts painting, sculpture, and music; the v vestments used in their most solemn vices were to be plain and unadorn without gold and delicate embroide This Cistercian spirit, which aimed perfect simplicity in their buildings, which deprecated all special ornamentati is well exemplified in a letter of th greatest and most famous abbot, Bernard of Clairvaux, who writes in following terms to William of St. Thie "What do you imagine is sought by th things? The contrition of the penitent the wonder of beholders? O, vanity vanities, and not more vain than foolis The church glistens on all its walls, the poor are not there. It clothes stones with gold, but leaves the childr to nakedness. At the expense of needy it feasts the eyes of the rich. T curious find what pleases them, but wretched find nothing to give th succour."

Very early in the history of the famo order the Cistercian made his appearan in England. The first settlement was Waverly in Surrey. Among the m celebrated of the early-founded houses Tintern, on the Wye, and Neath, e further west. In the north and midlan however, the new order was most popu and the exquisite ruins of Fountains Rievaulx are still with us, to remind us the coming of the disciples of Steph Harding to raise and influence the spirit life of England in the twelfth century.

"A new feature was thus added to the ligious life of England. The older Bene-ctine houses had either been planted in ies [as in the case of the great Bene-

THE VISION OF ST. BERNARD.
(*From the picture by Fra Filippo Lippi in the National Gallery.*)

ctine abbey of Gloucester], or else a town d grown up around the monastic pre-ncts [as we see at Evesham or Bury Edmunds]. The Cistercians of set rpose lived in the wilderness, and for e most part pitched their dwellings in itary spots of striking beauty [such as Tintern or Fountains]. Only a few of their many houses rose to any great wealth or to historic fame. But it is the Cistercian houses whose names live on the lips of men. The ruined abbey is more often a house of the Cistercian order than of any other. The Benedictine houses have commonly (as in the case of Evesham) either been wholly swept away, or else left in a more or less perfect state as cathedrals or parochial churches. The Cistercian

church, plain and stern in its architecture, often more beautiful in its decay than it could ever have been in its day of perfection, remains as a far more living witness of a state of things which has passed away, than those buildings which still survive to be applied to the uses of our own times." *

But what gave the Cistercian order its great impulse, and perhaps more than any cause was the occasion of its rapid growth and marvellous popularity, was its possession of Bernard of Clairvaux, without doubt the greatest monk in that age of monastic power and influence. Bernard was a youth of high birth, beautiful person, winning manners, irresistible influence over the hearts of all with whom he came in contact. While still in the flower of his youth, he resolved, like so many other distinguished men of that twelfth century, to devote himself to religion. He inquired for the most austere and spiritual of the many monasteries which in that age were competing for the crown of life, and chose Citeaux. With him thirty world-weary men, some of them distinguished, became professed monks of the Burgundian house, the name of which was so soon to ring through Europe. Partly from its growing fame for sanctity, partly from the presence of Bernard, the resistless magic of whose eloquence attracted crowds of votaries, Citeaux soon became too small to contain its monks, and colonies or daughter houses were quickly sent forth. One of these colonies, which chose the secluded Champagne valley of Clairvaux (Clara vallis) as the site of a new Citeaux, was headed by Bernard, who became the abbot of the new hous For nearly forty years he remained co nected with this society, from which h derived the name by which he will be ev remembered in the annals of monasticis —Bernard of Clairvaux.

Never would he accept further eccl siastical dignity. Bishoprics of influenti sees were continually offered him, but i variably declined. Langres, Chalons-su Marne, Genoa, Pisa, desired him in va for bishop; Milan, the most important s in Italy after Rome; Rheims, the first the French sees, were offered to him; b the abbot of Clairvaux was inflexible in h refusal to accept any ecclesiastical prefe ment. Not only was he acknowledged be the foremost preacher of his age, but h was the most influential as an adviser a counsellor of all sorts and conditions men, from the most powerful prince the humblest of mankind. His wonderi followers, we are told, "saw miracles in his acts, and prophecies in his words. H was at once the joy and the honour a glory of the whole Catholic Church," sa in a later age the great Baronius, "t Church's leading and governing head, a all the while the humility of his hea surpassed the majesty of his fame."

During these forty years of ceasele work he was a constant sufferer from i health, his early austerities having utter sapped his strength. His usual meal was bit of bread moistened with warm wate He had almost entirely lost the power distinguishing the taste and flavour food and drink, and relished nothing b water, which cooled his throat. The ve thought of food for that frail, dying bo was commonly repulsive to him. B

* Freeman: "The Norman Conquest," chap. lxiii.

h all his bodily sufferings he never ixed his self-denying labours; and with ancing years and ever-growing weak- s his reputation among men increased, lid the reverential love by which he was stantly surrounded. His generation ked on him as inspired. No wonder, h Bernard as abbot of Clairvaux, that eaux and Clairvaux kept sending out ir colonies; and before the singular blessed career of the great monk closed (1153), the Cistercian order he ed so well had spread over France and y, Spain and Germany, and our own gland.

*Le Temple, comme tous les ordres itaires dérivait de Citeaux,*" writes the ous French historian, Michelet. Not ng the least of the works of the great er of Cistercians, was their powerful port of, and close alliance with, the ght Templars. It was Bernard of rvaux who played the part of cham- n of the famous order, who first lifted it of weakness and obscurity and gave it mighty impulse out of which, in that and in the following, came its astonish- development and mighty influence, n on the Continent of Europe and in own country.

ernard had a peculiar sympathy for ers of chivalry, for the ideal knight of Crusades; such as was the Templar in earlier years of his wonderful career. Templars were his special protégés. ey were warrior-monks. As monks, y belonged to the order of St. Augus- ; as warriors, their peculiar work on h was "to fence with lances the path to places which the Saviour had trodden, that the feeblest might in safety walk therein." The solemn vow of their order bound them never to fly, if singly attacked, before three infidels; to observe perpetual chastity; to assist in every way religious persons, and especially the Cistercians, as their brothers and their friends. For not a few years they kept their oath. Bernard's vast influence contributed largely to lift this famous order to the splendid supremacy of a century and three-quarters.

We have spoken of the great Cistercian monk as the first preacher of that age of an undreamed-of revival of religion; but Bernard was something more than a preacher—he was a great theologian. Two important points in his teaching are specially dwelt upon by his latest eloquent biographer. They will help us to grasp something of the teaching in vogue "in the mother houses" of the great Cistercian order—an order which played a great part in England in the twelfth and following centuries—concerning certain grave questions of theology, which gradually obtained a strange prominence in the history of the Church of England.

In the matter of the Holy Eucharist, differing from archbishop Lanfranc, Bernard of Clairvaux evidently considered that spiritually—not corporeally—the Lord was received in the Eucharist, and that only he who partakes of the wafer with responsive faith and love in the heart, has the essence of the Sacrament. "It was not a presence to be bruised by the teeth, or to operate any magical transformation, but a presence to be apprehended by the heart. . . . One can hardly conceive of any questions more

utterly remote from the whole sphere of Bernard of Clairvaux's thoughts about the Sacrament of the Supper than the questions which engaged and perplexed many minds after the doctrine of Transubstantiation had been formulated."*

As regards other grave questions which eventually assumed prominence at the period of the Reformation, Bernard's position, unlike his attitude with regard to Eucharistic teaching, was certainly not that taken up by the Reformation teachers. He believed, for instance, "that there remained beyond the grave a place of expiation in which God would deal with souls who had been imperfectly purified—not in anger, but in mercy; not for their destruction, but for their illumination and purification, that they might be completely prepared for the heavenly kingdom." He taught, again, that "the saints in light, in their superior nearness to God and their perfected holiness, would intercede for those still tarrying on earth on lower levels."†

In his exaggerated estimate of the blessed Virgin, also, Bernard of Clairvaux must be reckoned as one of those teachers who were influenced by that strange spirit of chivalry to which we have already alluded as a special outcome of the Crusades. He certainly taught men to render to the Virgin Mother, not the supreme adoration due only to God, but the modified homage, the "hyperdulia," which placed her as sovereign among the saints in light. "Men," said Bernard, "might always look to her with joy, with confident assurance of help and rescue amid the darkness and anguish of li But yet even here, in this curious devel ment of Christian teaching, the gr Cistercian claimed far less for the "Mot of Sorrows" than the late teachings Rome struggle after. When, in the y 1140, it was proposed at Lyons to instit a festival in honour of the "Immacu Conception" of the Virgin, Bernard Clairvaux wrote against it in no measu terms, declaring that the proposed rite one of which the Church was ignor which reason did not approve, or anc tradition commend. The Royal Virgin said, "needs no fictitious honours."

But it was as a preacher first of all Bernard of Clairvaux won his unriva influence in Christendom. Luther clared him the best of all the doctors in sermons, better than in his disputatio though even as a theologian Lu ranked him after only Augustine Ambrose. We possess still nearly reports of these discourses, which so larg affected the Christian world of the twe century, and which left on his great o so lasting an imprint. For the most p certainly, these sermons seem to have b delivered in Latin, and many of them w preached in his own Clairvaux. Of cou the most popular of his sermons were French; for instance, the sermon at Vé must have been in French. It was t that he preached the second Crusade fore the king and queen, nobles prelates, and a vast multitude; bu these great ones of the earth no one t any account. All eyes and thoughts w on Bernard, and as the winged words from his lips the passion of the assembly came uncontrollable. The cry of "Cros

* Dr. Storrs (New York): "Bernard of Clairvaux."
† Ibid.

ST. BERNARD PREACHING THE SECOND CRUSADE.

*(By permission, from the picture by James Archer, R.S.A.)*

crosses!" swelled to a roar. The vast number of crosses provided being utterly insufficient, clothes had to be torn up to supply them; and when he preached on the same all-absorbing topic at other great centres—Bâle, Frankfort, Cologne, Freiburg—the same strange scene was repeated, and it was thus that the second Crusade was launched on its way, that Crusade which resulted in so grievous a failure and awful loss of life. Wherever the beloved Cistercian went, crowds flocked to see him and to hear him, with a passionate reverence. The ornaments of gold and silver were taken from the churches and put away, as being understood to be displeasing to him. Men and women of all ranks arrayed themselves in mean garments, because they knew he disapproved of richness of dress. Crowds thronged him, eager to kiss his feet; fragments of his robe were treasured as precious relics. The age appeared, as it really was, better and brighter in his presence.

But upon all those tomes containing the sermons which once moved Christendom with so mighty a passion, the dust now lies thick; few eyes have looked upon them, fewer still have read their contents. But tens of thousands in England have sung or listened to the beautiful translation of his hymn·

> "O Sacred Head, now wounded,
> With grief and shame weighed down!"

or to the yet more popular one:

> "Jesus, the very thought of Thee
> With sweetness fills my breast;
> But sweeter far Thy face to see,
> And in Thy presence rest."

Let us picture to ourselves this ideal monk, this noblest type of a monast which had effected so blessed a chan the religion of Europe, which was pl so large a part in Christian teaching practice in our own England after Conquest. "Bernard was fair and sa in face and person, and possessed a sin beauty and charm of utterance, so th listen to him was a constant delight. men gazed on his frail attenuated fig his whole body most delicate and wi flesh (*corpus omne tenuissmum, et carnibus erat*), worn at last almo transparency by vigils and fasting constant prayer, by his care of al churches—they came hardly to asso him with earth. The pallid and comm ing face, full of human affection heavenly hope, with his thin fair with eyes which are spoken of as dove yet which glowed at times as if lit up divine fires; the modulated voice, w quivered like a harp string or rang a trumpet in his changing emotions these affected and impressed his he He seemed to speak as one who communion with heaven."*

He has never been forgotten. A cen and a half after his death, Danté i great poem sees him amidst the bl spirits in the tenth sphere, in the r of the snow-white rose which opene concentric leaves—faces of flame and w of gold—beneath the influence of Eternal Son; sees in him the exempl contemplation, the surpassing model devout charity, the guide of those with disciplined sight would mount a the rays of heaven. Such had he when working on earth, with a forc

* Dr. Storrs.

s in a body so feeble. So the records
:ory set him before us.

ıought I should see Beatrice, and saw
old man, habited like the glorious people,
rflowing was he in his eyes and cheeks
th joy divine, in attitude of pity.

. . . . . .

. . The man who in this world
contemplation tasted of that peace." *

ɔ years before Bernard of Clairvaux's
at the general chapter in 1151, the
cian order numbered 500 houses.
e following century there were as
as 1,800 monasteries which followed
ıle of Citeaux; eventually even this
er was much increased. In England, at
riod of the dissolution of the religious
s, after an existence of some four
ries, there were about a hundred
cian abbeys, in addition to many
r dependencies or cells.

effect of the great monastic revival
gland has been scarcely ever fairly
into account by historians. The
wave, which gave so powerful an
ıs to church life on the continent of
e, reached England only a few years
han the events which we have been
ing. While the desolating civil war
ant on the quarrel between Stephen
Beauclerc's daughter, the empress
la, was at its height, monks of the
ictine and Cluniac orders were
y busied in all parts of England in
ıg those vast piles which make up
gious house—cloisters, dormitories,
s, hospitals, granaries, barns, store-
s. Soon the newly-founded Cister-
joined their brethren of the older

* "Paradiso," xxxi., 57–94.

orders in the good work which was being carried on in our island. One hundred and fifteen monasteries were built during even the nineteen disturbed years of Stephen's reign. During the period of Henry II. (Plantagenet) one hundred and thirteen more of these monasteries were erected, many of them marvels of grace and beauty; in the case of the Benedictine and Cluniac houses, often richly adorned within and without. Some of their abbey-churches were of vast size and exquisite proportions.

When we think of these two hundred and twenty-eight religious houses, mostly owing to Benedictine and Cistercian industry and devotion, we must take into consideration what were the probable numbers of the population for whose service this crowd of homes of prayer and teaching were intended. At most, the whole population of England and Wales, when Henry II. was king, did not amount to four millions—considerably less than the present number of the inhabitants of London! Probably this estimate is too great, for about a century and a half later, after the fatal year of the mortality of the great pestilence of A.D. 1349, the whole population of England and Wales does not appear much to have exceeded two millions. Thus the estimate of four millions at the close of the twelfth century, while conceding that nearly half the population perished in the Black Death, makes no allowance for any increase in the numbers of the people during the intervening century and a half. Four millions, then, at the close of the twelfth century is a very ample, perhaps too ample an estimate. The numbers above given of

the increase of monasteries in the twelfth century, for such a population, will give some idea of the power and influence of the Benedictine and Cistercian in England, after the great church revival in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

We have styled them rightly "homes of prayer," but they were something more. They were preachers of religion, these disciples of Cluny, Citeaux, and Clairvaux; but they were also great and successful preachers of *labour*. To their patient industry was owing in England the reclamation of many a desolate moorland, of many an unhealthy and useless swamp. Measureless was their skill and patient labour in changing worthless lands into corn lands and pastures. So eager, indeed, were the Cistercians in their beneficent work, that it is said that in their industrious zeal they even desecrated churchyards, and encroached on the borders of royal hunting forests and chases. These tireless monks grew famous for the breeding of horses, and were learned in the various species of palfreys and sumpter-horses and knights' chargers. They thanked heaven for the "blessings of fatness and fleeces," as foreign weavers from Italy and Flanders sought their wool; in fact, these monks, before the thirteenth century had run its course, had made England the great wool-growing country of Europe. The church's work in England in the department of letters and literature in the early Middle Ages, has often been dwelt upon, and its enormous service to literature has been generally acknowledged. Its work in agric however, and in the development o merce, is certainly less known a commonly acknowledged. The t that "*laborare est orare*" (labour is was emphatically the outcome of the ing of the revived monasticism, at l the earlier phases of its developm our island.

The mediæval church, from th teenth century onwards, general cognised four principal monastic under which almost all the religious might be classed:—

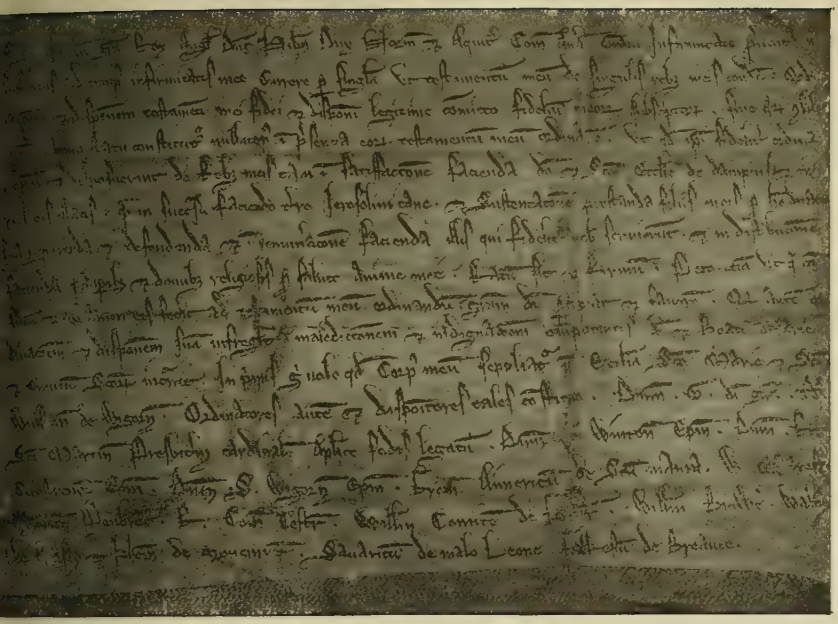
(1) In the East, that of *St. Basil*, rule is retained by well-nigh all O monks.

(2) Rule of *St. Augustine*, adop the regular canons. The order o monstratensians, the Dominicans, a great military orders, such as the Te and the Knights Hospitallers, belon this rule.

(3) Rule of *St. Benedict*, ge adopted by all the monks of the The order of Camaldules of Vallon the Carthusians, and the Cisterci cognise this rule as the basis of special and peculiar constitutions.

(4) Rule of *St. Francis*, adopt the Mendicant orders of the thir century.

The denomination *monks* is not ge given to the religious who follow th of St. Augustine, or to the Men orders.



DOCUMENT WRITTEN AT KING JOHN'S COMMAND
*(Directing that he should be buried in Worcester Cathedral. See page 245.)*

# CHAPTER XXXI.

## THE CHURCH UNDER CŒUR-DE-LION, JOHN, AND HENRY III.

er of Richard I.—His Religion—The Church and her Archbishops in this Reign—Clerical elibacy still a Difficulty in England—Transition from Communion in both Kinds to one Kind ıly—Canons of the Synods—Churchmen the Defenders of Popular Liberties—Death of Richard ıd Accession of John—The Worst Sovereign of England—John loses his French Territories—uarrel with the Pope over the Archbishopric of Canterbury—Stephen Langton—England under ı Interdict—John Excommunicated—Makes Abject Submission, and acknowledges the Pope as uzerain—Papal Exactions—Langton Resists them—Barons join in the Struggle—Magna Carta—angton's Leading Part in the Great Charter—John's Perfidy—His Death, and Accession of enry III.—Transubstantiation and Confession Decreed by the Fourth Lateran Council—Weak haracter of Henry III.—Struggle of the English Church with renewed Papal Exactions—Papal yranny the Ultimate Cause of the Reformation—Edmund Rich of Canterbury—Grosseteste of incoln—His Resistance to Roman Usurpation—Influence over Simon de Montfort.

HEN Cœur-de-Lion stood before his father's body after it had been arrayed in all his kingly golden crown on the brow, sceptre hand, and the sword he had used d girt on his side, Benedict, the Peterborough chronicler, tells us blood flowed from the corpse as in presence of a parricide.* He turned away appalled from the corpse of his mighty

* "Ac si indignaretur spiritus ejus de adventu illius."—*Chron. Benedict*, page 71.

father in the castle of Chinon, to commence those ten years of his reign which will ever be encompassed with a halo of romance. He was not a good man or a wise sovereign, but his very faults struck the imagination of men; and Englishmen of his own day and time, as well as succeeding generations, have ever been proud of the mighty soldier who won for English arms such glory and renown. Most writers, while conscious that the great and glorious king, the first soldier of that age of war, was a bad son, a bad husband, and a selfish ruler, yet plead for him and defend him. They picture him as a knight-errant, a lover of war for the mere delight of battle and the charm of victory; they love to dwell on his marvellous valour, his skill as a commander; they rehearse his many acts of magnanimity and nobleness, and try to make men forget the awful misery and wretchedness which such a career as his occasioned, alike to his own people and to his rivals and enemies.

It is strange that no character in mediæval history, with its brilliant colouring and yet darker shadows, stands out like that of Richard of the Lion Heart. His mighty position as sovereign of so many lands; his reckless bravery, and the religious aspect of his life-work in warring for the sacred scenes hallowed by the Saviour's footsteps; his eloquence, his love for poetry and for song, his wonderful power of winning the love of men better and wiser than himself; his generous readiness in forgiving personal injuries; his wisdom in the choice of able and patriotic ministers—all these things succeeded in winning him an abiding place in the hearts and homes of England. And yet Richard was emphatically a bad man and a king. His standard of morality low that even his admirers—and th many—are either silent or sorrowfu they speak of that life, which set s example to his court and people. all this, Richard Cœur-de-Lion w conscious of his own vileness a ruption. Instances are given by graphers of his occasional agony morse; and on his death-bed he and sorrowfully confessed his life

Upon this brilliant, selfish life, exercised considerable control, and contributed to diminish its evil in on the world generally. The feature in Richard's character was t of war; but the wars in which perpetually engaged were for n acquisition of territory, or for the i of his already great power, bu undertaken mainly for the sake of r the Holy Land from the grasp of believer. The strange passion fo Crusades which for so long a period the history of the Christian wor tainly among the nobler spirits wh part in these wonderful campaig totally unconnected with mere objects. The Crusades were almost purely religious movements; and Richard's chosen crusading com and friends we find some of the men of the Church of England, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbur Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbur after a brief interregnum succeede win as primate.

The active part which these two e prelates of the Church of England the great Crusade in which Cœur-d

his fame, shows us something of the ıge power and fascination which the ; of the Cross exercised at this period the hearts of even the noblest church-. Baldwin, the archbishop of Canter-, was an old man when, in helmet cuirass, with the sacred banner of St. mas Becket borne before him, he took field in the Holy Land. The bishop ılisbury, afterwards his successor, fought ıis side; other foreign prelates accom-ed him, and their division of the ading army was under the command he Grand Master of the Temple. Baldwin, after showing conspicuous ır, died in the Holy Land, men said broken heart. Besides his duties as a er, the famous English churchman distinguished for his assiduous min-es among the sick and wounded. The pisodes of suffering, alternating with the and dissolute scenes of the crusaders' ), preyed upon the old man's mind, he sickened and died at the sight of e sad spectacles—both the awful suffer-ınd the nameless sins. His companion, ert Walter of Salisbury, distinguished elf after the archbishop's death not as a soldier than as a minister of ion in the bloody scenes of Richard's ıde. He was ever Richard's counsellor chosen friend, and, during Cœur-de-'s unfortunate captivity in Germany, ed the great crusader in his prison, was foremost in England, both in teracting prince John's intrigues ıg his kingly brother's captivity, in raising the large sum demanded England for king Richard's release. was no doubt in gratitude for his friendship that Cœur-de-Lion procured this Hubert Walter's election to the vacant primacy in 1193. For some five years, in addition to the archbishopric, Hubert acted as justiciar of England, and till almost the close of Richard's reign played the chief part in all civil as well as ecclesiastical matters. Ever a loyal and

SEAL OF ARCHBISHOP HUBERT WALTER.
(*British Museum.*)

devoted servant of the king in the many offices he had filled, as royal chaplain, as a captain in the crusading host, as the king's treasurer, as his ambassador, then as justiciar of England, this crusading archbishop has left behind him a high character as a patriot statesman, though perhaps not of the first rank.

In king Richard's days the church made no great strides either in learning or in

influence. Still, it held its own. Everything was, however, subordinated to the one great passion for the Crusades. The spirit of the king permeated all classes and orders of his subjects, and immense sums were diverted from all the more practical objects to the furtherance of these costly holy wars. We get some idea, though, of the inner life and discipline of the Church of England at this time, from the canons of certain important synods.

The synod of Westminster was held a few years previously (in A.D. 1175). We mark, from the canons passed in this church assembly, the extreme difficulty which still existed in England of enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, that rule so insisted upon by all the most influential church leaders and teachers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as absolutely necessary for the work and progress of the church. These canons of the year 1175 ordered that any priest or clerk in holy orders who declined, upon a third admonition, to put away his wife—styled here a concubine—was to be summarily deprived of his benefice; while no one was to be beneficed who lived with a wife. Another canon of this synod sternly prohibited any clerk in holy orders from eating and drinking in taverns. Another referred to the habit of dressing as lay persons, then evidently too prevalent among the clergy. They were to avoid wearing long hair, and only to use such clothes and shoes as were decent; they were not to bear arms. Simony was evidently not unknown, for a canon rigidly forbade any money or covenanted gain being given for the presentation to a benefice.

In ritual matters we see that communion in one kind had become a general prac already in the Church of England; this practice was evidently distasteful many of the clergy, for this synod for the common practice of "sopping Eucharist, as if the communion were this means more entirely administer The Cistercians were opposed to practice of administering the commu in one kind; they were in the habi receiving the wine through a quill or p which was to be only of silver gilt.

In the synod of York, held under crusading archbishop, Hubert Walter 1195, again the dress of clerics is d upon, and certain of the canons of assembly ordain that lay apparel be avoi directing that priests go not in capes sleeves, but in apparel suitable to t order; that priests also should pres their crown and tonsure, avoiding hair.

The synod of Westminster in 1200, under the presidency of the same a bishop, Hubert Walter, issued strict d tions for decorum in reading the ser enjoining a careful pronunciation of words of the prayers, avoiding all affe tion, and aiming alone at a plain distinct enunciation of the words of divine office. Careful rules were also out for the guidance of archdeacon their visitations. These officials wer exact nothing from the inferior cle They were to see that every ch possessed a silver chalice. In the word one of the canons: "We charge that Eucharist be not consecrated in any ch not made of gold or silver, and that bishop bless a chalice of tin." The part of this injunction seems to have

CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH.

*(By permission, from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., in South Kensington Museum.)*

relaxed in some cases. Also a sufficiency of decent vestments for the priest, necessary books and utensils, and whatever was necessary for the honour and dignity of the sacrament, were to be provided. The vicars of the churches were to receive a decent competency out of the goods of the church. These and other canons show us that in the church in the latter days of Henry II. and of Richard I. considerable attention was given to the due administration of the sacred rites in outlying villages, as well as in the great centres of population, and that a careful supervision was exercised over the life and habits of the clergy, and even over their dress and general appearance. It is interesting to see how, even in these days of continual wars at home and abroad, and when the crusading fever was the one absorbing passion among men, the inner life of the church in its poorest and most remote churches was carefully watched over in such matters as the provision for decent vestments for the clergy, and chalices of precious metals for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

Whilst a reverent provision, at least, was made for the due performance of services in the smaller and more remote churches, it is clear that in the abbeys and cathedrals an extraordinary magnificence of ritual was maintained. The catalogue of bequests to the church of Canterbury by Richard's favourite archbishop, Hubert Walter, gives us some insight into the vestments and ornaments possessed by the chief pastors in these times. Among the objects he left to the church were palls embroidered with gold, a golden chalice, cruets of crystal, a portable altar of chalcedony, a cross inlaid with a portion of the true Cross, a gi and comb of ivory, six mitres, three p of gloves, all beautifully adorned with g and gems, candlesticks and cruets of sil a censer of silver, basons of silver, cup gold, golden rings encrusted with ge and many other precious vessels for service of the sanctuary.

To pass from the inner life of Church of England to its work and fluence in the higher regions of statesm ship. The great churchmen of the age of the Angevin monarchs were wor of the lofty and patriotic traditions of great church to which they belonged. is true they contended for the privilege their church ; but in contending for th own rights they ever fought at the sa time the battle of the people. We h their voices raised in remonstrance agai wrong, when the voice of the barons silent. For instance, when Cœur-de-L demanded English money to pay a milit force to be employed in the king's fore wars, St. Hugh of Lincoln, the Carthus friend of Henry II.—a foreigner, but in his English see had learned the tru traditions of his adopted country—refu the king's demands, nobly replying t the church was bound to do faithful serv to the crown *within* the island realm, was *not* bound to contribute men or gold service beyond the sea. In his bold asserti of the rights of Englishmen, St. Hugh stoutly backed by bishop Herbert of Sa bury. The opposition of the church this important question was successful, a thus a great principle of English ri was established.*

* See Freeman's "Norman Conquest," chap xxvii.

n the whole, the relations of the ch with king Richard I. were friendly. e of her leading prelates, as we have , were among his chosen friends. y were inspired with his crusading ion, and we find them entrusted by with the highest administrative posts ne kingdom. "Cœur-de-Lion shared ommon with many other great warriors hat sincere yet formal attachment to monial religion, which, considering the imstances of a soldier's life, must be pted by the moralist, in default of any er development, as the expression of ind which willingly and humbly re- ises the source of all power and nt."* He heard mass every day, and zealous in collecting relics of the saints, was generally very popular with the gy. In their Chronicles and memoirs find the best and most eloquent apol- s for his faults, mingled with many ds of praise for his valiant and doughty ls. The ecclesiastical Chronicler loves erm him "the sword and shield of stians, the adored of his men-at-arms, honoured alike by clergy and people, protector of the church, the unwearied ner to divine offices."

ichard's most attached friend was a ercian abbot of the monastery of St. du Pin in Aquitaine, who, with the al permission of the Citeaux chapter, constantly in his court, about his on, "that he might with all solicitude rtake the care of the king's alms and e poor." He was with the king in last illness, dutifully admonishing his l master to confess his sins; he administered to him extreme unction; closed his eyes and mouth when the "Lion-hearted" expired, and with his own hands bathed the royal head with the liquor of balsam. It was in this mortal sickness that, with his characteristic generosity, king Richard forgave the archer, Bertrand de Gourdon, whose arrow caused his death-wound, and who dared to speak before the dying monarch words of bold defiance. The dying king ordered his slayer to be set at liberty with the present of a sum of money.

The worst sovereign that ever sat on the throne of England followed the brilliant, unprincipled soldier, Cœur de-Lion. "Edward III. may have been as unprincipled, but he is a more graceful sinner; William Rufus as savage, but he is a more magnificent and stronger-willed villain; Ethelred the Unready as weak, false, and worthless, but he sins for and suffers with his people. John has neither grace nor splendour, strength nor patriotism; history stamps him as a worse man than many who have done much more harm."* The deeds of John—his unbridled immorality, his many acts of cruelty and mockery, the lingering deaths to which he loved to condemn his victims, his cowardice, his utter faithlessness—make up a dreary story which can be told of no other mediæval king. He followed his brother, to whom he ever played the traitor, on the throne of England in 1199.

Within three years of his accession, king Philip of France pronounced sentence of forfeiture of his French dominions, pro-

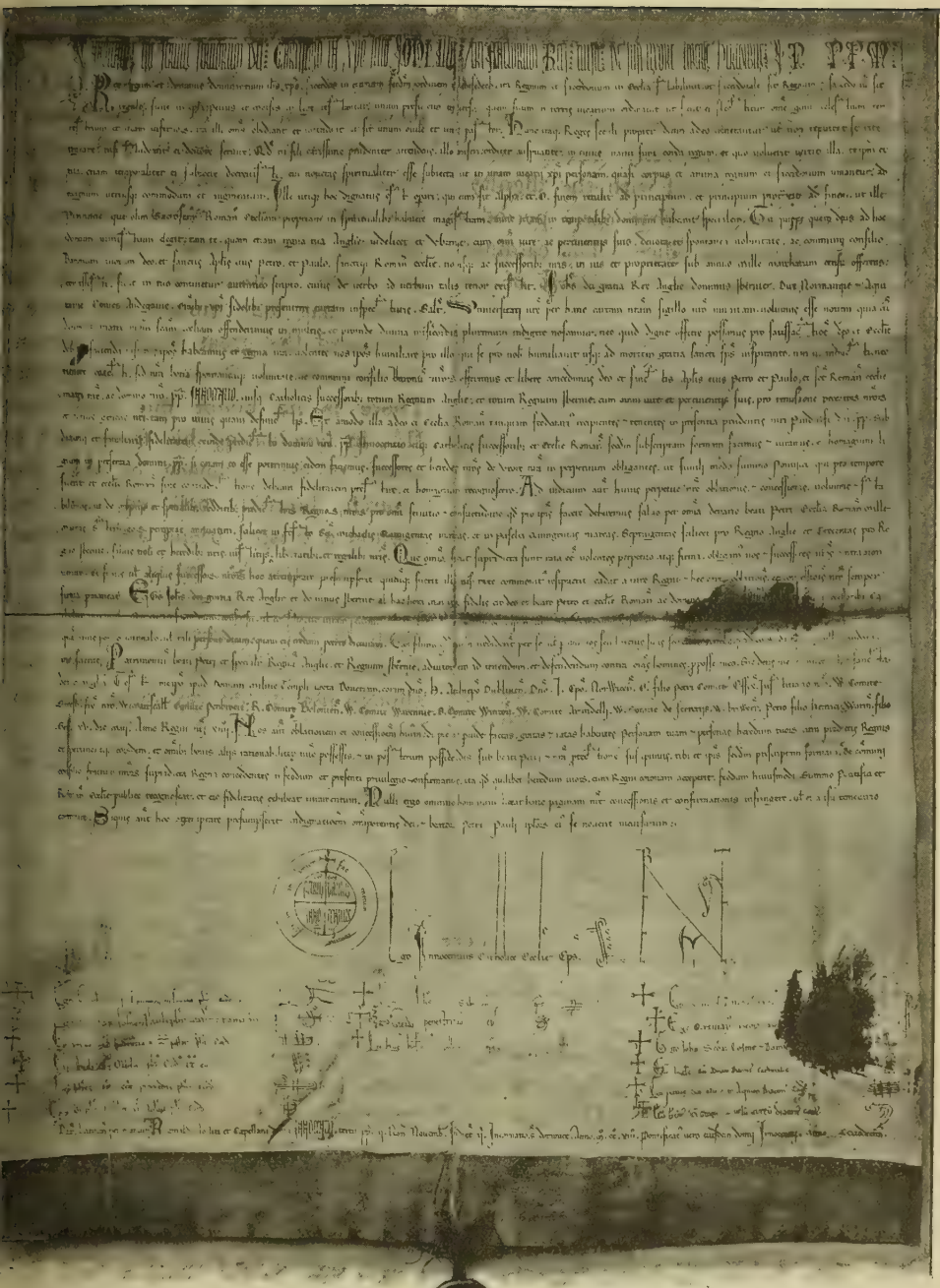
Itinerarium Regis Ricardi" (Rolls Series): ce by Bishop Stubbs

* Bishop Stubbs' Preface to "Memoriale Walteri de Coventria" (Rolls Series).

claiming John a contumacious vassal. In the following year (1203) he issued a second sentence of forfeiture, this time proclaiming John as the murderer of his nephew Arthur; and then with startling rapidity all John's continental dominions—Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Brittany, and Touraine—slipped for ever out of his hands, only the southern province of Aquitaine being left to the crown of England. The loss was enormous. From being one of the most powerful of the continental sovereigns, henceforth John and his successors were simply kings of England; for the distant and remote possession of Aquitaine gave them little weight beyond the seas. This rending away of the fairest portion of his continental dominions, great though the loss seemed, was however in the long run productive of untold advantage to England.

The death of archbishop Hubert Walter, the crusader statesman, the faithful friend of the dead Richard, which took place in 1205, two years after the loss of Normandy and its dependencies, deprived John of his wisest counsellor, and immediately led to that breach between the king and the church which had such momentous consequences for England. Briefly, the events which led to the great quarrel are as follows. Immediately after the death of the archbishop, the monks of Canterbury, before the funeral of Hubert Walter, without any communication with the king, elected to the primacy Reginald, their subprior, a comparatively unknown man. Their act was illegal; and a minority of the Canterbury clergy, disagreeing with the choice of their brethren, applied to king John for a *congé d'élire*. The king immediately recommended John de Gr bishop of Norwich. Both these claima submitted their cause to Rome. T reigning pontiff, Innocent III., one of t greatest and most astute of the long li of Roman bishops, saw his opportunity this reference on the part of the king a the monks of Canterbury to his supre authority, and, setting aside the claims both Reginald and John de Gray, p nounced that the election had been formal, and suggested that a Rom cardinal of English birth, Stephen La ton, should be archbishop. It was to purpose that John protested against t choice. Innocent III. insisted on his a pointment, and in the year 1207, wi the reluctant consent of the monks Canterbury, who had gone to plead the ca of their nominee at Rome, consecrat Langton as primate of the English chur

This famous patriot, statesman, a churchman was an Englishman by bir and had received his training at t University of Paris, which at the close the twelfth century ranked as the forem of the theological schools of Europe. soon became distinguished as a renown biblical scholar and canonist, and receiv lucrative preferment at Notre Dam and also, singularly enough, from t cathedral of York. At Paris he made friend who influenced his whole caree Lothaire, who at a comparatively early became Pope, under the world-renow name of Innocent III. Summoned by latter to Rome, Stephen Langton in 1 was preferred to the high dignity cardinal, Innocent III. being conscious the vast learning and the brilliant abili of the English scholar.



**BULL OF POPE INNOCENT III.**

*The Bull ratifies the offering and grant made by in of his kingdoms to the Holy Roman church, in urn for which he takes the kingdoms under the otection of St. Peter and himself, and grants the gdoms to John on condition of public recognition d oath of fealty by each successive king on his onation.*

*Attested by the "sentence" of the Pope, "Fac mecum domine signum in bonum," his name and monogram "Bene Valete" followed by the autograph signatures of twelve cardinals and three bishops. Dated at the Lateran 4 November, 1213, with leaden "bulla" attached.*

*(British Museum.)*

A cardinal of Innocent III. did not, indeed, occupy the commanding position in the Roman hierarchy which subsequently was associated with the dignity; but it was even at that early period a high and influential office. The cardinals formed the college of counsellors of the

SEAL OF STEPHEN LANGTON. (*British Museum.*)

sovereign pontiff—no small responsibility when it is remembered to what a lofty eminence the bishop of Rome had been raised in the times of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.). The cardinals, too, were alone eligible to the papacy, and by cardinals was the Pope elected. The *red hat* with its tassels, signifying that its wearer was prepared to shed his life-blood in resistance against wrong done to the Christian faith, was not assigned to them as the symbol of their office until A.D. 1245, in papacy of Innocent IV. Their assumpt of a position of equality with princes royal birth belonged also to a later Still, the dignity to which Stephen La ton was raised through the favour of old friend, Innocent III., was so hig prized, that John himself had thrice c gratulated the great English scholar his elevation at Rome to the cardinal There is no doubt but that Innoc III., in nominating his friend and co sellor to the primacy of the Engl Church, honestly believed that, besi placing a trusted friend and confidant the most important see in western Euro he was making the wisest possible appoi ment in the interests of the Church England. His foresight was amply verifi though not in the way Pope Innocent expected.

King John, however, incensed at rejection of his own nominee, bishop Jo de Gray of Norwich, refused the ro assent to the Pope's choice. In spite Innocent's repeated, urgent, and fina threatening requests, John persisted in refusal to acknowledge Stephen Langt as archbishop after his consecration Rome. In the year 1208, in consequen of his refusal, the kingdom was plac under interdict. The Pope attempted fr time to time to renew negotiations, but ea attempt failed. The king, after the int dict had been proclaimed, made la confiscations of the estates of the Engl clergy, and many of the bishops w obeyed the Pope fled from the kingdo This state of things lasted in the Chur of England for some six years.

The interdict under which England w

ced was a very grave matter, and signi- l an almost total cessation of public ırch services. The abbeys, cathedrals, l churches were virtually shut up for years. Prayers were to be said and nons preached, but only on Sundays l in churchyards. Baptisms were to be formed, but in private houses only. ials were forbidden in churchyards, but ght be performed anywhere else. Priests ght not attend the funerals of the laity, were allowed to say the offices for the d in private houses. The Eucharistic rice ceased altogether. Marriages were mnised, but only in the porches of the rches; and to the dying the viaticum still administered. The church bells e silenced.* Among the privileged nastic orders mass was still celebrated; it must be remembered that this ed office, in the vast majority of cases, performed in the monks' portion of monastery church or abbey, the choir, that even if the people were admitted, a comparatively small number could sibly be accommodated in this portion the sacred building. The Papal in- lict in England, then, really meant an ost total cessation of religious rites for vast majority of Englishmen. It ns, however, that in certain dioceses— nchester, Durham, and Norwich—where bishops remained, on the whole, faith- to king John during the period of great quarrel, the interdict was only tially observed. The interdict was fol- ed in 1212 by a special excommunication John, and with it the sentence of osition.

Memoriale Walteri de Coventria: Preface of op Stubbs' "Forma Interdicti" xlv.

John for a time paid little heed to the general or to the special curse of Pope Innocent. But at length the superstitious and suspicious heart of the king was touched. His fears were worked upon by his dread of the French king, Philip, abroad, and by his apprehension of treason at home, for he was conscious of the deadly hatred his evil government had excited. The long continuance of the interdict, no doubt, had its effect upon the king and his counsellors, but the burning words of a Yorkshire enthusiast, an ascetic named Peter of Wakefield, are said to have especially affected the superstitious monarch, and to have brought about his submission. This Peter went about asserting that John would not be a king on the next Ascension day, and that the crown of England by that time would be transferred to another. The king sent for the prophet, who persisted in his words of doom, adding that "if his prophecy proved to be a lie, John might do with him what he would."

In the sequel John hanged the unfortunate prophet, but in the meantime his mood of defiance and indifference now suddenly changed; and in abject fear, he gave way on every one of the hotly disputed questions. He made his complete submission to the Pope; and accepting Stephen Langton as archbishop, he promised to repay the money he had exacted from the churches which had obeyed the interdict; and, as a crowning humiliation, positively surrendered his kingdom to Innocent III., agreeing to receive it back again as a Papal vassal! This shameful surrender on the part of an English king took place in the year 1213. The act, so far as England was concerned,

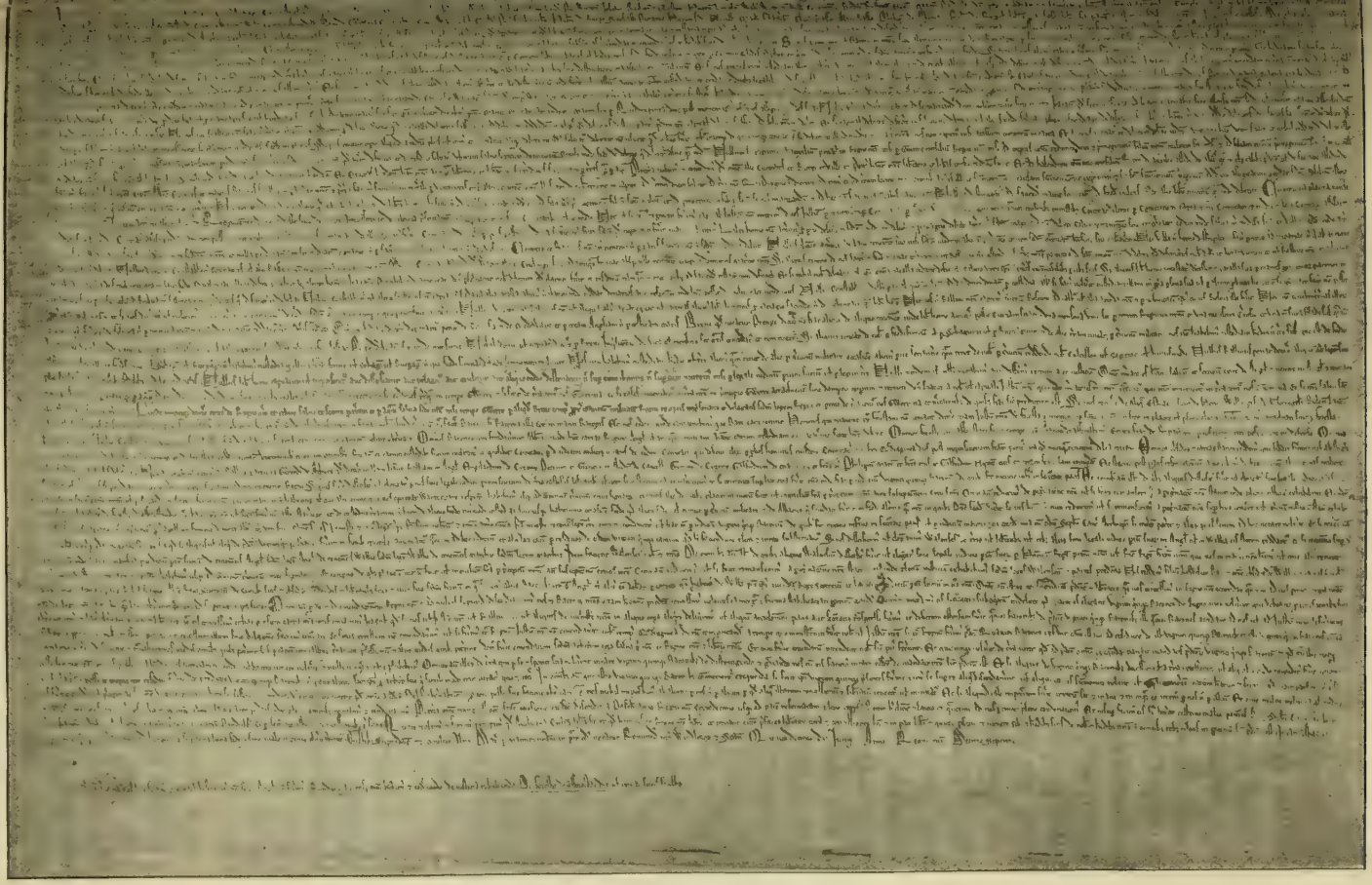
was the culminating point of Romish claims to universal supremacy. Never, probably, had Hildebrand dreamed of so strange a submission as that of John; and when Lanfranc and the Conqueror accepted the Pope as the patron of the expedition which conquered Anglo-Saxon England, they certainly never foresaw such a development of their acknowledgment of the supreme power of Rome, as the year 1213–1214 witnessed. Nothing could be more precise than the terms of the humiliating submission of the king of England, contained in the oath of supremacy, sealed with a golden seal, by which John acknowledged himself the vassal of the bishop of Rome. The oath ran thus:—"I, John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, will from this time . . . be faithful . . . to my liege lord, Pope Innocent, and his Catholic successors. . . . I will assist in holding and defending the inheritance of St. Peter, and particularly the kingdoms of England and Ireland, against all men to the utmost of my power. So may God and the holy Gospel help me."

The strange submission was received by the legate of Pope Innocent, whose name —Pandulph—as connected with this Papal triumph, will never be forgotten in England. Pandulph was a skilled diplomatist rather than an ecclesiastic, and at the time of the negotiation with John occupied no position in the church; in fact, was only in sub-deacon's orders. He was succeeded in the legation by an Italian bishop, Nicholas of Tusculum, an unfortunate appointment from the Roman point of view. For Nicholas, being a lover of pomp and dignity, insisted upon

the Church of England, sorely impoveri by the years of interdict and the exact and confiscations of John, supplying money needful for the support of princely retinue and luxurious lodg and thus excited an intense dread dislike of Roman interference in Church of England. Nicholas vi many parts of the island, behaving hi with curious haughtiness, degrading ab and sequestrating benefices at his plea and filling up vacant posts in the chu utterly regardless of their proper pat and all this with the full connivanc John. A great sum of money, by wa tribute, was also demanded by this Ro official as the price of removing the i dict; and thus began the long serie usurpations and money exactions on part of Rome, which ended by making very name and thought of the so-ca apostolic see infamous in England.

In the meantime, archbishop Lan returned from his long exile and formally reconciled with John; and al directly we find this "friend of Innoce rising to the true position of primat the English Church, and taking the in the patriotic resistance of the church which he held the principal office, to unrighteous demands of Rome. Inno III., in selecting Langton years before the great office, had indeed, as far England was concerned, made a wise noble choice.

We must here take a general but brief view of the action of the Chu of England in the great contest of English people for their liberties and rig threatened first by the Norman bar later by the crown, aided by the P



MAGNA CARTA. (*British Museum.*)

The Norman and the Angevin kings, from the days of the Conqueror onwards, were ever in active opposition to the great and powerful barons, and during that long struggle the clergy of England as a whole had ranged themselves on the king's side. The church felt that in that stormy period "the strength of the king was the salvation of the people"; for the victory of the barons, all true-hearted churchmen saw, would have meant the woe of the mass of the population. So we find, especially during the reigns of the great Norman sovereigns, from William I. to Henry II., ecclesiastical ministers universally occupying the high offices in the state. The reason of this was that these sovereigns felt that churchmen "had so many interests in common with themselves that they were the safest men to trust." Even the long-drawn-out quarrels with Anselm and Becket did not interrupt these intimate relations between the king and the ecclesiastics of the Church of England; for, as a rule, the majority of the bishops and leading churchmen did not sympathise with Anselm and Becket. The support of the rank and file of the clergy was also given to the crown, for these men, deeply sympathising with their trodden-down flocks, looked on the oppression and exactions of the feudal barons with dread and intense dislike.

Time passed on. The strong arm and wise policy of Henry II. broke the power of the Norman barons, and in the latter years of Henry's reign the power of the crown had grown enormously. The crusading wars, the perpetual absences, and still more, perhaps, the wise ministers of Cœur-de-Lion, had veiled for a season this new and vastly developed power of the king. But in John's days it was diffe and "he stood face to face with his pe an unmitigated tyrant" of the worst Thus, in the early years of the thirte century the balance of power had pletely shifted, and the danger of oppre now came from the crown, not from feudal barons. The king, not the ba age, now threatened the rights and libe of the people; and the church, alway people's friend, no longer ranged itsel the side of the king, but rather stoo open opposition to him, and, as we see, joining with the enfeebled nobles torted from the crown, grown too powe the Great Charter of liberties and free The man who was raised up to carry this powerful combination, which ac plished so great a work in the makin England, was Stephen Langton, the for friend of Pope Innocent III., the pa archbishop of Canterbury.*

Events for ever memorable in the his of England are at this period crowded a short space of time. The same year (1 witnessed the shameful oath of allegi to the Pope taken by John—an oath peated more than once; the return archbishop Langton from exile; and rising indignation of England with t king. Before the year had run its cou the meeting at St. Albans, attended bishops and barons and a body of re sentatives from the townships, had b held. This was followed by anot council at St. Paul's, where the law Henry I. were produced and expoun by archbishop Langton. By the side the patriot archbishop at these fam

* See generally "Memoriale Walteri de Co tria": Bishop Stubbs' Introduction.

cils of the nation sat the justiciar, frey Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex, a great ster appointed by Cœur-de-Lion, and l by John. Here the assembled Eng- ien swore that they would maintain liberties contained in that famous er of Beauclerc even unto death.

is charter of king Henry I. here pro- l by Langton, embodied the old Saxon known as the laws of Edward the essor ; and it was on this memorable ion that the confederation was formed h, in the following year, met at St. undsbury, and the year after at ymede. Immediately after the coun- t St. Paul's the justiciar, Geoffrey Peter, after laying before the king the s of the council, died. When John l of the death of this great represent- of the indignant barons, he exclaimed, ien Fitz-Peter arrives in hell he may nd salute Hubert Walter" (the arch- p friend of his dead brother, Cœur- on), "for, by the feet of God, now he first time am I king and lord of and." John enjoyed that lordship short time, for in a little more than ar after his impious words he was and in those few months he had d his royal seal to Magna Carta.

e prominent part taken by the Church ngland in the events which led up to granting of Magna Carta will ever be f her titles to honour. The leader of atriot party which compelled John to his consent and affix his seal to the ish people's Great Charter, was the of the church—Stephen Langton. as the archbishop who organised the and suggested the entire framework e Charter itself ; and he was loyally backed by the large majority of the English bishops. Only one, Peter des Roches, the justiciar, a foreigner, heartily supported John. A very few, such as Walter de Gray of Norwich—who had been put forward by the king as his candidate for the primacy when Innocent III. made choice of Langton for the high office—and Benedict of Rochester, took up an undecided position at this juncture.

The Great Charter itself was largely based on that of Henry I., and, while decreeing nothing new, gave new securities for the better observance of the old rights. It threw its shield over the rights of every Englishman, from the noble to the villein. It contained a crowd of provisions against various feudal abuses, and for the redress of the yet worse abuses of the forest—oppressive novelties which had been brought into England by the Norman conquerors. It secured the boon of free and unbought justice for all. The poor were especially provided for—those who stood outside feudal relations, and even those who might have seemed to stand outside of the pale of the law itself.* The first clause of Magna Carta, as in the charter of Henry I., secures the rights of the church, repeats and confirms the charter for the free election of bishops, and the great principle so often appealed to earlier and later—"that the Church of England was free" ("*Anglicana ecclesia libera sit*"). Little is it to be wondered at that the charter excited the indignation of Innocent III., who never forgave his old friend, archbishop Langton,

* See Freeman: "Norman Conquest," chap. xxvii.

for the share he had taken in its being formally accepted and promulgated.

We can still see a copy of the "Great Charter," in which archbishop Langton had so large a share, in the British Museum, "injured by fire and dusky through age, with the royal seal of John hanging from it"; and as we gaze on the sacred monument of English freedom in church and state, to which from age to age serious men have looked back as the foundation of English liberty, a churchman must feel a thrill of pride as he remembers how large a share in the stirring transactions which resulted in the framing and passing of that glorious summary of English rights, was borne by the church he loves so well.

Directly after the passing of Magna Carta the traitor John asked Innocent III., as his liege lord, to annul it. At once the Pope consented, suspending from his high office, as might have been expected, the patriot archbishop Langton. Langton, who as a cardinal had received a summons to Rome to take part in the subsequently famous Fourth Lateran Council, left England, thinking he might influence his old friend Innocent in his policy towards England; but Innocent held very different views from Langton's as to the policy to be observed towards England and her church, and Langton was received at Rome with exceeding coldness and distrust.

For some months a cloud of utter blackness and even despair settled over England. Langton was far away. John, with a great host of foreign mercenaries, proceeded to devastate the whole land, storming castle after castle belonging to those barons who had just wrested from him the Charter of English freedom. A contemporary chronicler gives us a terrible pict the months which followed the seal Magna Carta. "The whole surfa the earth was covered with these lin the devil, like locusts. . . . They s towns, cemeteries, and churches, s neither women nor children. Eve priests, while standing at the very altar the cross of their Lord in their hand in their sacred robes, were seized, tor robbed. . . . The persecutio general throughout England. . Markets and traffic ceased, and good only exposed to sale in churchyards. Agriculture was at a standstill, a one dared to go beyond the limits churches." In blank despair the sent for Louis of France to deliver from the cruel tyrant John, and to the crown of England in his stead.

It was a moment of awful confusi one could foresee the end, when th was suddenly cut by the death of who, at the head of his army of mercenaries, in his march northwar surprised by the tide in the Wash Lynn, and his baggage, with the treasure, engulfed in the rising Rage and vexation at the curious d brought on fever, which was inflan a gluttonous debauch, and the evil king John was suddenly cut sho singular and abiding testimony influence which the Christian re although under curious and supers forms, exercised over the ungove Plantagenet prince, is the stately of John in the cathedral of Wor There the images of the famous Wo saints, bishops Oswald and Wulfst on either side of the gilded effigy

of England. It was John's wish, left iting (still in the possession of the and Chapter of Worcester) that his should be buried between the re-

guiltless of his father's crimes; and the barons of England, quickly repenting of the sudden impulse of self-defence which had prompted them to invite into England

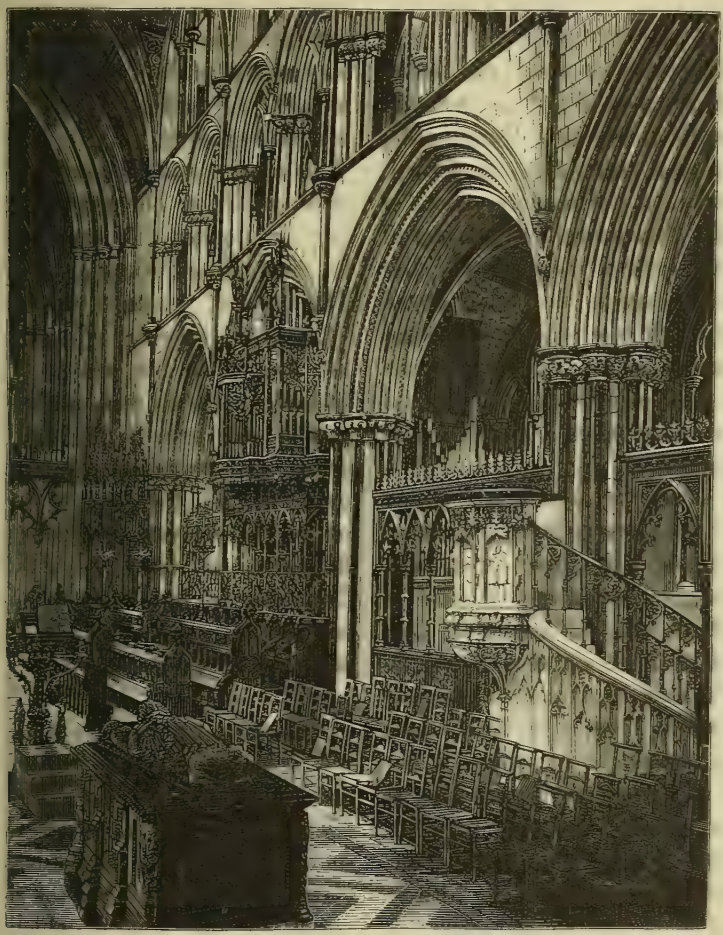


*Photo: Bennett & Co., Worcester.*

TOMB OF KING JOHN, WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

of the two saints, a dim notion being mind that their holy dust would in way guard him from any evil which might be his lot after death.

n's son, still a child in years, was

a foreign prince, rallied round John's child-heir, who, under the title of Henry III., was hastily crowned in the stately abbey of Gloucester. The foreign invader was deserted, and soon retraced his steps, and

a new and happier reign began. The disaster of the Wash and the sudden death of John, followed by the hasty coronation at Gloucester of the boy Henry III., took place in the year 1216, the year which followed the signing of Magna Carta.

The special reason for which archbishop Langton was summoned to Rome, shortly after the historic gathering at Runnymede, was to assist as a cardinal at the Fourth Lateran Council, under the presidency of Innocent III. This council, which met in Rome near the close of the year 1215, and sat for nineteen days in the church of the Saviour, will be for ever memorable in the doctrinal history of the Roman Catholic church; for in its canons appears the first synodical authorisation of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

We have already at some length traced the story of the growth of this doctrine from the period of its first appearance, soon after 844, in the famous treatise of Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of New Corbey, in the days of the emperor Charles le Chauve. We have seen how, in spite of much opposition, the new Eucharistic teaching had rapidly gained ground in the churches of the west, and in the case of England was expressly adopted by archbishop Lanfranc in the time of the Conqueror. But no formal synodical authorisation of the novel doctrine had appeared, until Innocent III. drew up the canon to which we are now referring in the Fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215. The words of the canon are as follows:—"There is one universal church of the faithful, out of which no one at all is saved, in which Jesus Christ Himself is at once priest and sacrifice; Whose body and blood ir sacrament of the altar are truly cont under the species of bread and which through the Divine power transubstantiated, the bread into the and the wine into the blood; tha the fulfilment of the mystery of uni may receive of His that which He rec of ours" (ut accipiamus ipsi de suo accepit de nostro).

Another canon of considerable im ance was the outcome of the F Lateran Council. It was the first enjoined generally sacramental confe The opening words of this canon "Let every believer, of both sexes, he has come to years of discr faithfully make solitary confession of sins at least once in the year to his priest, and study to the utmost o power to fulfil the penance enjoined reverently receiving the sacrament c Eucharist at least at Easter. Otherwise let him while living be d entrance into the church, and at dea deprived of Christian burial."

The thirteenth century in many res was a remarkable and brilliant age was illustrated by the lives of eminent men—kings, ecclesiastics, sch statesmen. From a churchman's poi view, the great event was the rise of a power in the church, which not largely influenced the age which witn its rise and extraordinarily rapid dev ment, but which deeply coloured all cl life in succeeding centuries. This co of the "Mendicant orders," however, c a separate chapter, in which its worl be presented with some detail.

ıg John died in the year 1216. The :entury which followed the sudden of the evil king has been well ibed as a long time of struggle against :n dominion and foreign influence in ıs shapes. During the young king's minority, Rome stoutly asserted its to interfere—a right based upon the ous submission of John. Indeed, :'s legates, Gualo and Pandulf, en- ıured to treat England as a vassal as regards the church, its inde- :nce was repeatedly asserted by the primate Langton, who ever stood as the champion of her absolute ɔm from foreign interference.

the same year which witnessed the of John, the great Pope Innocent ied, in the full vigour of his manhood. f all the Popes had advanced the startling pretensions, and England :pecially the scene of these exorbitant s. Yet it is strange that this, in respects, the greatest of the bishops me, certainly the one who raised the e of the pontiffs to its highest pinnacle wer, never obtained the honour of isation. There were even popular ırs that the soul of Innocent, ıg from the fires of purgatory, red on earth, scourged by pursuing , taking refuge at the foot of the and imploring the prayers of the ıl.

immediate successors at Rome— rius III. (1216–1227) and Gregory 227–1241)—although wanting in the talents of Innocent, in no whit abated pretensions to sovereign rule over Church of England; and, after the of archbishop Langton, on several notable occasions pressed these monstrous claims. For instance: in the year 1226 a special legate, Otho, demanded that in every cathedral and collegiate church one prebend should be assigned for Papal uses, an equal revenue from the episcopal estates, and a proportionate sum from each of the monasteries; and this extravagant demand was only evaded on the plea that England was freed from such an exaction by her *tribute*, paid annually under the terms of John's submission. Before this strange demand Honorius III. had dared, in the year 1223, to declare the youth, Henry III., although not yet of age, competent to govern, and had issued letters to the barons of England, charging them to obey.

In A.D. 1229 Pope Gregory IX. demanded a tenth of all property. The clergy of the land, under threat of an interdict, gave a reluctant assent, and the preposterous tax was rigidly collected. On the sudden death of the undistinguished primate Richard le Grand, who for two years had filled the seat of Langton, the Pope appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury Edmund Rich, chancellor of Salisbury, by an assumption of power as arbitrary as that by which Innocent III. had insisted on the election of Langton. This was in the year 1234. In 1240 a Papal brief arrived in England, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury, in which they were required to provide for *three hundred Roman clergy* out of the first vacant benefices!

These were notorious instances of special Roman claims and exactions. But during all these years of Henry III.'s reign the Church of England was perpetually harassed by Rome in various ways. A legate from

the court of the Pope was constantly present, ever pressing fresh and startling assumptions of power, resting on the new relation created by John's submission, as well as on the older spiritual claims of the "apostolic see." These assumptions of an irresponsible power included not only constant claims to subsidies of money, but also asserted the right of Rome to the patronage of churches, to the detriment of clerical and lay patrons. A steady flow of appeals to Rome, too, constantly irritated and disturbed all church government, producing a feeling of universal unrest, and perpetually suggesting insubordination and disorder. A spirit of bitter opposition was excited, and we find such noble prelates as Grosseteste of Lincoln, in public and in private, in his writings and by his acts, continually resisting this oppressive and disastrous Papal tyranny.

Indeed, one of the notable features of this thirteenth century was this strange and sad feature of Roman tyranny over the Church of England. It was no mere indefinite claim of over-lordship, of some ill-defined right of a universal supremacy in great and momentous matters, such as Hildebrand dreamed of, and largely succeeded in establishing; but Innocent III. and his successors in the thirteenth century asserted and exercised a so-called right to interfere and to decide in all church affairs, great and small. The meddlesome hand of Rome, in the persons of its legates, was felt not only in important councils and synods, but in every meeting of the chapter of the monastic houses. Appeals against episcopal and abbatial authority to Rome were listened to, and even encouraged; and a constant and ever-increasing demand for money filled up the measure of th of Rome against the English ch "The first article of the great Ch declared that the Church of England sl be free. And to the minds of the m the thirteenth century the freedom o Church of England, if it meant fre from illegal acts on the part of the ki home, meant no less freedom fron endless meddlings and extortions o enemy beyond the sea. When the of the sixteenth century prayed fo liverance from the tyranny of the b of Rome and all his detestable enorm they did but echo the voice of Engla the thirteenth century and earlier stil

The spirit of indignant resistance appears in the actions of such true s men as archbishops Langton and Ed Rich, and Grosseteste of Lincoln, eventually in successive acts of Parlia directed against these iniquitous us tions, went on gathering strength the great storm burst in the sixt century. As far as England is conce the ill-advised and wanton pressu Roman claims from and after the tim Innocent III. must be considered as the more considerable of the causes led to the reaction of the Reform Looking back from the vantage-gr of the end of the nineteenth cen the student is tempted to wonder great popes like Innocent III., m commanding genius and stainless could have ever dreamed of perman exercising such an unchecked domin over a church like that of the En people—a church with a great h reaching over many centuries, a ch

* Professor Freeman.

and honoured by the nation alike
orman and Angevin days, as in the
remote Anglo-Saxon period.

ing the long reign of Henry III., the
prominent personages specially mixed
public affairs connected especially
hurch and state, are the king himself,
shops Langton and Edmund Rich,
rosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. The
himself has been well described as
devoid of all elements of greatness
ven vain and mean and false; and
was a prince undoubtedly accom-
l and refined, a patron of art, and
lly a benefactor of foreigners. On
hole, he showed himself a friend of
astics, decidedly pious, and, in an
ry sense, virtuous. His great church-
ng work, the reconstruction—well-
ne entire rebuilding—of Westminster
in the form we know so well, has
lready told.* Of the patriotic Lang-
ho, of course, exercised enormous
ce during his minority (Langton
1228), we have already spoken.
und Rich, archbishop of Canter-
rom 1234 to 1240, by his guileless,
, ascetic character, profoundly im-
l the men of his generation. Trained
new learning promoted by the
scan colony at Oxford, and subse-
y at the University of Paris, he
e a well-known and popular teacher
time at Oxford, and subsequently
ppointed treasurer of Salisbury.
g the stories of him, it is said that
fter a whole night spent in prayer,
uld fall asleep as he was lecturing,
the respectful silence of his pupils,

* See Chapter xxiv.

who admired his fervent piety and wondered at his great learning. As archbishop he ranged himself on the side of the national party, hating and steadily

EDMUND RICH, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From a 13th Century Psalter in the British Museum.*)

opposing, but with studiedly gentle resistance, the policy of ever-increasing encroachment on the part of Rome upon the liberties and rights of the Church of England.

His ascetic practices seem rather to have increased than diminished after his elevation to the primacy; for instance, he would only break his fast once in the

twenty-four hours, and on many days would only allow himself bread and water. From the frequency of his prayers, men said his knees became, like those of St. James, callous as the knees of a camel. He declined even the use of a bath; and at night, however worn and tired, he would not rest on a bed, but on a hard bench, or on the ground; and in later life would not even lie down, but would snatch a brief sleep as he sat on his chair. With shattered health, and wearied out by the perpetual struggles with Rome and the foreign influences in the state favoured by the king, in the year 1246 the archbishop withdrew to the monastery of Pontigny, in France; and a little later he sought the purer air of the monastery of Soisy, near Provins; but in a short time after his departure from England, worn out, he breathed his last. When dying, he still refused the "luxury" of a bed, and expired stretched on the cold ground.* Such a life—his great scholarship, his terrible austerities, his gentle, sweet nature—deeply moved his contemporaries. Within six years of his death the Pope, sorely against his will, was compelled by public opinion to admit the good archbishop to the honours of canonisation; and devout pilgrims from England loved for a long period to kneel at the shrine of St. Edmund of Pontigny and of Canterbury.

A churchman of a very different type existed in the person of Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, from 1235 to 1253. This scholar prelate very nobly represents the feeling which prevailed among the leading English ecclesiastics during the reign of Henry III. regarding the burning qu of the assumption of supreme aut claimed by the Pope over the Chu England. St. Edmund of Pontigny Canterbury (archbishop Edmund Ric as deeply as did Grosseteste the irrep injury worked to the cause of true re in England by these unhappy and trous claims; but Edmund was ever the gentle, uncomplaining saint tha fiery and militant church leader, wh necessary in those times to resist th spirit of Rome. Such a vigorous c leader was found in Grosseteste; bu fortunately he was only bishop of Li not primate.*

Of this great man's early life we nothing. He comes before us firs minently as rector of the fast-incr society of Franciscan friars at Oxford whose early work and rapid develo in England Grosseteste exercised a remarkable influence. Several imp ecclesiastical offices were held by h succession in the Church of England his preferment to the important Lincoln; such as the archdeaconr Wilts, Northampton, and Leicester became bishop of Lincoln in the year The see of Lincoln was then the extensive in the country, and ext from Lincoln as far south as Oxfor Bedford. In diocesan affairs he most unwearied and even a severe ov Among his more notable works m enumerated his care to ensure tha quate provision was made for re priests in outlying parishes, wher

* See Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. iii. Edmund Rich.

* Compare generally "Episcopi quonda colniensis Roberti Grosseteste Epistolæ" w Lenard's preface (Rolls Series.)

ch property was already vested in the asteries and in other comparatively thy bodies. These monasteries he inually visited with great vigour, in-ting everything, and demolishing with gid and austere hand any marks of ry that were contrary to the rule r which these communities were g. With the nunneries he was equally re. Over parish priests and their life work among their flocks, he maintained nstant and careful investigation.

ut Grosseteste's especial work, which ever be his title to honour, was his nding spirit of resistance in the matter oman usurpation, which he felt was ing the very life of the Church of land. It was not merely the dangerous iplication of appeals to Rome in all ner of cases important and unimportant, that thus all discipline and order in the ch at home was undermined; but the tant system of exactions on the part ome seriously impoverished the English y of all grades. On one notable occa-the Pope threatened to lay the whole dom under an interdict, and thus to end all divine service and public re-us rites, unless an extortionate and rary demand was promptly satisfied. pite of Grosseteste's strong remon-ces, in this case the money was all and in the words of the English nicler, the "gapings" (*hiatus*) of an avarice satisfied.

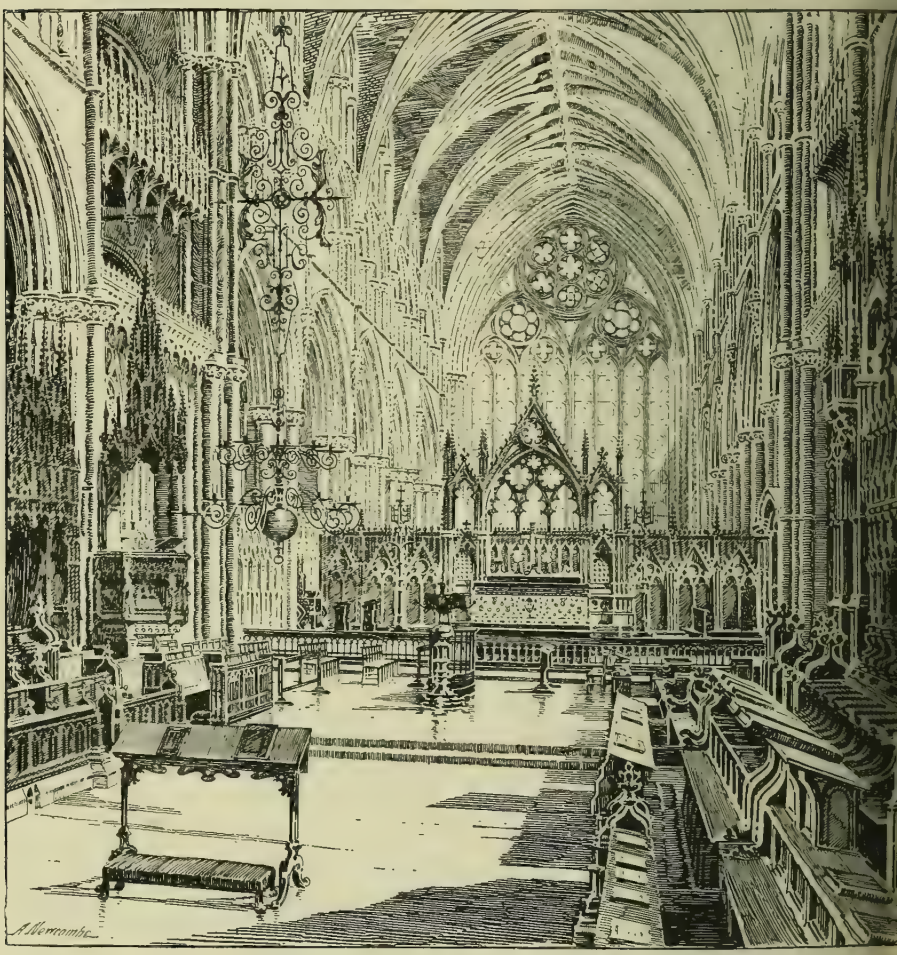
he enormous number of Italian and gn papal nominees to benefices and ties in the Church of England, has already alluded to. Very many of foreigners were absentees from their us posts. In the year 1251 bishop Grosseteste had a calculation made of the revenues of the foreigners in the English church. It was found that Innocent IV., the reigning Pope, had done more to increase this immoral course of procedure than all his predecessors, and the income of the foreign clerks appointed by him in England, whom the Church of Rome had enriched, was found to amount to the sum—enormous, when we remember the value of money in those days—of seventy thousand marks and more.

In his last illness Grosseteste, in the course of a conversation with his physician and his clergy, dwelt in bitter language on the rapacity of the Pope, and on the cruel exactions and oppression to which the church was subject. No light crimes, indeed, were those of which the dying prelate accused the Papacy. He spoke especially of the abuse of mass being sent to the dying, and in such moments extracting a bequest of their property under pretence of its being applied for their benefit and for the succour of the Holy Land. He alluded also to ignorant foreigners being forced by Papal influence into English bishoprics and benefices, and bitterly referred to various instances of shameless avarice on the part of Rome.

The enormous influence which this true-hearted English churchman exerted in his time, cannot be overstated. Persons of all ranks naturally resorted to Grosseteste as the one best fitted to advise them. If a noble was anxious about his spiritual state, it was to the bishop of Lincoln that he naturally went; if the king wanted advice or assistance, it was to Grosseteste that he turned; if in a critical juncture the church needed a strong and wise counsellor, it

was to Lincoln that the primate at once resorted. Men like Simon de Montfort applied to him to advise in the training of

special friend of Grosseteste, thus w
sums up his sunny, bright influenc
ceaseless industry, his noble self-de



THE CHOIR, LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

*Photo: Frith, Rei*

their children. Indeed, the great earl was especially intimate with him, and no doubt much of his policy in after-days was derived from conversations he had held with the patriot churchman, long his intimate and trusted friend. Matthew Paris, the

work, his true English feeling:—"G
teste was an open confuter (redargut
the Pope and the king, the repro
prelates, the corrector of monks, th
port of scholars, the preacher to the p
the persecutor of the immoral, th

ıried student of the Scriptures, the asser and despiser of Rome. At the ·itual table he was devout, tearful, con- e. In his episcopal office he was in- trious, admirable, unwearied."

Ie has left behind him, besides numerous ·ks—some on Aristotle, some bearing :heology—a considerable body of letters, ch give us a clear insight into his mind show us something of his lofty con- tions. But in literature his wonderful ·wledge of Holy Scripture, perhaps ıter than that possessed by any other olar of his day, especially won for him respect and admiration of the church. nis private life we possess many interest- and curious details. He loved as a ·her to encourage diligent students, im- sing on them the need of the study of y Scriptures, that they might not be some monks who walked in the dark- of ignorance. Some of his kindly, ·ful sayings are preserved, such as his ds to a preaching friar: "Three things e necessary for temporal health—food, p, and good humour" (*cibus*, *somnus*, *s*). His horror at anything of the ıre of bribes or simony was excessive. lthough after his death the distinction earnestly sought by his king and by other persons of great influence, the honour of canonisation was never conferred upon him by Rome. We can, however, scarcely be surprised that Grosseteste has never been enrolled among the company of Roman saints.

The last years of Henry III.'s long reign are memorable for the great revolt of the barons and the people against the oppression of the king and the Pope, known in history as the rebellion of earl Simon de Montfort. The details of this famous rising, which, although it ended in apparent disaster, yet worked momentous changes in the constitution of England, do not belong to our own story of the church. It must, however, be noted that the work and character of the popular hero, Simon de Montfort, were very largely influenced by the close intimacy, stretching over years, between the earl and Grosseteste, and Grosseteste's successor at Oxford and dearest friend—the learned Adam de Marisco. To his attitude as leader of the people's party, who in church and state resisted the Romish and foreign aggression, earl Simon de Montfort owed his strength in later years, when he successfully resisted the power and tyranny of the crown.

ARMS OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.
*(From a Sculpture in the North Aisle Arcade, Westminster Abbey.)*

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### THE COMING OF THE FRIARS.

Development of City Life—Consequent Misery and Disease—Francis of Assisi—His Brotherho Mendicants—Wonderful Growth of the Franciscan Order—Their Appearance in England— Principle of Poverty—Growth of Learning in the Order—Its Influence at Oxford—Its Vie Asceticism—Special Devotion to the Virgin Mary—St. Francis Himself—The Stigmata—His I and Canonisation—Dominic—His Order of Preachers—The Preaching Friars also Profess Pove Growth of the Order—The Tertiaries or Lay Communities—Death of Dominic—Influence o Dominicans—Their Connection with the Inquisition—List and Statistics of Mendicant O in England.

THE period in the story of the English Church and state, of which we have now roughly sketched in the outlines—the last years of the twelfth, and the first half of the thirteenth century, when Cœur-de-Lion, John, and his son, Henry III., were kings in England—was an important epoch in the history of Europe ; and no country, perhaps, was so much affected by what was taking place as our own. Great and momentous changes, the magnitude of which was unguessed by the living actors, were passing over the western peoples. A new and hitherto undreamed-of power had arisen, which dominated and tyrannised over the church, strengthened and re-invigorated by the great reforms of the eleventh century : the Papacy, as we now know it. Those strange Eastern wars called the Crusades, conducted on a scale hitherto unknown in the western world, under the influence of the bishops of Rome, had introduced into the western nations Oriental habits, tastes and sciences, Oriental modes of thought. Along with them, alas ! were also introduced the moral and physical diseases of the East. The comparative quiet which succeeded the long and devastating invasions and settlement the North-folk, had been favourabl the growth of commerce. Nume and important cities had grown up, been rebuilt, or had been marvell increased. On the Continent we instance such great centres as Ve Paris, Cologne, Lyons, Bruges, and n others ; in England : London, Br Oxford, Norwich, Cambridge.

This last great change is espec noticeable, for it brought in its wake new and potent element in church we are now to speak of. The chang question was *the growth of city* Hitherto the great monasteries, the abl and cathedral establishments, had f sufficed for the spiritual welfare, for teaching and influencing, of the populations dwelling in the comparat few and small cities, or scattered in f and small hamlets over the country these older and simpler condition society. But, as we have said, in latter part of the twelfth and first ha the thirteenth century a new descrip of life—new at least in early medi times—gradually appeared in the City life, and the rapid growth of p

on in numberless great centres, called a new influence, new teachers, new chers, new heralds of the religion of is.

hings were, indeed, very evil in the n life of the early Middle Ages. A then was made up of two classes: the of comparatively wealthy traders, ving daily richer and more powerful, ected by guilds, free, living in some ry, possessing teachers of religion, m they often paid and maintained nselves, owning schools and even rches; and side by side with these l another and far more numerous class, vhom no one cared, answering in some ects to what we now term "the ses"; increasing daily in numbers, but, ! not in health and wealth: verily ers of wood and drawers of water. se were ever augmented by fresh re- s from the country, from the numerous es of Crusaders and other royal and e adventurers, which were hastily ered together, and often as hastily nded, from all sorts and conditions en, who had failed in the various ways fe. These mostly drifted into the new rapidly growing towns, and swelled populations growing up in and about centres of commerce and industry and ning. The municipal buildings of a erected at an early date in these dle Ages, and the ward immediately ounding them, formed a striking con- to the outer circle of a mediæval n, which consisted of dwellings, little e than wooden sheds, rudely plastered vhitewashed, huddled together, often e to river-bank or the side of the town n. Here dwelt a motley race, ever increasing in numbers, of whom little was known, and about whom little inquiry was made. If they behaved with decent quiet, they might live or die, no one very much heeding. This class of a town population in the first half of the thirteenth century was a dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, and famine, such as the worst slums even of our modern cities are happily ignorant of. And into the midst of this seething mass of suffering, sad-eyed men and women, often came a terrible visitant in the form of a deadly disease, such as the plague, or even worse—*leprosy*. The latter, imported from the East, is one of the most terrible scourges which have from time to time afflicted men.*

For this numerous class no one cared; their souls and bodies were equally neglected by Christian men and women, clerical and lay. The great monasteries had already provided for the country generally; the cathedrals and minster churches for their immediate neighbours dwelling round them. The wealthier citizens, too, had their churches. But there was no spiritual provision for this large and ever-growing class; they belonged to no one. When the need was at its sorest, God raised up a saint, who brought deliverance and a message of comfort to these unhappy ones.

Far away from England, where soon his name was to become especially known and honoured, a young Italian merchant of Assisi, an Umbrian city, recovering from a grave illness, determined to consecrate his life, hardly won from death, to the service

* *Cf.* "The Coming of the Friars," by Dr. Jessop.

of the saddest of his neighbours, especially to the lepers. These, all through that wonderful long life of Francis of Assisi, ever claimed the first-fruits of his love; but his early mission work among these sorely-tried sufferers, opened his eyes to the awful neglect in which most of the poorer dwellers of the cities of the western world were then living. Francis of Assisi and the strange army of devoted ones who were fired by his burning enthusiasm, became the especial apostles of the helpless, wretched, neglected masses of the towns.

Was Francis of Assisi a madman—a dreamy enthusiast? The question has often been asked, and variously answered. One thing is certain: no one in the long Christian story has exercised a greater, few so great an influence on the fortunes of the Catholic church. After his conversion he went out from his home and native city —friendless, homeless, penniless, with a burning, passionate desire to help the most destitute and helpless and suffering of his brother men. Absolutely confident in the ultimate success of his work, he threw himself at the feet of the mighty Pontiff, Innocent III. The story tells us how he suddenly presented himself before Pope Innocent as he was walking in the stately gardens of the Lateran, bareheaded, with bare feet, half clad, unkempt, and dishevelled—a beggar who would take no denial. The great bishop of Rome *must* bless him and his work: he would take no refusal. Innocent hesitated, and for a while thought over the strange apparition; but after a few hours, won by the strange charm and the intense earnestness of the suppliant, he blessed him, and bade him work his work under the approv Rome.

Men soon began to talk of this preacher of righteousness. His owr now welcomed him as a saint. Di gathered round him rapidly. Franci his friends, as beggars, preached to be In the low and miserable dwellings great cities; to the suffering, the o the leper, for whom none cared and most shunned, Francis preached the of the Cross in language such o could understand. He would tell dreadful, hopeless crowd that he was to live among them, to wash the repulsive sores, to watch by the side sick and dying, with no hope of r pense or reward, only just because loved them. He and his disciples imitate the homeless Man of Sorrows wonderful story he was telling. extraordinary rapidity the strange br hood grew in numbers, and city afte witnessed their advent, their work lying in those poor, wretched qu where the miserable masses dwelt.*

It was a new spirit which Francis duced into the church. Hithert Benedictines and the many ramific and offshoots of the Benedictine such as the Cluniac, the Cisterciar Carthusian, had exercised everywhe most supreme control in religious ma and on the whole their influence had wonderfully blessed in its work. B Benedictine and the kindred orders ally by birth, always by educatio sympathy, belonged to the upper c One of the articles of the famous Co

* *Cf.* Sir James Stephen's Essays in Eccles Biography: "Francis of Assisi."

s of Clarendon, in the time of king ry II. (the Plantagenet), bears a curious esigned testimony to this fact. "The half-crazed Francis of Assisi founded, and which soon covered England and the Continent with its network of colonies of

INNOCENT III. AND FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

"—so runs the Clarendon article—bids the monks of England to receive their societies, save under specially gent conditions, anyone as monk or n who belonged to the lower orders." the new order which the seemingly preachers and teachers, belonged to and worked amongst the lowest and most despised class. It was the new state of things which came into being at this period—the marvellous and sudden growth of city life—which evoked the new spirit

that inspired Francis and his associates to undertake their noble work.

As early as 1216, when John was yet reigning, the new brotherhood held the first general chapter; and so great had their numbers already become, that it was found necessary to arrange for a special organisation in France, Germany, and Spain. Four years later—scarcely ten years after Francis had knelt at the feet of Innocent III., and extorted from the great prelate a reluctant blessing—the disciples of Francis met for their second general chapter, held in the fields round his native city of Assisi, in 1219. They numbered at this great meeting no less than five thousand. Homeless beggars they were; but cardinal Ugolino, who had been nominated by the reigning Pope, Honorius III., as their protector, when he gazed at the great assembly of these poor ragged preachers to the poor, and heard the story of their wondrous successes in many lands, and marked their fiery zeal, their serene confidence in their work, their devoted simple piety, tossing aside the insignia of his lofty rank, exclaimed: "Behold the camp of God!" Men were beginning to see that Francis and his followers were indeed taking the world by storm.

Five years after the general assembly at Assisi, or in the year 1224, they came to England. How could these foreigners, however, hope to work here? The tongue of the English poor was strange to them. But they came: just a tiny band, only numbering nine, of whom but three were English. They arrived amongst us in the humblest guise, quite friendless, absolutely penniless. This little party of friars made their first halt at Canterbury, the ancient seat of Roman Christianity Britain, the scene of so many memor events in the chronicle of the Eng church. But Canterbury, in all its and eventful history, had never welco guests who were destined to play so g a part in the religious life of our islan were those ragged disciples of the Ita Francis. The poor company split into divisions, one remaining in the anc church city, the other seeking a hom the not distant London.

The Canterbury friars were kindly somewhat contemptuously housed by monks of the priory of the Holy Tri the home allotted to them being a sch room, which they had to vacate by while the boys of the school were b taught. The pleasant, gossipy memoi "The Coming of the Friars Minor," wr by a simple-minded and pious Franci who had shared in the early struggles trials of the order in England, gives plain, unvarnished account of these dev men in their poverty, when they beginning their noble work, before Franciscans had risen to power, before order had become illustrious through work of the eminent theologians and tinguished scholars who, curiously enc at no distant date sprang from their ra and illiterate company. Eccleston, i small but picturesque memoir,* make poor friars live again; and we seem t them, after their hard day's work a the dregs of the people, sitting round fire in their bare and squalid refec

* *Cf.* "Monumenta Franciscana"—Thom Eccleston: "De Adventu Fratrum Minoru Angliam." Edited by Mr. Brewer in the Series.

ming their thick sour beer, and trying nake it more palatable with water, and ıching their coarse barley bread, as they to one another their stories of the ry day's sorrows or successes.

'hey always chose for their homes those swampy, and badly-drained quarters cities, where the poorest and most lected of the people congregated. In don, for instance, they built themselves e night cells or huts, first in Cornhill. hing but sheep-cotes were these cells—e wattles, with mouldy hay or straw veen them. Near Newgate, on a spot called "Stinking Lane," subsequently the chief house of the order in land. Similar untempting settlements kly followed in such centres as Oxford, ıbridge, and Norwich, but in all cases poverty of the buildings corresponded ı the dreary misery of the surround- district. Decorations and ornaments ll kinds were zealously excluded even n their chapels and churches.

Vith the Franciscans of the early days, he first half of the thirteenth century, deliberate choice of the most rigid n of poverty was a religion. At Glou- er a friar was deprived of his hood for ıting his pulpit; and the warden of the ucester house suffered a similar punish- nt for tolerating pictures in the com- nity over which he presided. They e permitted to receive nothing in the of gifts beyond the barest necessities ife—meal, salt, figs and apples, wood for ıg, stale beer, or milk. In all weathers disciples of the enthusiast of Assisi ght be seen in the muddy streets and paved ways of the poor quarter of the , barefooted and bareheaded, and leaving often the prints of their bleeding feet upon the ground, clad in gowns of the coarsest cloth, often ragged and torn.

Verily this was the Gospel preached to the poor by the poor! The sick, the fever-stricken, those afflicted by that most loathsome of diseases—leprosy, were especially the objects of the Franciscan's patient quest. The memorable scene of the beloved master, Francis, eating by choice out of the same dish with a leper so covered with ulcers that as the sufferer dipped his fingers in the dish and carried the morsels to his mouth, his blood dripped into the dish, was acted again and again in the lives of his disciples, who thus literally stormed the hearts of these forlorn and unhappy outcasts of society, for whom—living or dying—no man else seemed to care.

At first despised, if not ridiculed, the patient heroism of the Franciscans gradually made its way among the homes of men, and of men often very different from those amongst whom they worked and preached and toiled. In no country were the labours of these mendicant friars more successful than in England. The little band of nine poor brothers rapidly increased. Some jealousy was naturally excited among the monastic orders and among the regular priests of the church, especially owing to the attention they excited by their preaching, to which they gave especial care. They multiplied with extraordinary rapidity. Within thirty years after their arrival at Canterbury, the English Franciscans numbered 1,242; they possessed as many as forty-nine houses or convents, in cities widely separated like London, Oxford, Cambridge,

York, Hereford, Lynn, Norwich, Bridgewater, and Bristol. They passed into Ireland and Scotland, and everywhere were received with favour and not unfrequently with enthusiasm—an instance, it has been well said, of religious organisation and propagandism unexampled in the annals of the world.

A MENDICANT FRIAR PREACHING FROM A PORTABLE PULPIT.
(*From "The Romance of St. Graal," 14th Century. British Museum.*)

Nothing is more remarkable, however, in the story of the work and influence of the Franciscan order, than the marvellous and rapid change which passed over the friars in the matter of learning. Absolutely forbidden at first to use books, and even ink and parchment, in a few years we find the Franciscans famous among the learned men of Europe; the *English* Franciscans especially distinguished among these friar teachers and thinkers. Curiously enough, their beloved founder seems to have *h* books, and proscribed learning of all k among his early disciples. He would h his followers like the poor, whose ap he loved to consider himself, not in d only, but in heart and understand Total poverty would ensure this; it w forbid the possession of books or an the necessary materials of st "Father," on one occasion sa novice to Francis, "it would a great comfort to me to h a psalter; the minister-gen permits it; still, I should not to use it without your lea The father evaded the request few days after, the novice as him again. Then Francis some heat replied: "When have got a psalter, you will w a breviary. I am your brevi . . . How much happier he has made himself barren for love of God!" Again after s days, perhaps wearied with novice's importunities, he b him use the psalter as the minis general had given him leave. T calling him back, kneeling be his young disciple, he exclaim "*Mea culpa, mea culpa!* whoever wil a friar minor must possess nothing bes his habit, or shoes if necessary."*

And yet, in spite of this early rep nance to books, even of the simplest, n every-day character, very soon the Eng Franciscans became the most learned b in Europe, and preserved their reputat for letters until the day came when He

* *Cf.* "Monumenta Franciscana."

I. swept them out of the land. In the -se of the very reign which witnessed r coming to England, we find Robert varby, a Franciscan friar, on the arch-op's throne at Canterbury. We note aventura, the general of the order, sing the archbishopric of York, and me of Ascoli, general after Bonaven-, elected Pope under the name of

ASSISI.

olas IV. In the now famous and most ed order we come upon such names lexander Hales and Roger Bacon and s Scotus, who will ever rank among most erudite and distinguished scholars e Middle Ages. All of them were iciscan friars!

e truth was, the work which the iciscan had set himself to do compelled at first perhaps against his will, to me a student. For something more moved Francis of Assisi at the outset is career, than the mere *spiritual* destitution of the crowded and neglected populations of the fast-growing cities of the thirteenth century. He saw, and his soul grieved over, the ever-recurring deadly sicknesses, the plague in its varied and terrible forms, fever and ague, and the awful scourge of leprosy. These he marked were ever making fearful havoc amidst the uncared-for, unloved masses who dwelt in the poor quarters of every important city. To these death came as a friend, while life under such dreary conditions was scarcely a boon. Alone in his generation, the eyes of the Italian enthusiast were opened to see and to pity with an immense pity the misery and agony of so many men and women and helpless children. Looking over the misery which existed in his day, Francis resolved to care for the health of the body equally as for the care of the soul. Hence, probably, the enormous influence of the friar, hence no doubt the

marvellous rapidity with which his famous order sprang into fame and power.

Strict and stern were the injunctions which Father Francis gave his pupils and followers to qualify themselves for an intelligent as well as for a loving attendance on the plague-stricken, the fever-smitten, and the leper; and well did his first disciples in all countries follow out their beloved master's charge as to the care of the sick. They studied the course of the many sicknesses, they watched and listened. Their whole life, devoted as it was to the relief of misery and poverty, constituted a perpetual object-lesson. They were ever learning, ever becoming more skilful; before the close of the century, which they so splendidly illustrated by their loving labours, the practice of medicine was literally engrossed by the friar. Was his popularity to be wondered at? Never in the annals of Christendom was the people's love more quickly won, more fairly earned.

For they were not only physicians of the body; they were patient and unwearied teachers, fervid and impassioned preachers. At first they were perfectly simple, possessing little theological knowledge besides an intimate knowledge of every phase and word of the Gospel narrative; but very early in their marvellous career their noble work among the dregs of the population brought them often into contact with the wealthier members of the city community, with men more or less trained to think, with men in whose hearts the more subtle heresies, so current in the early Middle Ages, had found a lodgment. The popular friar found that he had to meet in his sermon these doubters, inquirers, and sceptics. To be successful as a physician of the body, the Franciscan soon found knowledge of medicine was absolute necessary, and he set himself in go earnest to acquire this knowledge; to really successful as a physician of the so he also at an early stage discovered th something more than a fervid enthusias was wanted. So the friar became a stude and the early injunctions of the found were gradually forgotten or ignored.

To give a notable instance of this qui recognition of a need, we read in the st above quoted of the Franciscan Ecclest how Agnellus, the first provincial of t order in England, persuaded master Rob Grosseteste of holy memory (afterwards t world-famed bishop of Lincoln, of wh some account has been given, but the well-known teacher in the schools Oxford) to read lectures to the brethren friars who were located in the poor quart of the fast-growing city of Oxford. Un Grosseteste the Oxford friars made un countable progress in sermons, and subtle moralities suitable for preachi The reputation of the English friars learning, indeed, increased so rapidly, a their proficiency in study became notorious in other lands, that the minist general of the Franciscans positively s for two of the English friar-community read lectures in distant Lyons. Read (teachers), says Eccleston—who, be it membered, was an eye-witness of events he so picturesquely and sim describes—were appointed by the heads the order at Hereford, Leicester, Bris Cambridge, and Oxford, "and the of wisdom," to use his own words, overflowed in the province of Englan that soon there were as many as thi

ranciscan lecturers in England, and a gular succession of these was provided the university. By the middle of the irteenth century, strange to say, the preominance of the Franciscans over Oxford as notorious; at Cambridge, perhaps, eir influence was less apparent, not ecause they were less numerous or less usy than at the sister university, but on count of there being no one of comanding genius and power at Cambridge ke Robert Grosseteste, who guided the ounsels of the Oxford Franciscans.

"For three hundred years, side by side ith their brother mendicants of the order St. Dominic, the friars were the evanelisers of the towns. When the spoliation the religious houses was decided upon king Henry VIII., the friars were the st upon whom the blow fell. But when eir property came to be looked into, ere was nothing to rob but the churches which they worshipped, the libraries in hich they studied, and the houses in hich they passed their lives."* Richard gworth, suffragan of Dover, who was uch employed in the king's work of ppressing the religious houses in the xteenth century, bears repeated testimony the deep poverty of the mendicant iars some three centuries after their great under's death. Writing to lord Cromell, he speaks thus of his experience in e north of England: "He had received r the king twenty-six houses of friars—e very poorest houses that ever he went ." The same story is told by the royal mmissioner of the friars' establishments other parts of England, as at Dunstable, Vare, and Walsingham. Writing of Scarborough, he says with some irony, "all that the king can expect to get is the lead off the roof and some poor chalices." The only exceptions were two or three of the greatest foundations at London and York, where some magnificence in the buildings and appointments had been introduced through the munificence of benefactors.*

We possess a remarkable testimony to the work and influence of the mendicant friars, the disciples of Francis, on England and her church during the early years of their settlement among us, in the Letters already referred to of Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. This eminent and saintly man was an actual eye-witness of their doings in the first age of their fervour and zeal. Grosseteste himself was no ordinary man; during his lifetime he was the most honoured and revered among English churchmen, and for centuries after his death his fame lived as a great scholar and church administrator. On English thought and literature no one can be cited, in the reign of Henry III., who has exercised a greater influence than the famous bishop of Lincoln. His genius was universal. His own age acknowledged his great powers and profound scholarship and learning, and his age, be it remembered, was fertile in eminent men; it boasted such names as Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon. Grosseteste was, moreover, something more than a scholar and thinker. He was the friend and adviser, as we have already described him, of the great and powerful as of the poorest and humblest. His estimate of the friars

* Dr. Jessop: "The Coming of the Friars."

* *Cf.* Dr. Gasquet: "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," chap. vii.

may be gathered from the following extract from one of his letters written to Pope Gregory IX. :—"Your Holiness may be assured that in England inestimable benefits have been produced by the friars, for they illuminate the whole country with the light of their preaching and their learning. Their holy conversation excites vehemently to contempt of the world and to voluntary poverty, to the practice of humility in the highest ranks, to obedience to prelates and heads of the church, to patience in tribulation, to abstinence in plenty—in a word, to the practice of all virtues. If your Holiness could see with what devotion and humility the people run to hear the word of life from them, for confession and instruction in daily life, and how much improvement the clergy and the regulars have obtained by imitating them, you would indeed say that 'they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.'" Grosseteste writes in similar terms of the friars to Cardinal Raynald, afterwards Pope Alexander IV.*

This may be taken as a fair estimate, by a great contemporary, of the work done in England by the mendicant friars, especially of the order of St. Francis, during the first half century which followed their establishment among us.

The ideal friar, as dreamed of by Francis of Assisi, was an unspeakably noble conception; but not a few of his fervid disciples, especially in the earlier years which followed his death, fairly reached it. As time went on the ideal became lowered; corruptions crept in, discipline was weakened, enthusiasm waned, the burning love grew cold. It was th story, told and retold so often of all h work. But the severest critic must g as he turns over the pages of the Franc story in England, that the effect o self-denying labours of the discipl Francis of Assisi on England and church has been really great, and o whole very beneficial. Their lives tou with love and pity the lives of thous who but for them would have died wi knowledge of the Redeemer, or exper of the sympathy of their brother- There were verily thousands and te thousands for whom no man cared the Franciscan—the mendicant friar. when the crash of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the hea policy of a general confiscation of churches, the lands, and houses o English religious, disclosed the poverty of the famous order. It was seen how, during three hundred of varying popularity in the weal country of the western world, these had "forgotten" to enrich them Thus far, at least, they had been tr the old "poverty"-enjoining precep the loving enthusiast, whose memory cherished as their father and founder.

The asceticism of the Franciscan of a peculiar kind. While other reli orders multiplied the rules of abstin and seemed to consider that pe sanctity could only be obtained a price of bitter mortification, the Franc retained only the ordinary vigils and of the church. On other days friar might eat flesh, and partake o

* *Cf.* "Epistolæ Roberti Grossetesti," published in the Rolls Series.

l or drink indifferently. His fasting, ainly in the earlier days, mainly con- ed in his frequent difficulty to procure sleep, and drink, so that the body should have no occasion of complaining that it could not, through weakness or weariness,

ST. FRANCIS PREACHING TO THE BIRDS.
*(From the picture by H. Stacy Marks, R.A., by permission of Angus Holden, Esq., M.P.)*

food or drink save of the coarsest and t repulsive kind. St. Francis taught the body was created for the soul; that the servant of God ought to eat, stand erect or pay attention to prayer. He was a constant advocate for cheerfulness, saying that it was the sign of a clean heart, and a great defence against the

devil. "Why," said he once to one of his disciples, "do you wear that sad and gloomy countenance because of your offences? It is enough that your sorrow should be known between you and your God."

The strange and regrettable innovation and development of the cult of the blessed Virgin—that special and saddest characteristic feature of mediæval Christianity, which we have already dwelt upon—received a still further impetus, owing to the enormous influence exercised over the masses of the people by the friars after the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The Virgin Mary occupied a peculiar and lofty position in Franciscan theology. The friars were essentially popular teachers. Bound (as were all the religious) to celibacy, they yet felt it their solemn and inescapable duty to exalt the pure family life of the world in which they moved, and which they hoped to purify and raise. So they warmly encouraged and promoted marriage among the people, believing, and rightly, that the hallowed tie was a true safeguard of purity. So in his preaching the friar insisted on the humanity of the Son of God, dwelling on His poverty and sufferings as man; while at the same time he exalted the position of woman by glorifying the Virgin Mary. He dwelt ever on her spotless purity, on her maternal authority and dignity. The Franciscan teaching loved ever to give greater prominence to the childhood than to the manhood of Christ; to lay greater stress on the parent, and, alas! too often to exalt the mother at the expense of the Son. This teaching, pressed home by the teachers they loved and honoured, sank deep into the hearts of the people of England, where the Fran exercised a peculiar and surpassin fluence.

Men ask, what was this St. Franci devised this mighty network of influ who inspired his fellows with st passion of self-devotion; who bui that great order which has done noble work in past ages in our England—an order which has su denunciations, scoffs, taunts, scorn, the follies of its own degenerate son which, after six hundred years, still and is a powerful influence in our ow and time? It is difficult, of course, case of one so venerated, even worsh as St. Francis, to disentangle the true the false in the many histories memoirs of his life and work which come down the stream of ages to times. Round such beloved and ven men, of course, legend and romanc thickly gathered; still, some of the features of that strange character preserved.

St. Bonaventura, a general of the ciscan order, whose deep piety an rivalled learning compel attention t statement issuing from his pen, pos rare facilities for estimating his char Bonaventura, who must have often versed with men who knew Fran Assisi intimately, thus writes of the founder of the order: "Who can fo conception of the fervour and the lo Francis, the friend of Christ? You have said he was burnt up by divine like charcoal in the flames. As oft his thoughts were directed to the D love, he was excited as if the chords

had been touched by the plectrum of
ıward voice."

rds and insects to Francis were
ds. He would caress and talk to
ı, and they would come to him all
ess, half forgiving him that he was a
and not one of themselves. Wild
ns fluttered round him. Timid ani-
would seek to attract rather than
e his notice. Half-frozen bees crawled
m in the winter time to be fed. He
d talk to them as friend talks with
ds. "My dear sisters," he was heard
iming to some starlings who fluttered
chattered round him, "you have
d long enough; it is my turn now.
n to the word of your Creator, and
uiet." At another time, speaking as
as wont to such a feathered audience,
aid: "My little brothers, you should
and praise the author of your being,
has clothed you with plumage and
ı you wings to fly where you will.
were the first created of all animals.
ıas given you the pure air for your
ling-place. You sow not, neither do
reap, but all the time He watches
you. So give praise to your loving
tor." So great, indeed, was his devo-
to the animal creation, that he would
d the very worms from injury.*

ıt his intense love and pity for the
the sick, and stricken, was his great
bing passion. His strange love for
oor and miserable lepers, arose from
ersuasion that these unhappy beings
the most wretched of all the children
en. These believed in him and in his
r to help them. No man ever seems

f. Sir James Stephen's Essays: "Francis of
."

to have exercised such an overwhelming, irresistible attraction upon his fellows as did Francis. He was a poet and an orator, and, in addition to these rare gifts, possessed the power of a great organiser. He was ever haunted with the fear that his followers, whom he had inspired with something of his intense fervour and passion for self-sacrifice, would rapidly degenerate; and this dread made his whole nature intensely sorrowful. His marvellous successes appalled him, and often he would weep so long and so bitterly, that before his end his eyesight almost failed him.

Much of his life was passed in a kind of trance, in which celestial visitants appeared ever to hover round him; now in visible form, now he only heard the heavenly voices. Indeed, that life of his, which has exercised so enormous an influence on mankind, was a strange mixture. Though loving solitude, though realising perhaps more intensely than any other mortal ever did the beauty of the famous monkish motto, "*O beata solitudo, O sola beatitudo!*" ("O blissful solitude, O solitary bliss!"), he lived most of his busy existence amid squalid crowds in cities. The greatest, perhaps, of the mystics, he was one of the most practical of men, and has left behind him the most elaborate codes and canons for the government of his beloved order, drawn up with all the precision of a notary. In his temper he was to-day a playful child, on the next a gloomy and sorrowful anchoret. He would pass rapidly from a state of the darkest forebodings into a condition of more than human ecstasy. There appears to have been but little attraction in his

*Photo: Braun, Paris.*

ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA.

(*From the picture by Giotto in the Louvre.*)

personal appearance. "T
was no beauty" in
winning personality
we should desire
Francis was of short st
his figure gaunt and wa
his garments sombre
ragged, his face deeply
rowed with lines of
and thought, altogeth
cheerless and unall
image. Only his voice
ever sweet and singu
persuasive.

One remarkable fe
in that wasted form mu
noticed in this little pi
of the great founder o
Franciscan order. The
an unwavering trac
that on that poor unl
body were imprinted b
he died the sacred mar
the Passion of the Sa
—on both hands and o
feet the dark marks d
indented, of the nail
which our Crucified
was fastened to the C
and in the side the pri
a spear-thrust. Eye
nesses not a few in nu
have left their record
they saw in life, and
after death, these wond
Passion marks. The
in the course of which
sacred symbols were sa
have been imprinted o
body of Francis appea
have differed but sli

n others which this enthusiast seems to e been often privileged to enjoy. Some years before his death Francis had withvn himself for a brief season into the udes of Mount Alvernus, a wild tract and on the summit of the Tuscan nnines, where a little church had been ted. One night, at a short distance the church, he chose to spend alone rayer. As the sun was rising, before the eyes of the solitary watcher appeared a bright winged form, seemingly nailed to a cross. For a brief season Francis was sensible of a feeling of ecstatic joy, but the joy was mingled with the sharpest suffering. As the glorious vision faded, he perceived upon his body the Passion marks; upon his hands, his feet, his side the prints of the nails and the scar of the spear! These marks (*stigmata*) were

*Photo: Alinari.*

CH OF ST. MARY OF THE ANGELS, NEAR ASSISI, BUILT AROUND THE ORIGINAL CHURCH IN WHICH ST. FRANCIS WORSHIPPED, WHICH HAS BEEN PRESERVED AND DECORATED AS SHOWN.

indelible—he bore them the rest of his life. His friends tell us that they gazed on them with adoring reverence, as they laid their master in his coffin.*

No special legend attempts to glorify the last scenes of that life which has had so large an influence on succeeding generations. The two years during which Francis survived the trance of Mount Alvernus, in which—so runs the strange story—the "stigmata" were imprinted on his body, were a time of bodily suffering. He was comparatively young. But his life of incessant anxiety, of feverish solicitude for his suffering neighbours—and who was not neighbour to St. Francis of Assisi?—his long and continued fasts, his sleepless nights, had prematurely worn out that frail body. During the last months every care and attention that he would submit to was lavished upon him, for men had come to learn that in Francis, the half-crazy enthusiast, as some persisted in deeming him, the world possessed a true saint and a great leader of men.

When death was very near he asked to be removed from the bishop's palace at Assisi, where he had been long lying prostrated by weakness and mortal sickness, to the humble settlement of brothers which clustered round the little chapel of the Portiuncula (St. Mary of the Angels), where in former days he was in the habit of praying, where he dreamed many of his earlier dreams, and where he had seen some of his earlier visions—a spot which the dying Francis loved more than any sanctuary in the world. On his way thither he begged the bearers of his litter to stop

* *Cf.* Sabatier: "Vie de St. François d'Assisi"; and Milman: "Latin Christianity," bk. ix., ch. x.

and to lay him on the ground, and th
stretching out his hand, he blesse
loved town of Assisi lying before hin
few more days of pain and suffering p
before the quiet, peaceful end came
these closing hours he dictated hi
wishes to his order, enjoining the bre
to receive neither churches nor land
any gift which should infringe the ori
vow of the order to maintain for ever a
poverty. Men, he wrote, might ente
them, but only as strangers and pilgri

When very near the end, surround
a group of his dearest friends, he sa
would eat a last solemn repast wit
brothers. There, in that poor hut
the shadow of the humble Portiu
chapel, he broke his bread and distri
it, and thus, without an altar and wi
a priest, celebrated the Lord's Su
His last words breathed that divine
which had coloured his whole life—
intense love to men in which we
seek and find the secret of his vast p
over the human heart. "See," he
"God is calling me. I forgive al
brethren their sins and errors, and
as lies in me, I absolve them. Tell
this, and bless them in my name."

The ashes of St. Francis rest at
in a rough stone coffin, which lies
chamber hewn out of the solid trave
rock. Over his grave, with extraord
rapidity, his followers within a few
erected that stately basilica which, ad
by the hands of Cimabue and G
challenges still the admiration of
Christian world. For more tha
hundred years it has been visite
thousands of pious pilgrims, longin

* Sabatier: "Vie de St. François d'Assis

*Photo: R. W. Thomas, Cheapside, E.C.*

NORWICH CATHEDRAL, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

on the tomb of the great master, ful to look on the scenes once loved Francis. Within two years of his h Rome inscribed him in her golden of saints, and from that day, 1228, innumerable painters, many eless, some bearing historic names Fra Angelico, have ever surrounded head of Francis with an aureole ivine glory. But the splendid and y church which marks his grave, bright coronet of heavenly light h surrounds his head in a thousand ires, the saintly title with which in all lands choose to honour his ory, are sadly at variance with the aimed at by the man, holy and ble of heart, whose only ambition to be known as the comforter of the and the outcast, as the friend of the dless, as the nameless founder of an of poor and homeless men, who ld tell the story of the Christ, minister- all the while to the wants of the rer, the oppressed, and the unhappy, e hoarse cry of misery was going up and night from the poor and neglected ters of many a world-famed city, alike Paris and London, Oxford and gna, Norwich and Lyons.

de by side, and at the same time, with Franciscans—well-nigh as numerous, many of the same aims, with much e same methods of working—arose her order of mendicant friars profess- he same utter poverty, and powerfully encing by their preaching and teach- ll church and religious life in England. e were the followers of Dominic the iard, an Augustinian canon of Osma, in Old Castille. Dominic, the founder of the world-famed order of friar preachers, appeared almost simultaneously with Francis of Assisi, in the early years of the thirteenth century. Before Dominic's death in the year 1221, western Christendom was covered with a host of zealous and devoted men, whose special function was popular instruction. The Dominicans were gathered from all lands, and were thus at home with every language and dialect, especially haunting the chief seats of learning—such as Bologna, Paris, Oxford, Cambridge—where these new and fervid teachers, constituting themselves the champions of a rigid, unswerving orthodoxy, soon obtained a vast influence.

Out of the mist of legend and unfortunate adulation, which in subsequent ages has surrounded the person of Dominic, we are able to catch sight of some of the influences which helped to mould the character of one of the greatest of mediæval reformers. The dominant thought in Dominic's mind in early and middle life was the restoration of a purer faith in the southern lands, especially in Provence and Languedoc. Strange Oriental heresies, brought into Europe by the constant passing and repassing of the Crusading host, had seriously affected the Christian faith and teaching, especially in these southern countries. There was, especially, a curious and general revival of an ancient Eastern heresy, known as Manichæism, the chief characteristic features of which were belief in two co-equal conflicting principles of good and evil, the implacable hostility of matter to spirit, an aversion to the Old Testament as the work of a spirit hostile to God. To these false doctrines was

added one of yet greater danger to the Christian faith: these heretics denied the reality of the suffering Christ, thus reviving an old and frequently condemned teaching. The result of the popularity of this revival of old heresies in the cultured lands of the south of France, was that through France —and, indeed, through all Christendom— unbelief was spreading with alarming rapidity. In addition to these wild beliefs, a widely-spread antagonism to sacerdotal claims existed. This antagonism had largely increased with the revival, power, and influence of the Papacy; hatred to the ever-growing pretensions of Rome had much to do with this hostility to hierarchical authority. There is no doubt that at the beginning of the thirteenth century there was much disorder in faith and practice, especially among the highly cultured provinces of southern France. Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, a powerful and influential prince, but whose character was dissolute and pleasure-loving, had constituted himself the patron and upholder of these dissenters from the ancient faith of Christendom.

For years Dominic's mission in life was to combat these false beliefs, these rebellions against obedience to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. He promoted the establishment of seminaries for the better education of the youth of both sexes, and he founded one or more religious teaching houses under the obedience of the Augustinian order to which he himself belonged. Pressing on the church the necessity of a more careful attention to preaching, he carried on with unremitting perseverance what he considered his life-work of witness for Catholic truth, in opposition to the desolating heresies growing up thic around him. Later panegyrists have deavoured to connect his name clo with the dark atrocities of the Albigen war, so called from the fact of the c seat of the heretics being in the city Albi—a war in which politics and gr alas! were inextricably mixed up with defence of the Catholic faith. In t terrible wars Dominic, as the champio Catholic truth, is represented by man marching in the van of the armies posing the heretic Raymond of Toulo with the cross in his hands, a cross w was afterwards shown riddled with de arrows and missiles, only the form of Saviour hanging on it remaining injured. But later historians are silent this point, and indeed there is nothin contemporary history which connects great preacher with the dark acts of Albigensian wars.*

In fact, Dominic's fame and reputa grew very slowly during many years. E Pope Innocent III. seems to have give the fervid preacher but scant encour ment, save that he, shortly before his de gave his sanction to a "house," w was virtually the mother house of Dominican order—St. Ronain at Toulo This famous Pope failed to perceive the Augustinian canon the mighty po which eventually showed themselves conspicuously in his work. It was until the year 1217 that Dominic becar conspicuous figure in the history of church. Years of preparation and q persevering enthusiasm had qualified for the famous pulpit work at Rome, w

* Milman: "Latin Christianity," book chap. ix. Also Excursus C at end of volume.

ST. FRANCIS DYING, BLESSES THE TOWN OF ASSISI.

*(From the picture by Francois Léon Benouville, in the Louvre.)*

*Photo: Braun, Paris*

he now took up his residence. There, where Honorius III. had succeeded Innocent III., Dominic rapidly gained a vast reputation. His surpassing eloquence, his great learning, his burning enthusiasm, at once attracted the attention of the Pope, and the preaching friar became rapidly a great power at Rome. It seems about this time that the little order founded by the great orator took a new departure. Probably the growing success of the Franciscans suggested it. At all events, the disciples of Dominic henceforth made a formal profession of poverty; and the complete renunciation of all means of support, save such as might be offered day by day, became a part of the Dominican rule.

Both these men, Dominic and Francis, had in their patient enthusiasm laid their hands on a real need—an actual want in the church. Francis discovered the neglected "masses" in the growing mediæval towns and cities, the uncared-for, unshepherded town populations. Dominic found out that preaching—earnest, instructive, passionate preaching—was lacking in mediæval Christendom. These men were sorely *wanted*—hence their marvellous success. In less than seven years after he had begun to preach at Rome, Dominic's little "preaching order" had spread over well-nigh the whole of Europe. Dominican houses began to spring up with amazing rapidity in all lands.

It was not until the year of his death, in 1221, that the new order arrived in England, just three years before the coming of the Franciscans. Prior Gilbert landed with fourteen friars, and preached before the aged primate who played so distinguished a part in the great struggle freedom in king John's days—Steph Langton. The archbishop was struck w the fervour and eloquence of the strang and gave them full licence to pre throughout the land. Monasteries of t new order of preaching friars rose at o at Canterbury, London, and Oxford. T or three years later we hear of them ceiving hospitably and aiding their brot mendicants of St. Francis's order, but, far as England is concerned, we possess more details as to the Dominican w among us for many years. All we kn of the Dominican in England in the f days is, that wherever the Francis settled, usually in the same place wa Dominican house, whose friars rat addressed themselves to the cultu classes, while the Franciscan labou among the poorest of the people; but a a comparatively brief season the two ord equally shared in the possession of t most learned and cultured men in Euro

In England the Dominicans, thou never attaining the same great popular or anything like the same influence a hold upon the people's affection as th brethren the Franciscan friars, were nun rically not far behind them, and very so after their first arrival no considera town in England was without a Francis and Dominican settlement. The riva between the two orders only began a later period. Doctrinally, at least at fi there was a striking likeness in the tea ing of Dominic and Francis. They w both devoted adherents of the Rom supremacy. It is strange that both Domi and Francis, in the first instance, w coldly received by the reigning Pope, t

at Innocent III., and it was only after eful thought that Papal encouragement s finally given to their mighty con- tion. It is true that before his death nocent III., and to a still greater degree successor, Honorius III., began to be scious of the strength and irresistible uence of the mendicant orders; neither of these eminent Popes essed *what* these two great standing nies in every country of Europe would, ime to come, be to the Papacy. The minican and Franciscan are said, and h truth, to have perpetuated, or at least have immeasurably strengthened the rmous pretensions of Rome, for more n two centuries after their foundation. s reflection—true on the continent of rope—is peculiarly applicable in Eng- d, where the influence of the mendicant rs endured until the Reformation.

ike their Franciscan brothers, the minicans professed the deepest reverence the blessed Virgin, who was regarded the special protectress of the order. eir raptures of spiritual adulation seem ur truer and more scriptural estimation her, who was indeed "blessed among men," as bordering on wild profanation. Dominic, who considered himself as the pted son of Mary, is ascribed the com- ition of the famous "Rosary"—that nge litany with the refrain "Ave Maria" il Mary) repeated again and again— rm of prayer which has maintained in man Catholic countries its wonderful ularity to our own days and times, and ich has done more to perpetuate the of the so-called Queen of Heaven ong the people than all the rhapsodies mystics, or learned treatises of doctors, or authoritative pronouncements of the Roman see.*

One great source of strength of the two great mendicant orders, Dominican and Franciscan, was the establishment of a third, a wider and more secular community, known as the "Tertiaries," consisting of men and women bound by no vows. These were well-wishers of the famous orders, and were taught to observe all holy days, fasts, and vigils; were trained to constant prayer and attendance at divine worship, especially in churches served by the Franciscans and Dominicans. By this means the orders secured everywhere a vast host of devoted followers of both sexes, wedded to their interests. These Tertiaries, or soldiers of Jesus Christ, as they were called among the Dominicans, by no means secluded from the world, its cares and interests, influenced widely and powerfully all sorts and conditions of men. This secular order of Tertiaries received eventually the formal sanction of Rome.

Under the fourth general of the order, John of Wildeshausen,† in Westphalia, a chapter-general was held at Bordeaux. The Dominicans at that great meeting reckoned their monasteries or communities to number 470. They were thus divided: in Spain, 35; in France, 52; in Germany, 52; in Tuscany, 32; in Lombardy, 46; in Hungary, 30; in Poland, 36; in Denmark, 28; in England, 40; besides many in eastern lands. The popularity and influence of these mendicant friars, although inferior to that enjoyed by the Franciscans, was perhaps greater in England than in any other country.

* Milman: "Latin Christianity," book ix., chap. ix. † Dr. Gasquet.

Like his yet greater companion in the work of devising and founding the mendicant orders, who were destined to play so great a part henceforth in the Church of England and on the Continent, Dominic died comparatively early. He was only fifty-two years old when he was attacked by the fever and dysentery to which he quickly succumbed — his emaciated and worn-out body offering little resistance to the fatal malady. His end was a quiet and holy one. "Weep not," said the dying Dominic to his sorrowing friends; "I shall be able to help you better in the place whither I am going, than I could hope to do were I to remain with you." Without pomp or state, with no attempt to embalm his body, they laid him in a grave in the old church of St. Nicholas at Bologna, raising no monument, but allowing the feet of the brethren of his order to press the gravestone of their great founder. This was one of his last requests.

But the humble sepulture was soon exchanged for one more suitable, men thought, to so eminent a saint. Twelve years after his death, in the presence of a vast crowd of distinguished ecclesiastics, the coffin of Dominic was exhumed and opened. No special miracle of the preservation of the sacred body was recorded—the bones only of Dominic were found; a sweet smell which the bystanders noticed was the only outward sign of the sanctity of the remains. The coffin has been since twice unsealed, the last time in the year 1383, when the skull was taken out and deposited in a silver urn, which was placed in a separate chapel for the veneration of the countless pilgrims to his shrine. A great monument, richly adorned with sculpture by the most illustrious artist the thirteenth century and later, gu the vault where the mouldering be of the founder of the famous Domini order repose. They have not been s since the year 1383.

Art has, of course, idealised St. Domi He possessed a wonderful charm, wh enabled him to influence so many of contemporaries of all ranks and ord from the magnificent prelate who reig from the Vatican over the churches the west, down to the humble and known scholar of English Oxford or Ita Bologna—a charm which has endu though centuries have passed since talked and worked with men. This ch painters have again and again tried represent with glory aureoles and feat of superhuman beauty. The real Dom seems to have had a person of about middle height, with fair hair and bea his form was attenuated. His wonde powers as an orator were aided by impressive and ringing voice. Very ferent from St. Francis, Dominic in latter part of his wonderful career m himself acceptable to the Papal court, was invested with an office at Rome wh has been ever held by his successors the order—that of "master of the sac palace." The most eloquent preache this century, Henri Dominique Lacorda was a Dominican; and the fact that great pulpits of Roman Catholic Chris dom are still so often filled with broth of the famous order, tells that the w of St. Dominic, the founder of the prea ing friars, has been an enduring one.

Later tradition has ever associated with the dread tribunal of the Inquisiti

*Photo: Alinari, Florence.*

THE CHAPEL OF ST. DOMINIC, BOLOGNA.

with all its tremendous and terrible agencies; but it is more than doubtful if that unhappy title to honour really belongs to him. The tribunal of the Inquisition, with its far-reaching powers, was not placed in the hands of the Dominican friars, until some years after the death of St. Dominic, founder of the order.* Indeed, his character, as painted by his friend and companion, St. Jourdain de Saxe, is far from according with the stern and ruthless Inquisitor of the later biographers. St. Jourdain describes him as a loving and devoted man, as one who through love had discovered the secret of the key of hearts. His days he devoted to his neighbours, his nights he gave to God. Rest at night was with him a rare thing. The hours generally devoted to repose he usually passed in a church; when spent with fatigue, he would sleep for a brief space before the altar where he used to pray. It is hard to believe t such a loving and devoted man e approved, much less shared in, the w of that awful tribunal of the Inqu tion, with which, after his death, members his order w so intima associated.*

ST. DOMINIC.
(*From the picture by Giovanni Bellini in the National Gallery.*)

The mer cant friars, for the th hundred y preceding Reforma occupied prominent place in Church England teache preachers, confesso comprised mately sev orders; of th the Fran cans and minicans, tain chap in whose st we have just been dwelling upon, w by far the most influential and the n numerous.

The *Franciscans* need not be furt described. They were also known am us as "grey friars," from the colour their habit; "minores" or "minorit

* See Excursus C at end of volume.

* *Cf.* generally Lacordaire: "Vie de St. minique."

the youngest and, in the eyes of their ıtly founder, the humblest of the re- ous foundations. "Our Francis" says: inores minimis sumus."

'he *Dominicans*, or "black friars," were ally known as friars preachers. This e, which well summarises their especial 'k, is generally referred to an expression d by the Pope, who on some occasion, ting to Dominic, gave this instruction his notary: "Write to Dominic, the aching brother."

'he *Augustinians*, or "Austin friars," e made up of many small communities, lived under no recognised rule, but e brought under one obedience by e Alexander IV. These mendicant rs took root in England some years r than the Franciscans, but never ained the power and influence won the two great orders founded by minic and Francis.

'he *Carmelites*, called in England the hite friars," traditionally belonged to a mmunity of hermits, settled on Mount mel, who professed to date back to times of Elijah the prophet. A Sir n de Vesci, on his return from the y wars, introduced a little company these mendicant friars into England, ere they soon took root during the early s of the teaching and influence of the Dominicans and Franciscans. They attained to a certain popularity in this country, and are usually reckoned as the fourth of the orders of mendicant friars. But, as compared with the followers of Dominic and Francis, they were insignificant in numbers as in weight. The Carmelites, like the two greater orders, were distinguished for their special devotion to the Virgin Mary, whom they considered the protectress of their community. Pope Honorius III. directed they should be styled "the family of the most blessed Virgin Mary." Hence, in all the convents of the order the Virgin, under her title of Madonna del Carmine, holds a conspicuous place.

The numbers of the mendicant orders *in England* at the epoch of the Reformation—A.D. 1536–1540, when they were suppressed, after three hundred years of existence—were, roughly, about 1,800 to 1,900 in all, and they were thus divided:—

| | Franciscan. | Dominican. | Austin. | Carmelite. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of houses | 60 | 53 | 42 | 36 |
| No. of friars | 660 | 472 | 378 | 288 |

When these numbers are considered by the reader, the small numbers of the whole population of England, as remarked upon another occasion, must always be carefully taken into account.*

* *Cf.* Dr. Gasquet: "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," chap. vii.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Apparent Increase of the Church's Power and Influence—Elements of this Influence—Encroachmen Rome in the Reigns of John and Henry III.—Consequent Irritation and Resistance in Engla Edward I.—Confiscates Half the Church's Revenue—His Anti-Ecclesiastical Legislation ag Mortmain and Immunity of the Clergy—His Parliament—Growing Jealousy of the Friars—( Churchmen of this Period—Inner Life of the Church—Notes of Synods and Councils.

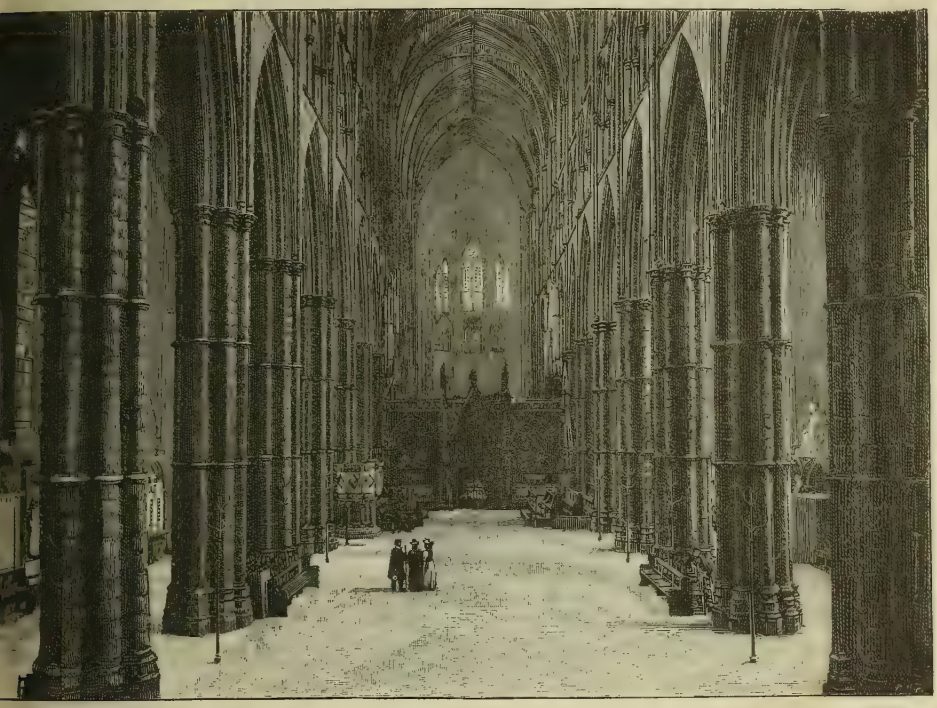
IN the earlier years of the thirteenth century it would have seemed to any thoughtful onlooker that the church during the two preceding centuries had made continuous and stately progress. The character of the Papacy had been restored, and its power and influence enormously augmented. It acted as a centre to the whole western church. A succession of distinguished and most able Popes in the course of these two centuries had sat on the throne of St. Peter. The monastic system had been revived, purified, and vastly augmented by the foundation of innumerable communities. In this general church revival England had borne a distinguished part. The Church of England during the reigns of the Norman and Plantagenet kings had occupied a peculiarly influential position. The ministers and advisers of the sovereigns from the days of Edward the Confessor to the time of Henry III. had been, in the great majority of cases, chosen from the ranks of churchmen.

In learning, the church reigned absolutely supreme. The universities and the schools belonged to her. The ecclesiastics were the canon lawyers and, as far as it was known or in use, the teachers and professors of the civil law. They almost the only historians and poets— distinguished in medicine and in phy science. It was the glory of the Franci order in the thirteenth century that applied themselves to this special st their work among the poor and negle of the people especially suggesting necessity of some proficiency in healing art.

The wealth of the Church of Englar this period of its history was enorm We have already noticed how powerfu influence the Crusading wars had bee augmenting the possessions of ecclesias and more or less these possessions been free, or partially free, from tributing to the burdens of the s Large portions of this wealth were ye spent with generous prodigality upon stately cathedrals, the abbey-churc and the monastic buildings which aros such numbers and often with such sta magnificence during this period. Ind the vast possessions of the Church England, ever on the increase, bec now, in the opinion of statesmen, a so of positive danger to the realm. To l this rapidly growing wealth, statutes s as "mortmain" were passed and bec

, as a national protest against the petual encroachment of the church on landed property of the kingdom.

The power of the church in England l vastly increased in the twelfth and rteenth centuries. It was no longer an which had little or nothing to do with the head of western Christendom, the bishop of Rome, or indeed with any of the Continental churches of the west. There was in this mediæval church a wonderful solidarity, which gave a strange power to



THE NAVE, WESTMINSTER (LOOKING EAST), BUILT IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES.

ular communion, with its interests and mainly confined to the island. Since e coming of William the Conqueror, was not merely intimately bound up th the state in its own country, t it now formed part of the great despread Latin communion. This was comparatively novel feature, and herein e mediæval Church of England in the nes of the Norman and Angevin kings ffered from the Anglo-Saxon church, each separate national church like the Church of England. "The clergy, including the monks and friars, were one throughout Latin Christendom. Whatever antagonism, feud, hatred, estrangement might rise between rival prelates and rival orders, whatever irreconcilable jealousy might arise between the seculars (the parish priests) and the regulars (members of the monastic orders), yet the caste seldom betrayed the interests of the

caste. The high-minded patriot-churchman who regarded his country more than the church was not common. The clergy in general (there were noble exceptions) were first the subjects of the Pope, then the—but only in the second place—subjects of the temporal sovereign. The allegiance of the hierarchy to the church was at once compulsory and voluntary. The Pope's awful powers held in check the constant inevitable tendency to rebellion and contumacy. The Papal legate, the pro-consul of the Pope, the co-ruler with the king, when he came to England, was not dependent on the reception of a cold or a hostile court. He could almost command, rarely did not receive, the unlimited homage of the clergy. To him was due their first obedience."*

This great Latin church, which extended from Scotland to the Spanish frontier of Christendom, from the Atlantic Ocean which washed the long western shores of France to the eastern boundary of Germany, had one common language. In their intercourse with each other the clergy needed no interpreter. Their Latin tongue was not only the language of their solemn ritual, but it was the one language current throughout Europe, the language of treaties and of negotiations between kingdom and kingdom. It was the one language, too, of European law.

This mediæval church, in theory at least, was moreover subject to one universal custom, the "rule of celibacy." The mediæval churchman had no home-life, no family, no country. Independent of all human ties and affections, his hopes a fears, his loyalty and allegiance belong alone to the church; and the chur meant, not the Church of England, but t great Latin communion, whose centre w not Canterbury, but Rome. Human natu again and again protested against this st and unnatural regulation. But we find t greatest among the Popes, the most fam of their legates, the foremost among chur men of every land, again and again ins ing upon the observance of this iron ru It has been well termed the "palladiu of the church's power. Latin (Rom Christianity has again and again resolut refused to change or to modify the ru Nor will it ever do so.

Among the various causes which England led to the Reformation of t sixteenth century, this existence of a ki dom within a kingdom, this perman settlement in our midst of a power caste, bound by the most solemn obli tions to a foreign, and not unfrequentl hostile power, must be reckoned amo the more far-reaching. If a question ar respecting conflicting claims to obedien the English ecclesiastic in the vast major of instances would obey the orders Rome, and not the will of the king a Parliament of England. No patric English statesman, were he ever so ligious and God-fearing, could brook su a state of things, which constituted ever-present and grave danger to t country he loved so well.

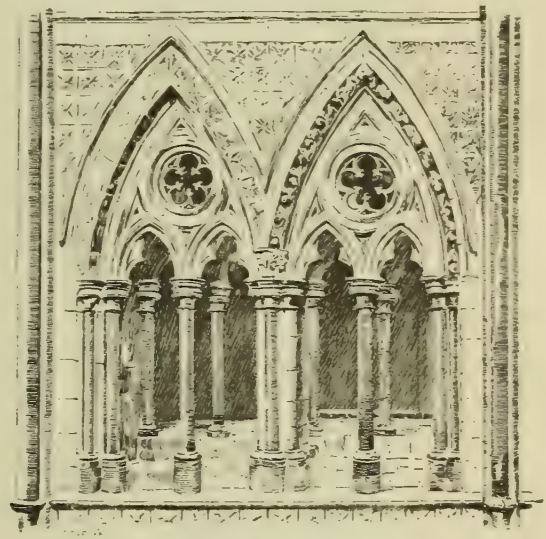
While the mediæval Latin church of t thirteenth century, of which, be it reme bered, the Church of England was a devo and obedient member, recognised in powerful outward framework one supre

* Milman: "Latin Christianity," book xiv., chap. i.

ıd on earth—the Pope; one sacred capital Rome; one universal language for its ıal and intercourse—the Latin tongue; e caste—the clergy, including monk and r, parish priest and prelate; and ignoring class distinction, enforcing one stern —celibacy; it claimed besides—a claim, , generally recognised and acknowledged ın awful secret power. In its hands, so ght this great Latin church, were keys which irrevocably opened closed to men the gates of the gdom of heaven. The eternal tiny of every man depended on will of the priest. He could bind loose. He could acquit, absolve, the soul from any contracted lt, however deep. He could send soul of the man who in his eyes ıained unrepentant, to a hopeless ım.

The power of the priest of the diæval Church of England, besides somewhat vague though tre- ndous authority reaching into a eless eternity, became more de- te, and hence more striking, as doctrine of a purgatory for the arted soul was gradually deve- ed. The priest, by his prayers and sses, claimed to be able to assist the arted soul in that place of proba- n, perhaps of punishment, whither at t all men after death were rele- ed. The life there might be sweet- ed; the duration of the purgatorial bation might assuredly be shortened, the prayers which were said and the sses which were celebrated at the altars he church. What probably at first was pious hope, was gradually taught to be a certainty; and before the fourteenth century had run half of its course, the fatal doctrine of indulgences had roused the indignation of many thinking men, and prepared the way for the Reformation with its momentous and drastic changes.*

Very tremendous were the powers long claimed, but only formally asserted in the fourth Lateran council, held by Pope Innocent III. in 1215, at which council Stephen Langton, the patriot archbishop of Canterbury, was present. Transubstantiation, in all its dread mystery and consequences, was authoritatively proclaimed to be a doctrine of the Catholic Church. For every priest, ministering at the high altar of a lordly cathedral or at the humble altar of a village church, was claimed the power—one



EARLY ENGLISH TRIFORIUM ARCH, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, BUILT IN THE REIGN OF HENRY III.

* *Cf.* Milman: "Latin Christianity," book xiv., chap. i.

trembles at the statement—of *making God.** Confession also, which by a decree of the same Lateran Council under Innocent III. was made an universal, obligatory, indispensable duty, laid bare to the priest of the Latin church the heart of everyone, from the sovereign on the throne to the peasant in the field. We have already seen the desolating effect upon a whole people of those formidable anathemas which the Pope, who claimed this awful power over the nation as over the individual, ever kept in readiness to launch against a people or a prince presuming to act in opposition to his sovereign will. The interdict, which might and sometimes did continue for the space of several years, virtually suspended the performance of all religious rites, even of the most solemn, thus placing an entire people outside the pale of Christendom. The excommunication, even more desolating in its effects, separated the hapless individual thus placed under the ban of the Catholic Church, from all the offices of religion. Should the offender happen to die while under this sweeping curse, for *his* soul even the most pitiful of men was forbidden to hope or even to pray!

Yet, in spite of defilements which kept ever creeping into it, but which all felt to be alien to it; in spite of doctrinal errors which ever kept distorting its higher teaching—errors which, as its noblest spirits were conscious, issued from the poor human heart seeking an easier path to heaven than the rugged road pointed out by Christ—the mediæval church, the church of Latin Christianity, with its unnumbered army of "religious," with its vast machinery of abbeys and churches, monasteries schools, all through those centuries of c fusion, conquest, rapine, and selfish gr stood out, upon the whole, as the g bulwark of the oppressed against hi handed tyranny; acted as the one mon to whom the great and powerful chose listen, and often to obey. In spite of the Latin (Roman) church was the which preserved society during this i age from hopeless corruption and irretr able decay.

King Edward I. died in 1307. whole of the preceding century had b taken up with the three reigns of Jo of his son and grandson, Henry III. Edward I. For the first sixteen disastr years in English story, John Lackl was king. The granting of Magna C was the great constitutional event of reign; and the large share in that tr action borne by archbishop Langt supported by the Church of England, been already dwelt upon. The ev however, in that sinister life of Jol which most closely affected the church, the infamous submission of the king the Pope, and the acknowledgment t he held his kingdom as a vassal of bishop of Rome. This gave an enorm impulse to the ever-growing Papal croachments; and the work of the Chu of England during the thirteenth and following centuries was gravely impe by the perpetual interference and meas less claims and exactions of Rome.

The reign of Henry III. (A.D. 1216–12 which witnessed the coming among u the mendicant friar, was a period especi notable for a steady advance of encroa

* *Cf.* Milman's "Latin Christianity," book vii., chap. ii.; book viii., chap. iii.; and book xiv., chap. i.

ents on the part of Rome on the rights nd liberties of the English church. There as ever a succession of haughty Papal ambassadors. The right of appointing to bishoprics, even to the arch-see of Canterbury in several notable instances,

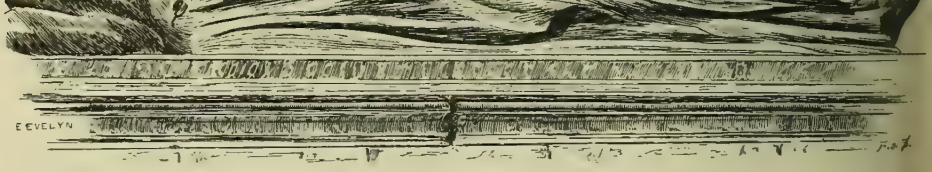
A MEDIÆVAL BISHOP.
*(By permission from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., in the Guildhall Art Gallery.)*

gates coming and going, claiming rank nd authority superior to that possessed y the English primate and his suffragans. reat sums of money were being constantly emanded, and usually paid by the Church f England, through these imperious Roman was claimed and exercised by the Italian Pontiff. The richest and most desirable benefices were filled up by the same foreign intruder, and frequently the scandal was perpetrated of forcing a foreigner, who might or might not reside on his cure or

in his cathedral city, into these livings or prebends. Foreign abbots and priors were often chosen for the English religious houses. The Pope claimed and often exercised, during this period, a constant right of interference with all the affairs of the Church of England. A steady flow of appeals to Rome also kept on increasing.

All this produced a feeling of intense irritation, among ecclesiastics as well as among laymen; and the name of Rome grew more and more hateful to Englishmen as the thirteenth century advanced. Of course, the extraordinary act of submission of king John to Pope Innocent III., the formal admission of vassalage on the part of a king of England to a Pope, gave to all these Papal exactions and assumptions of supreme authority, an enormous impetus. The court of Rome persisted in regarding England during the long reign of Henry III. as positively a subject state. Men like Grosseteste of Lincoln, although very loyal adherents of Rome, indignantly protested against these unheard-of and monstrous claims of the Pope and his legates, and frequently resisted (though generally the resistance was overcome), complying with the perpetual and excessive demands for money which Rome was ever making upon the wealthy Church of En land. At the council of Lyons, held und Innocent IV. in 1245, Roger Bigod a others representing the realm of Engla made a direct demand for some relaxati of this oppressive Roman tyranny, a even endeavoured to repudiate the di graceful submission of king John, but th righteous demand was rejected. "Th period of the history of the Church England (when the oppression of Ro was at its height) was dismal indeed, b the sum of grievances was mounting high that they must compel their ow remedy, and men were growing up with sense of injury that must sooner or lat provide its vindication."*

As examples of the imperious behavio of the Pope, in A.D. 1274, on a vacan occurring, the Pope nominated Robe Kilwardby, a Dominican friar, to th archbishopric of Canterbury; and in th year 1278, when Kilwardby accepted th offer of cardinal, and left England to tak his place among the Papal counsello thus vacating the primacy, the Pop without opposition, procured the electi of John Peckham, a Franciscan friar, i his room.




EFFIGY OF HENRY III.
(*From his Tomb in Westminster Abbey.*)

* Stubbs: "Constitutional History," chap. xix

Henry III. has been well described as complished, refined, liberal, magnifi-, rash rather than brave, impulsive ambitious, pious, and in an ordinary e virtuous, but at the same time rly devoid of all elements of great-." His foolish and impolitic prefer- for foreigners was one of the chief vances which led to the rebellion of barons under Simon de Montfort. nomination of his wife's uncle, Boni- son of the count of Savoy, to the bishopric of Canterbury was a notable nce of Henry III.'s usual policy. It a disastrous appointment for the rch of England. Boniface held the acy for some twenty-five years (1245 270). During much of this period the bishop was out of England—one of bsences, for instance, lasted four years. great revenues of the see were ndered abroad, Boniface caring no- g for the duties and responsibilities is great office.

he third of the kings of England of thirteenth century, Edward I., "in- ed to the full the Plantagenet love of er, and he possessed in the highest ee the great qualities and manifold mplishments of his race."* In an age n to oppose Rome was a difficult and ngerous task, he steadily resisted her bitant and ruinous pretensions, pro- ng the Church of England from the e dangers to which these pretensions sed her. And in a great measure he eeded in loosing the fatal bonds in h the evil conduct of his grand- er, John, had involved her, and all this without separating himself from the outward communion of the Church Catholic. A far-seeing organiser, a wise and thoughtful legislator, distinguished equally in the field as in the cabinet, his military successes in Scotland and Wales laid the foundation of the future unity, and consequently of the after-greatness, of the country he loved so well, while his laws were the basis of all subsequent English legislation. His idea of a parliament—a real national assembly—which he partly carried out, still remains the model of representative institutions at the present day, although nigh six centuries have passed since his remains were laid in that solemn, sacred chapel of the kings in the storied abbey loved of Englishmen, in that plain tomb, stately and massive, upon which so many generations of his countrymen have gazed with admiration mingled with awe.

Early in his reign, in A.D. 1279, king Edward I. determined that the Church of England as a national church should join in bearing the national burdens. As a result of this legislature on church responsibilities, on several occasions during the first twenty years of Edward's reign, the clergy with more or less willingness granted the king towards his many varied expenses, mostly connected with his constant military expeditions, large subsidies of different amounts. These royal demands, however, in the year 1294 reached their culminating point; when the king peremptorily demanded from the clergy, towards the cost of his war with France, the largest exaction, perhaps, ever pressed for under the shadow of the law by an imperious monarch. On this occasion,

* Stubbs: "Constit. Hist. of England."

after some delay on the part of the church in complying with the ever-growing demands of the sovereign, Edward impatiently seized all the coined money and treasure in the sacristies of the monasteries and cathedrals, and then, dissatisfied with the amount subsequently offered by the clergy as their share of the national expenses, harshly informed them that they must be prepared to pay him *half their entire revenue* or be outlawed. The clergy were dismayed and terrified; the dean of St. Paul's is said to have died of fright in the king's presence; representatives of the church endeavoured to temporise; but the arbitrary sovereign insisted, and eventually the harassed church was compelled to submit.*

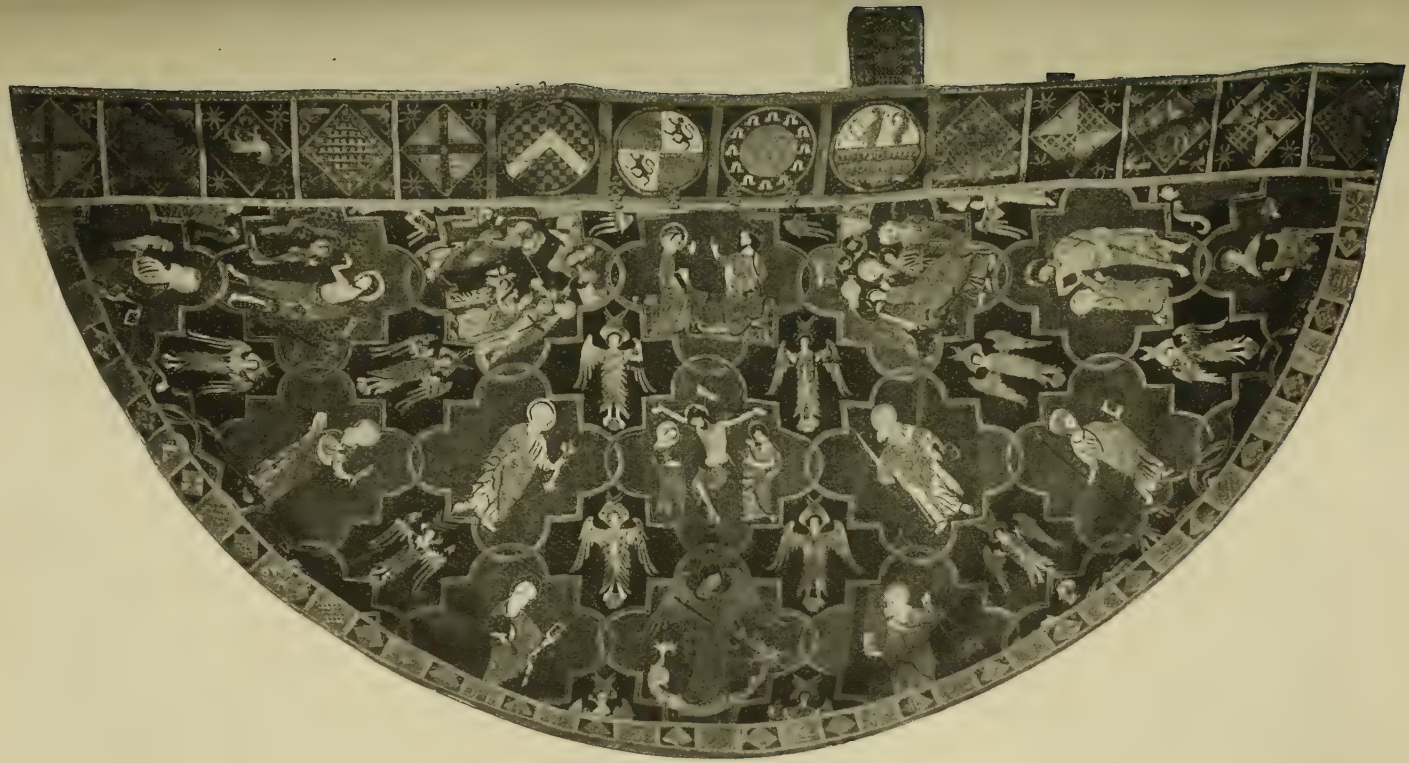
There does not appear to have been any special hostility to the church in the policy of king Edward I.; but in that iron age a great king was naturally a despot, and the Plantagenet ruler, looking round in his needs, which were many, saw the wealth of the church, and considered (with some justice) that the powerful and rich ecclesiastical estate was not bearing its due share of state burdens. But, taking everything into consideration, Edward's admirers and apologists can scarcely plead with any fairness that the exorbitant demand on the church for half her revenue in the year 1294 was either just or upright.

More equitable and patriotic, however, was the famous statute of Edward I., which became part of the law of the land in 1279, usually quoted as "*De religiosis*," which forbids the acquisition of land by the religious or others, in such wise that the land should come into "mortmai The king and other lords were daily losi the services due to them by the granti of estates to persons or institutions capable of fulfilling legal obligations. Su endowments, bestowed by will or otherw upon monasteries and ecclesiastical bod were, indeed, becoming a great and c ing abuse, and greatly impoverished nation.†

Fair and useful legislation on the ev disputed question of the jurisdiction of t ecclesiastical courts was also placed on t statute books by the same Edward I. just churchman can plead for the immun of his order from the civil courts and fr the royal jurisdiction. The "anointed the Lord" has no right to claim exempti from the penalties which in every civilis community are wisely attached to treas murder, or other felonies or civil offenc An ordinance, really only confirming t legislation of king Henry II., which h been allowed in too many cases to into abeyance, was passed, restricting t spiritual jurisdiction to matrimonial a testamentary cases. The ordinance question recognised the right of the cler to hold pleas on matters merely spiritu such as offences for which penance w due, tithes, mortuaries, churches a churchyards, injuries done to cler perjury and defamation.

Parliamentary representation, somewh as we now understand the term, fi appears towards the close of the long rei of Henry III., and is commonly referr to Simon de Montfort, who successful rebelled with his brother lords against t abuses and tyranny of the foreign favourit of king Henry. Edward I. enlarged a

* Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," chap. xiv. † *Ibid.*



THE SION COPE, DATE ABOUT A.D. 1250. (*South Kensington Museum.*)

*This Cope is embroidered by hand in silks and gold. Green Ground, with crimson interlacing barbed quatrefoils, enclosing figures of our Saviour, the Virgin, the Apostles, and various sacred subjects. The border at the top is of somewhat later date.*

developed this popular representation; and a great and model parliament, in which the representation of the Commons was formally established, met in the year 1295. In this "model" popular assembly the clergy of various ranks were fairly represented. The archbishops and bishops brought the heads of their chapters, their archdeacons, one proctor for the clergy of each cathedral, and two for the clergy of each diocese. Later, however, we find the clergy contented with their great spiritual position, and withdrawing themselves from parliament. This withdrawal, however, does not appear to have applied to the hierarchy, properly so called, such as bishops and archbishops, abbots, priors, and others.

The tyrannical and oppressive assumptions of Rome, less felt under the strong, high-handed rule of Edward I. than in the times of his father Henry III., were, however, only in abeyance. In the year 1299, in a bull dated at Anagni, the Pope definitely claimed Scotland as a fief of Rome, and forbade Edward to molest the Scots. At a parliament held at Lincoln this insolent claim was considered, and a letter from the barons to the Pope, written early in 1301, absolutely swept aside the Papal pretensions to interfere, and added that they, the barons of England, bound to maintain the rights of the crown, would not suffer the king to comply with any such Papal mandate, even were he to wish it.

The most remarkable ecclesiastical event, however, of the thirteenth century was the coming of the friar among us. Unquestionably the rise of the mendicant orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic the less important mendicant order the Austin and Carmelite friars, ga new life and infused a new energy the mediæval church. All classes orders, from the lowest to the hig were more or less influenced by splendid earnestness and devoted But very soon the boundaries their mission, especially as laid dow Francis of Assisi, were overleaped. mendicant friar, at first the hu preacher to the forlorn masses, and loving comforter of the poorest and sa of mankind, rapidly claimed to b equal sharer in the influence and p possessed by the older monastic order by the secular clergy. Their undream success changed the spirit of the Very soon after the death of the sa founders, Francis and Dominic, we the mendicant preacher not only in hovels of the poor quarters of the cit Christendom, but in the castles of the and mighty, and even in the palac kings. St. Louis of France is said to held the mendicants in such high ho as to have exclaimed, "that if he have divided his body, he would given one half to either saint, Domin Francis." The Popes also, with that wisdom which has so often distingui the holders of the lordly Papal dignity at once the power of the "silent untrac agency" of that marvellous networ influences stretching over the whol western Christendom, and adopted communities as especially their serv binding very closely to themselves mighty and ever-increasing army of dicant friars.

have already alluded to the rapid e which passed over the once illiterate ook-hating friar in regard to learning. soon we find the Franciscan and nican not only occupying the pulpits gland and the continent of Europe, piring to fill the chairs of the public ers in the universities; and in the alf of the thirteenth and in the of the fourteenth century, the distinguished professors of western endom wore the humble habit of rancis or St. Dominic. Of the five st doctors of the famous schoolmen, Aquinas, surnamed the angelic doctor, lbertus Magnus, the universal doctor e Dominicans; while three—Bona-ra, the seraphic doctor; Duns Scotus, ost subtle doctor; and the most influ- perhaps of all, William of Ockham, emagogue, the inspirer of Wyclif, a sor of the English reformers of the nth century—were Franciscans. To nort but distinguished list might be many others whose names for cen- have been household words in the of learning, such as Alexander and Roger Bacon, some of them ly inferior to the great five. These scholars and thinkers all wore the and belonged to the obedience of nic or of Francis. Roughly, it may l that on the Continent and at Rome Dominican exercised a supreme in- e; while at Oxford and in England ilar power was possessed by the iscan.

as they rose in numbers and in nce they became, as might have expected, the objects of the fiercest sy to many of the members of the monastic orders and the secular clergy, on whose ancient and established privileges they encroached ever more and more. As preachers, as confessors, they drew away the people from their own parochial clergy; they became, instead of the clergy and the older monasteries, not unfrequently legatees, and that in spite of their ancient vow of poverty. Loud and vehement were the complaints of the clergy; but moved, no doubt, by the evident good-will which was felt for these intruders at headquarters in Rome, and also, no doubt, powerfully influenced by the really good work which the friar was doing in the deadly warfare ever waged by the church against vice and ignorance and irreligion, the more prominent leaders of the church generally supported the mendicants. At Cologne, Conrad of Zähringen, general of the Cistercian order, the Papal legate, when the priest of a great city parish complained to him of the Dominicans interfering in his cure, is said to have asked the indignant priest how many parishioners were under his charge: "Nine thousand," was the reply. "Miserable man," then answered the legate of Rome, "presumest thou to complain, charged with the care of so many souls, that these holy men are relieving you from part of your too heavy burden?"

The spirit of the two great orders, after they had risen to a position of commanding influence in the church, largely corresponded with the character of their respective founders. The Dominican was stern, grave, severe, and jealously orthodox. To his hands was eventually entrusted by the church that terrible engine of persecution — the Inquisition. The

Franciscan, on the other hand, whose influence in England was enormous, was passionate, even hysterical, and his vast power became considerably limited, owing to the fatal schism which soon rent his order asunder. The Franciscans divided

FRENCH IVORY TRIPTYCH, 13TH CENTURY. (*South Kensington Museum.*)

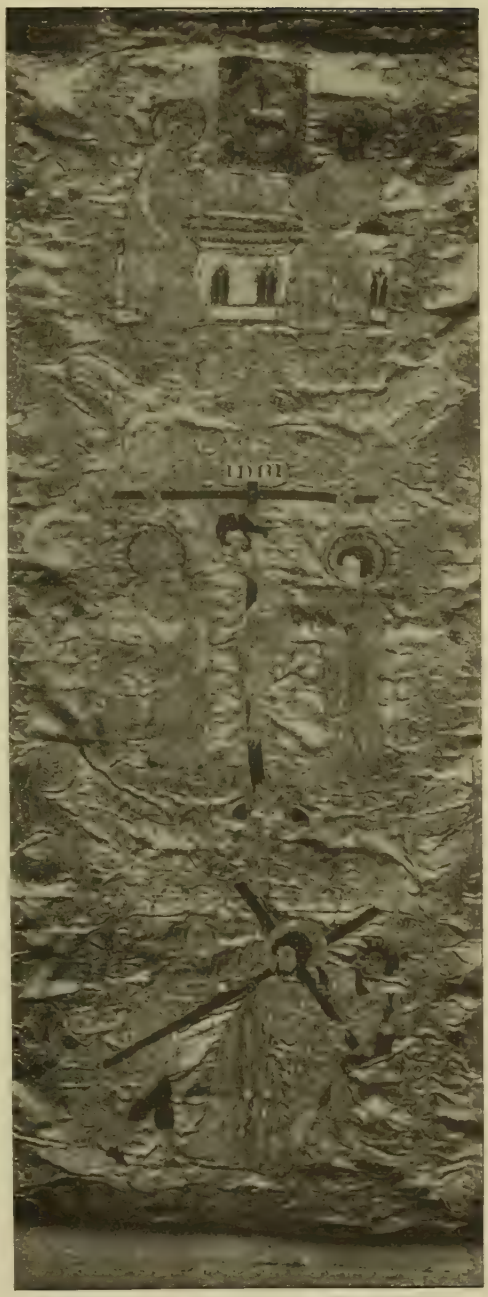
into two parties: the one too willing to tamper with the original vow of holy poverty, and to admit the possibility of the order becoming wealthy; the other rigidly adhering to the saintly founder's first intention, which forbade sternly the possession of worldly goods to every brother of the order. These were designated by the title "spiritualists." The majority, however, of the order could

not resist the temptation of accep the riches which the devotion of and women pressed upon them; and, silent protest against the "spiritual the magnificent church in Assisi rose the coffin of the adored founder.

The schism between the two Franc schools grew, and no doubt prev the mendicant from attaining the power which his unexampled succe first seemed to promise him. In th the "spiritualist" school—the Fratic died out; but there is little doubt but the vigorous protest of so many o noblest of the Franciscans in favour absolute poverty largely influenced

cy of the English mendicants, for at general suppression of the religious ses under Henry VIII., in the sixteenth tury, although the poverty of the er was doubted by the royal commis- ers, there was comparatively little nd either in their possession, houses, or rches, worth plundering. Towards the e of the thirteenth century and during fourteenth, although the power and uence of the Franciscans was still rmous, the order had begun sadly to enerate, and loud and deep had become complaints of all classes against these ging friars, long before the time of clif, who openly denounced them in middle of the fourteenth century.

One of our most accurate and profound torians, whose words we have frequently ted, speaks of this thirteenth century the golden age of English churchman- p." It produced the majority of those e statesmen and churchmen who, re- ing the crimes and terrible mistakes of n, and the headstrong follies of Henry , guided safely the ship of the state ough that long period of trouble and ger. Archbishop Langton, more than man, was the author of the Great arter. Grosseteste of Lincoln was the nd and adviser of the patriots who cessfully opposed the unpatriotic minis- s of Henry III. Edmund of Canter- y, the gentle, uncomplaining saint ose heart, men said, was at last broken the weary troubles and restless cares his high position, was the adviser o compelled the first banishment of foreigners brought over by Henry . St. Thomas of Cantilupe was the



EMBROIDERED REREDOS OF 14TH CENTURY.
(*Steeple Ashton Church.*)

chancellor of the baronial regency. Grosseteste was perhaps the most distinguished of these great ecclesiastical statesmen, the trusted friend and confidant of princes and soldiers, the comrade first and later the patron of those famous scholars who made Oxford the first school of learning in the world of the west. But he was also, as we have already seen, the most learned and holy churchman of his time, devoted to his great spiritual work. He was the example of a saintly mediæval bishop.

The inner life of what we may venture to call the official church, in contradistinction to the great mendicant societies of friars, was carefully watched, and anything of the nature of abuses, either in doctrine or practice, was severely commented upon and, as far as possible, eradicated by the great office-holders among the hierarchy of the English church. Councils and synods were held from time to time. We will allude very shortly to the decrees and acts of one or two of these.

In the provincial synod of Reading, held under the presidency of the Franciscan, Peckham, who was archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 to 1292, we find allusion to the constant disregard of the celibacy enactment by many of the English clergy. Regulations as to infant baptism were made at this synod. Children born within eight days of Pentecost or Easter were reserved to be baptised at these times. Children born at other times were to be baptised at once, for fear of sudden death. The curious later Baptist tenet, which defers the sacrament for many years, seems to have been unheard of, or at least unnoticed, in the mediæval church.

In the council of Lambeth, unde same arch-prelate, held in 1281, th common irreverence of priests to the "sacrament of the altar" is sh commented upon. Priests were req to consecrate the elements at least a week; to keep the sacrament tabernacle, and to cause the bells t when the consecration took place, those who were in the houses or i fields might bow the knee. The p still partook of the cup, but they

CHALICE AND PATEN, SILVER GILT ENRICHE ENAMELS, ABOUT A.D. 1300. (*South K ton Museum.*)

instructed that the wine was given not as part of the sacrament, bu enable them to swallow the sacra which was taken whole under the s of bread. Confirmation seems to been very much neglected, and i enjoined that the Eucharist should n administered to any who had not re confirmation. "Nuns," said this co "were too much in the habit of wa ing, and this practice caused scandal church." Many of the clergy des rebuke for their assumption of the dress of laymen, "wearing coifs and laces." Disputes were constantly a between rectors of parishes and

ioners touching the ornaments of hurch. This council directed that parish should provide, amongst other , the chalice, the principal mass ents, a chasuble, a clean alb, a cross ocessions, a lesser cross for the dead, , a cense-pot, bells, manuals, a vessel ly water, fonts with lock and key, tions for the body of the church and without, as well as altars and s, glass windows, and the inclosure churchyard. The chancel and its tion was left to the rectors and *

he Welsh dioceses, archbishop Peckin 1284 issued stringent directions ting the clergy of the cathedral of avid's, many of whom were married; priests were ordered to be deprived eir canonries.

ill be convenient here to go beyond trict limits of our present period, o add a few details of subsequent s and councils, which have their g on the practices of the mediæval h of England. About forty years he council of Lambeth, in the year when Edward II. was king and r Reynolds archbishop of Canter- a synod of considerable importance, n as the "second of Oxford," was Strict directions were issued by this il on the subject of the examination ndidates for holy orders, and a list repared of certain classes of persons y ineligible on account of their ous lives. Clergy ordained in Ireland, nd, or Wales were prohibited from ting in England, except upon the production of letters dimissory or commendatory from their diocesans. An order was also made at this council for the publication of banns of marriage. Such publication was to be made three times, on the Lord's day or on some great festival. The clergy were forbidden to receive confession from women in private. Allusion was again made to the prevalent neglect of confirmation, and further arrangements sanctioned respecting this holy rite. An interesting canon was also passed concerning some evident want of reverence, which was noticeable in the solemn act of celebration. "Let the linen cloths, corporals, palls, and other altar cloths be white and clean, and often washed by persons assigned by canon for this purpose, out of regard to the presence of our Saviour and of the whole court of heaven, which is undoubtedly present at the sacrament of the altar while it is consecrating, and after it is consecrated. Let the words of the canon be fully and exactly pronounced, and with the greatest devotion of mind, with especial regard to those (words) which concern the Holy Sacrament."

At an important synod held at St. Paul's under archbishop Mepeham, primate during the first years of Edward III.'s reign,* certain constitutions were passed, interesting as throwing further light upon important points connected with the doctrinal teaching of the mediæval Church of England. The second constitution of this synod ordains a new festival in honour of the Virgin Mary, which runs as follows:—"That the memory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Lord, may be oftener and more solemnly celebrated in

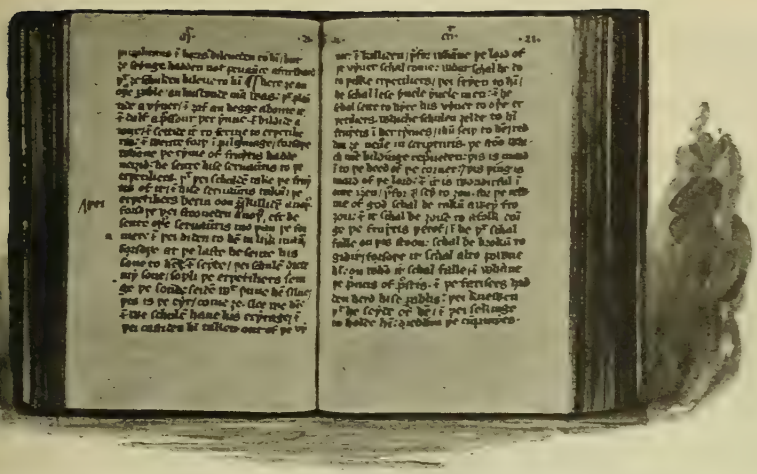
mpare Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archs," vol. iii., chap. vi., and vol. iv

* *Ibid*, vol. iii., chap. ix.

proportion to the greater favour which she, among all the saints, hath found with God. . . . We ordain and firmly command that the feast of her conception be solemnly celebrated for the future." The moderation in tone of this constitution is in striking contrast with some of the more turgid and exaggerated statements of Rome. Another constitution of this great synod insists upon the strict observance of Good Friday, which it curiously reckons among the *festivals* relating to the Saviour.

Three years after this, at a council held at Mayfield in Sussex by the same archbishop Mepeham, the question of keeping religiously certain holy days is carefully dealt with. The days in question are very much the same as are now appoin the Church of England to be kep Only a very few additional days ar tioned in this catalogue of the m church, such as the Exaltation of th Cross, St. Nicholas, the Invention Holy Cross, etc. On these holy da people were reverently to go t parish churches and await the comp of masses and other divine offices safety of themselves and the rest faithful, the saints both living and The special object of keeping these days was set forth to be—"that th other Catholics may deserve to ha saints, whose feasts they may hav brated, for assiduous intercessors wit

CENSER OF FRENCH CHAMPLEVÉ ENAMEL, 13TH CENTURY.



WYCLIF'S ENGLISH VERSION OF ST. MATTHEW AND THE ACTS : PAGES CONTAINING ST. MATTHEW XXI. 33—46, THE PARABLE OF THE WICKED HUSBANDMEN.

*(This copy was presented to Sir John Oldcastle, afterwards Lord Cobham, and is now in the Baptist College, Bristol.)*

# CHAPTER XXXIV.

## THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. THE BLACK DEATH. WYCLIF.

Papal Encroachments under Edward II.—Suppression of the Knight Templars—Horrible Cruelty of the Proceedings—Reign of Edward III., and Startling Contrast between its Commencement and its Close—His Statute of Provisors—The Statute of Præmunire—These made Possible by the Degradation of the Papacy—The Avignon Popes—The Great Plague of 1349—Its Terrible Results—Special Effects upon the Church—Causes of Popular Feeling against the Church in the Fourteenth Century—Ecclesiastical Abuses—Wyclif—Mixture of Truth and Error in his Teaching—Stages in his Career—Early Life—Attempts at Practical Reform in the Church, and their Failure—Appointed to Represent the English Monarchy against Papal Claims—Becomes Rector of Lutterworth—Attacks Romish Errors—His Views of the Eucharist Condemned—Personal Character—Eucharistic Teaching—Translation of the Bible—Death and Condemnation as a Heretic—The Lollards—Their Excesses and Suppression—Wyclif's Wide and Insensible Influence on Parliament and Politics.

THE reign of the unhappy Edward II. (A.D. 1307–1327) was uneventful as far as regards church matters. He been graphically described as "not with- some share of the chivalrous qualities t are impersonated in his son (Edward ). He has the instinctive courage of his se, although he is neither an accom- hed knight nor a great commander, but has no high aims, no policy, . . . no kingly pride or sense of duty, no industry, or shame, or piety. . . . He makes amusement the employment of his life. . . . Vulgar pomp, heartless extravagance, lavish improvidence, selfish indolence, make him a fit centre of an intriguing court." * Yet even the learned writer of the above stern estimate of his character considers that his terrible doom was unjust, that "his

* Stubbs : "Constitutional History."

punishment was, if we compare him with the general run of kings, altogether out of proportion to his offence."

HEAD OF KING EDWARD II.
(*From the Effigy in Gloucester Cathedral.*)

The pitiful student of our own times, when he gazes upon the marvellous alabaster effigy in Edward Plantagenet's stately Gloucester shrine, with its beautiful sad face—modelled, tradition says, on a death-mask—cannot help wondering if the poor deserted king so cruelly murdered, with all his weakness and his many faults, was not more sinned against than sinning. Certainly the strange cult of a whole people, from the mighty king, his son, down to the humble peasant; a cult which began almost immediately after his death, and was offered at that stately tomb for many years, would seem to tell us that Edward II. had some qualities winning and lovable, though he possessed not the tempera or the talents which were necessar a fourteenth-century king.

In such a reign, as might have looked for, the pretensions of Ro sovereign power over the English Cl so largely ignored during the stron of the great first Edward, were vigo pressed again. The papal power w the days of Edward II., as we shal sorely weakened and discredited, but n theless its arbitrary decrees were ac ledged without dispute in England. I the Pope's authority was again and invoked by king and primate, and its baleful shadow the administrati ecclesiastical affairs was largely carri during Edward II.'s reign.

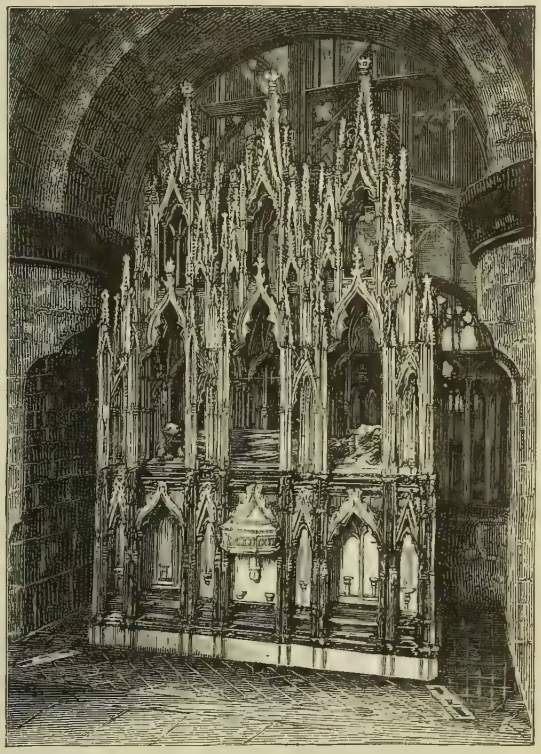
We mark, among the notable ins of this exercise of papal power in En in the reign of Edward II. which de especial mention, the king's applicati the court of Rome to set aside the el of the chapter of Canterbury, who, o vacancy caused by the death of R Winchelsey, chose one Thomas Cobh person of illustrious birth and great a ments. He had been previously char of Cambridge. The king, it is notic did not claim the right himself to ap but applied to Rome to *provide* fo arch-see of Canterbury by nominati old tutor, the bishop of Worcester, W Reynolds. Pope Clement V. con with king Edward's request, and W Reynolds became archbishop.

A yet more wide-reaching instan Roman power acknowledged in the C of England during this reign, occurr the request of archbishop Walter Rey to the Pope to grant him certain

rough which he could exercise over ; great province extraordinary powers. ght bulls were thus obtained, upon which e primate acted, and these were renewed Pope John XXII., who succeeded ement V. Two of these high-handed icts of Rome, positively applied for by archbishop of Canterbury, gave the mate extraordinary powers of visitation. nother of them gave him authority to pense with the canons against pluralities. nother placed in his hands any single clesiastical preferment belonging a cathedral or collegiate church ited by him. But the eighth s perhaps the most startling in provisions. By it the archbishop s privileged to give an indulgce for all crimes committed with- a hundred days past to any rsons who should show themves penitent and confess to him his visitation.

On one occasion, in the year 19, a dispute arose between the ng and the chapter of Winester respecting the filling of the ant see. The dispute was re-red to Rome, and the Pope ided it by providing for his n nuncio in England, Reginald er, who was eventually conseted bishop of the important of Winchester.

The decay of the Crusading our was marked in his reign a terrible episode, ghastly in its uity, which cannot be passed over in nce, since it is of considerable interest the history of the western church, though England only had a subordinate share in it. We have already briefly touched upon the beginnings of the famous "order of the Temple of Jerusalem." As early as the year 1118, in the first years of the strange passion of the Crusades, nine French knights devoted themselves to the protection of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. Their ranks were speedily increased, and all nationalities pressed into their company. They formed a half military, half



SHRINE OF EDWARD II. (*Gloucester Cathedral.*)

monastic community. Their solemn vows included chastity, implicit obedience to their superiors, and a renunciation of all

personal possessions. Perfect discipline, reckless bravery, a real enthusiasm for the cause to which they were devoted, rendered them the most conspicuous as well as the most effective of the Crusaders. In their ranks were found some of the noblest by birth, as well as not a few of the most adventurous spirits of the age; and a reverential admiration on the part of the nations of western Christendom by degrees enormously enriched the growing order, till, at the expiration of an existence of about two hundred years, the Templars possessed enormous wealth, consisting of broad lands, strong castles, money, treasure of all descriptions, the result of the lavish generosity of their admirers. Matthew Paris records that they possessed in Christian countries as many as nine thousand manors; another chronicler increases the computation to ten thousand five hundred. At one period the Dominican friars were their fervid allies, and made a point of requesting from every dying penitent whom they attended a legacy to the Templars. One king (of Arragon) even bequeathed to them his kingdom; but this almost incredible bequest was not sanctioned by his subjects.

At the commencement of the fourteenth century the original number of nine knights had grown into 15,000, all splendidly accoutred and admirably horsed, perfect soldiers, and each knight accompanied by a squire, a page, and a man-at-arms, and followed by a number of armed and devoted slaves brought from the east.* The French knights were largely in the majority in the ranks of this strange army, made up of many nations. And

* Michelet.

the "Temple" at Paris, with its vas stately buildings, was looked upon a central home of the mighty order, w the general chapters were, as a rule, and whence proceeded the directions i to the various Grand Masters of the r provinces in England, Spain, Port Italy, and Germany.

At the beginning of the fourte century the work for which they been originally constituted, and in w they had borne so distinguished a was done. The Crusades, after the mous expenditure of lives and trea had accomplished nothing; their conquests had been lost. Jerusalem fallen, and the various fortresses in east were taken or abandoned. T was no longer any serious intention i west of prosecuting the interminable desolating eastern wars. But the Temp though their *raison d'être* no lo existed, as an order were more nume more powerful, more wealthy than Very changed was also the spirit w animated the mighty community. T apologists—even those who most bit condemn their persecution, and re with an unfeigned pity the circumsta which accompanied their fall—confess Their overweening pride; the grave picion of lax morality in the cas certain of the knights; their com independence of all ecclesiastical disci and authority; the danger to the va governments of Europe which the pre of such a powerful military order in midst would constantly present; mad Templars obnoxious alike to every sove and to the church. They were virt independent of the king, and they re

PILGRIMS UNDER ESCORT OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, IN SIGHT OF JERUSALEM.

to acknowledge any right of the church to interfere with them. No bishop or archbishop was recognised as their spiritual superior; a shadowy acknowledgment of the Pope was their only real link with the powerful hierarchy of western Christendom.

The king of France in the year 1307, memorable as being fatal to the Templars, was Philippe le Bel—a needy and greedy sovereign. He determined to destroy the mighty and somewhat dreaded order, and to enrich his empty treasury with their enormous possessions. Utterly unsuspicious of his design, proudly conscious of their position and power, the Templars never dreamed of a serious attack upon their privileges and wealth. But king Philippe le Bel had well calculated his power and had skilfully prepared his measures. Grave rumours affecting the life led and designs entertained by the Templars had for some time been floating about—rumours largely owing to the malevolent and sinister designs of the king of France. These evil rumours gradually crystallised into definite accusations. The proud Templars, conscious of the wildness of many of the charges, and their general innocence of the graver matters alleged against them, persuaded, too, of their own far-reaching power, paid little heed to these. But suddenly Christian Europe was startled to hear that, as far as France was concerned—and it must be borne in mind that the flower of the order was located in France—all the knights Templars were arrested by the king's command, their goods inventoried and sealed, their magnificent houses occupied by the royal soldiery. And all this was done with a foresight and celerity that admitted of no resistance. The knights of the migh order in France, thus in a moment d armed and rigorously imprisoned—fro the Grand Master down to the younge knight—were accused of awful charg which may be thus summarised: (1) Th at the secret initiation of each knig Templar the novice was compelled deny Christ and to spit upon the cro (2) That a hideous idol was the object their secret adoration. (3) That a territ licence was allowed to each Templar commit unknown crimes. (4) That th were in league with the Mahommed powers, and that on more than one notab occasion in the course of the Crusadi wars they had shamefully betrayed t Christian cause.

The greater part of these charges, e amined by the cooler light of reason, a simply absurd. No sane man could f one moment suspect, or at the prese day does suspect, that they were tru The case against the Templars res however, on the "confessions" ma by themselves before their judges. B these confessions were extorted by t cruellest and most fiendish tortures; a the fact of such inhuman and revolti tortures having been generally applie of course minimises, if it does not rath completely do away with all the "evidenc provided by such means; for who ca accept a "confession" thus shameful wrung out? Not only in Paris, the hea quarters of the famous order, were the infamous proceedings on the part of t king of France carried out, but with n less awful despatch proceeded also the i terrogatories in other parts of Franc Everywhere torture was prodigally used

ywhere with "the same result, some confessions, some retractations of con-ons, some bold and inflexible denials he whole, some equivocations, some nissions manifestly racked out of illing witnesses by imprisonment, ustion, and agony." *

ut what said the Pope to this tre-dous and arbitrary outrage of the king France upon the persons and property, n the very existence, of a mighty gious order directly owning submission im? At first unfeigned astonishment ns to have been his feeling. But over Papacy at this juncture brooded a nge dark cloud. Rent with internal sions and jealousies, the electoral body cardinals had recently raised to the al throne, as Clement V., Bernard de h, archbishop of Bordeaux, with whose re of office began the line of so-called nch pontiffs, the bishops of Rome lly known in history as the "Avig-" Popes, all in succession more or less ely dependent on the will of, and erally subservient to, the policy of the s of France. We have already dwelt this strange phase of the Papacy at e length. Secret negotiations between king of France and Clement V. re-d in the Pope's giving way. Under pretext that the revelations extorted the hapless Templars by torture had inced him of the guilt of the order, he w in his lot with king Philippe le Bel, henceforth the shameless proceedings carried out in France and in other opean kingdoms under the awful sanction of the pontiff who claimed to be the head of Christendom. Helplessly tied and bound by the power of Philippe, conscious that he held his high office almost at the pleasure of the French king, with no high aims or noble purpose of his own, little more than a creature of the ambitious and greedy monarch to whose influence he largely owed his election, the Pope joined Philippe le Bel in this policy of relentless persecution.*

Then followed the burning of the Templars, an act which, even in that wild and stormy age, when human life was held comparatively cheap, stands out with ghastly prominence. In Paris one hundred and thirteen Templars were publicly committed to the flames, with (as Milman sternly adds) "not one apostate." In the provinces of France, on a smaller scale, similar atrocities were recorded. At Senlis nine of the knights of the order perished in the flames; in Carcassonne many more. The lives of the Grand Master, Du Molay, and the three other great dignitaries of the order were spared for the present; but these too, before the curtain fell on the tremendous tragedy, were condemned to perish likewise in the fires of king Philippe. Two of the four, their spirit weakened by long and cruel imprisonment and agonising torture, begged for mercy, and were led back again to a life-long captivity. But Du Molay, the Grand Master, and another of the four chiefs died nobly, protesting the innocence of their loved order to the end,

ean Milman: "Latin Christianity," book xii., i., relates these tortures, with awful and l-curdling details.

* Michelet thus vividly summarises the infamous bargain: "Le Pape lui (Philippe) abandonne les Templiers, il livrait les vivants pour sauver un mort, mais ce mort était le papauté elle même." ("Histoire de France," livre v., chap. iii.)

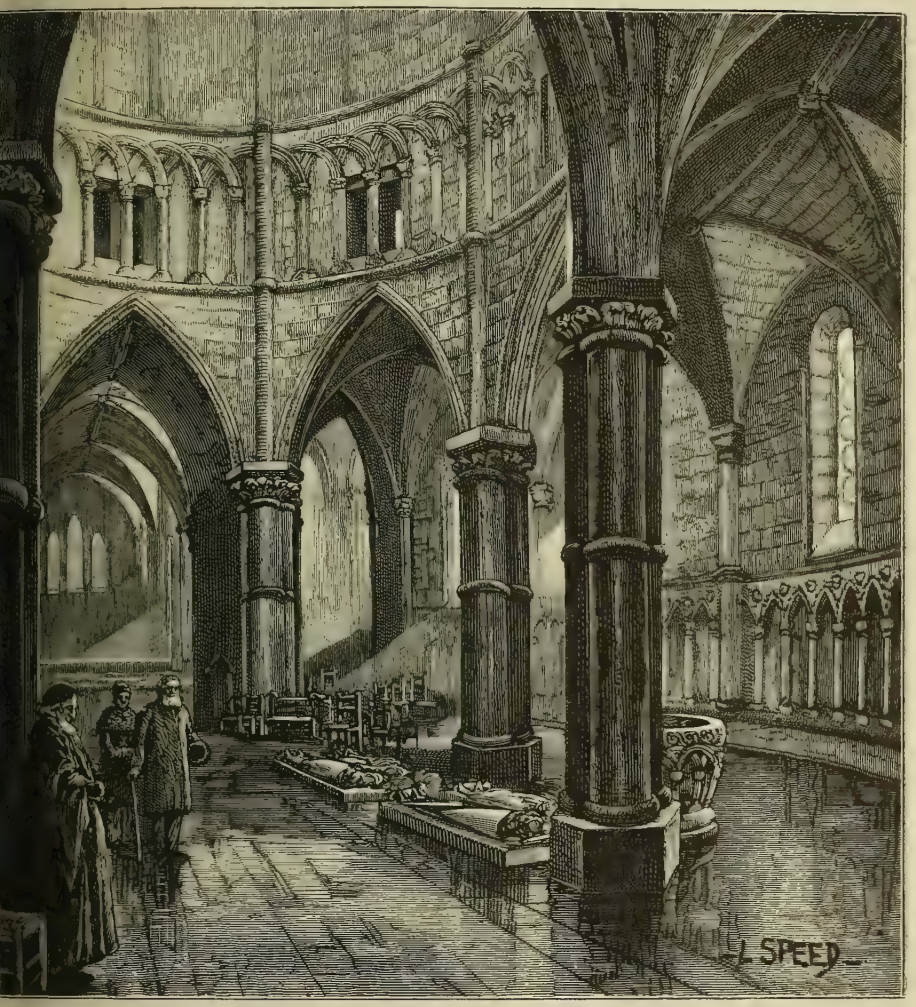
and averring with their latest breath the Catholic faith of the Templars.

As is so often the case, public opinion veered round at the sight of such great constancy in enduring suffering. The apathy or dislike with which the Templars were regarded, changed into admiration. The heretic and crime-accused became the martyr; and the very friars, so long the jealous enemies of the members of the famous order, are said to have busied themselves, after the death of the Grand Master and his brave companion in suffering, in collecting and carefully interring in consecrated ground the ashes of the last of the Templars.

We have seen how it was the ruthless greed of the king, and the cowardly and inhuman acquiescence of the Pope, which brought about the "Temple" tragedy in France, the headquarters of the "order." We must now consider what was the fate of the knights in England and in other lands of western Christendom, where, although less numerous than in France, the Templars were still an important power which had to be reckoned with. It may well be conceived that both the king and Pope were intensely anxious to justify their cruel action in France, by involving other peoples in their inhuman proceedings against the famous and doomed order. Very early in the dread business Philippe pressed upon Edward II., king of England —who, it will be remembered, was his son-in-law, the husband of the French princess Isabella of later terrible notoriety—to take similar severe measures against the Templars. The tremendous accusation was at first received in England with an almost scornful incredulity. Shortly afterwards, however, a bull of Pope Clement arrived, peremptorily commanding English king to arrest all Templars, to sequestrate their domains and po sions. The iniquitous Papal bull ha effect, and orders went forth to imp all the members of the order throug England; but the arrested were, differently from the French proce treated with some kindness and sideration.

The English trials were conducted considerable care and attention to details, and largely resulted in "a full absolute acquittal of the order." points of accusation held to be proven the right of absolution, held to be in province of the Grand Master an certain lay knights in high office. would naturally constitute a grave of in the eyes of the church. The se of the "reception" rites was also demned, as was also the Templar oa probably misunderstood—to increase wealth of the order by right and w But of the graver charges none held to have been established. S of the evidence brought against the happy order was of a most curious ch ter. It was rarely direct, being grou generally upon report and mere he evidence, more or less vague. Some o charges were simply ridiculous; for stance, "a certain Templar had a b head which answered all questions." a great banquet, given by the precept York, many brethren met in solemn fes to worship a calf." "A Templar was h to say, as he walked along a mea 'Alas, alas! that ever I was born! I deny Christ and worship the Devil.'"

ciscan had heard that a Templar had , who, looking through a hole in the saw the knights compelling a pro-




THE TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON.

ng knight to deny Christ; on his re-
g, they killed him." "One who had
ed to enter the order deposed that a
ht warned him against it, saying, 'If you
my father and might become Grand Master of the order, I would not have you enter it. We have three vows, known only to God, the Devil, and the brethren.' What those vows were, the knight would not reveal."* Such, writes Milman, was "the mass of strange, loose, hearsay,

* Several pages of this curious stuff are given in Milman's "Latin Christianity," book xii., chap. iii.

antiquated evidence, much of which had passed through many mouths. This was all which as yet appeared against an order arrested and imprisoned by the king, acting under the Pope's bull. . . . Against the order—we are speaking of the English procedure in the case of the Temple knights—torture was, if not generally and commonly applied, authorised at least by the distinct injunctions of the king and the Pope." Irreverent and heretical sayings uttered by Templars were quoted. The grave charges of immorality seem to have been few and ill-supported.

But their doom was decided. The general sentence against the English Templars was perpetual imprisonment in monasteries. "They seem to have been followed by general respect." In Italy, where the power and influence of the Pope was naturally great, confessions were obtained, but by no means universally; and no doubt, as in France, under torture. In Germany, as the result of a formal investigation held by archbishops of the more important sees, such as Cologne, Treves, and Magdeburg, the order was acquitted. In Spain, in each of the kingdoms of Castille, Leon, and Arragon, and also in Portugal, the acquittal was absolute and positive, the order being pronounced guiltless. Only in France and in parts of Italy were confessions of anything serious obtained, but these sad confessions "were invariably, without exception, crushed out of men imprisoned, starved, and disgraced, and generally under the most relentless tortures, or under well-grounded apprehensions of torture, degradation, and misery, with, on the other hand, promises of absolution, pardon, freedom, royal favour; yet on the instant that they strug again into the light of day, on the impulse of freedom and hope, . . . these confessions are for the most retracted fully and unequivocally."*

Contemporary historians for the part ascribed the wicked act of the struction of the Templars to the avari Philippe le Bel, to whom, to serve his selfish purposes, the Pope, as we stated, abandoned the order. "If," the unrighteous Clement V., "it order) cannot be destroyed by the wa justice, let it be destroyed by the wa expediency, lest we offend our dear the king of France." The final resul might naturally have been expected, that the dissolution of the Templars' o was universally decided upon. The treasures accumulated by the knight their various houses and preceptories their castles and houses, fell into the h of kings and their courtiers, king Phil le Bel of France being, of course, the beneficiary; Pope Clement V., too, e mously enriched himself. No accoun these mighty Templar hoards was given. In England and France the were handed over to the knights hospita of St. John, a much poorer and less po ful community than the Templars. chronicler Villani tells us that t broad domains were so burthened royal demands, dilapidation claims, various exactions, that the recipient the seemingly great gift, the kni hospitallers of St. John, were po rather than richer after they had ent into the inheritance of the fallen Temp

* Milman: "Latin Christianity," book chap. ii.

ere is absolutely no doubt now in the of serious students, of the general ence of this great order as to any of rave and terrible sins which formed rincipal matter of the accusations d against them by the king of e, Pope Clement V., the pitiful in- ent of Philippe le Bel, and their res. On the orthodoxy of their faith l breath of suspicion rests; on the on of their moral character equally g definite was proved to show that ecial depravity existed in the famous y community. Individual instances in the case of individual knights, no existed, as would be too surely the n a widespread community in such e, possessing, as did the Templars, wealth and power and ample freedom restraint; but no shadow of proof that, as a whole, the order was l with special or general guilt. The ar charge, so generally made, and in the many extorted confessions s and reappears, of the denial of with peculiar gestures of emphasis e occasion of the ceremony of the on of a Templar, apparently had foundation. It was probably a part ncient symbolic rite, based upon the e denial by St. Peter with oaths and ; a denial afterwards forgiven and expiated by a life of self-devotion nunciation, crowned with a martyr's But in the popular mind the act, d of its symbolical signification, was of awful blasphemy, and seems, lly in the earlier phases of the ation, to have contributed more any other cause to the popular ation, and to the quiet acquiescence, if not approval, on the part of the people generally in the cruel persecution to which the order was subjected.

The utter failure of the Crusades in their object, after two centuries of tremendous and sustained effort, and the crushing disasters in the East, closing the Crusading wars, to which we have already alluded, no doubt also alienated the sympathy of men in general from an order which had been foremost and conspicuous throughout the long wars. The continued presence of the Templars, their power, pride, and wealth among the peoples of western Christendom, when the reason of their very foundation had ceased to exist, was without doubt a subject of offence in the eyes of churchmen and laymen alike. The Templars were a perpetual reminder of a lost and discredited cause. Men asked, what was their future work to be? They were regarded as useless, even dangerous; so that when the suppression of the order was finally decided upon, even in such countries as England, which formally acquitted them of the more monstrous charges brought against them, no voice seems to have been raised on their behalf.

But of their general *innocence*, the words which decreed their suppression—words, be it remembered, solemnly spoken by their bitter and relentless foe, Pope Clement V.—are the most irrefragable proof. After the abortive meeting of the earlier sessions of the Council of Vienne, A.D. 1311, partly called together to decide upon the fate of the Templars, the Pope determining to suppress the order, in a secret consistory composed of cardinals and prelates devoted to his person, formally pronounced the suppression; but

the words which declared that the great order was extinct are remarkable. Milman thus paraphrases the somewhat enigmatical phraseology of the papal decree: "He," the Pope, "had determined by way of prudent provision, not of condemnation, to abolish the order of Templars." Michelet thus summarises: "Que les informations ne sont pas assez sûres, qu'il n'a pas le droit de juger, mais que l'ordre est suspect." But in spite of this tardy acknowledgment of all failure of proof, Clement decreed the suppression. The bull of abolition, however, did not appear in print before 1606, some three centuries after this unjust and high-handed proceeding.*

The long and outwardly glorious reign of hapless Edward II.'s son and successor, Edward III. (A.D. 1327-1377), is memorable in the story of the Church of England, because in it were passed the great anti-Papal statutes which largely restrained the ever-growing attempts of Rome to reduce the English church to a condition of obedience to, and slavish dependence the will of the reigning Pope. It is me able also because, when the third Ed was reigning, arose that illustrious bold reformer, Wyclif, who, with truth, has been styled the precurs the Reformation.

Edward III. has been compare Richard I. In some outward aspec his life and influence upon his co the comparison is just. The famou magnificent Plantagenet was under a warrior of the highest order, a most distinguished and successful mi commander; and his long and bri wars placed England in the fore of Christian nations, giving her an portant place among the nations o west. But although a great wa "he was ambitious and unscrupulou travagant and ostentatious. Like C de-Lion, he valued England primari a source of supplies for his foreign . . The glory and growth of this n were dearly bought by blood, tre and agony of many sorts." * The po notions of the "gentle, gay, and spl ideal king of chivalry," the founder o famous order of the Garter, still the and most illustrious of the knightly o of Christendom, are largely derived the bright pages of the chronicler Froi who loves to paint him as the succe conqueror, the pattern knight, the c of the gayest and most brilliant cou the western world. There is, how another side of Edward's life and His foolish, selfish policy resulted, in

* The original words are as follows: "Quod ipsæ confessiones ordinem valde suspectum reddebant. . . . non per modum definitivæ sententiæ, cum tam super hoc, secundum inquisitiones et processus prædictos, non possumus ferre de jure, sed per viam provisionis et ordinationis apostolicæ."—Quoted by Michelet. The student who may be curious to obtain further details respecting this interesting and singular tragedy, which closed the career of the most famous order of mediæval chivalry, is referred to Michelet ("Histoire de France," livre v., chaps. iii., iv.), who tells the story of the fall of the Templars with his usual brilliancy and picturesqueness of detail, accompanied, however, with that somewhat offensive realism which disfigures too often his vivid descriptions. And to Milman ("Latin Christianity," book xii., chaps. i., ii., iii.), where at great length and with conspicuous fairness are related the various steps of the great process.

* Bishop Stubbs: "Constitutional Histo England," chap. xvi.

run, in a series of terrible troubles barren wars, which exhausted and crippled the country which is so d of the conqueror of Creçi, whose did court was adorned with the ence of the captive kings of France ful with the once magnificent sovereign, the mirror of chivalry.

The system of papal provisions had long been viewed with distrust and dislike by all true patriots among the English laymen, as well as by the nobler spirits among the

*Photo: Neurdin, Paris.*

THE CASTLE OF THE POPES, AVIGNON.

Scotland. There is another picture of famous warrior-king less familiar to ordinary student of English history, h shows us Edward III. in his old age, whelmed with debt, worn out and y imbecile, entirely under the sway of t factions, and especially influenced by evil genius, Alice Perrers, who, after death of queen Philippa, was all-power- ecclesiastics. Under this technical term of "provisions," the Pope claimed the right of providing for the entire patronage of all the higher preferments in the church—a right which, as we have seen, he not unfrequently exercised. The sovereign on several occasions took advantage of this claim on the part of the Pope, and thus availing himself of Rome's good offices,

without much difficulty procured the election of his nominee to the primacy. The Roman claims grew more and more obnoxious in England, and the terms in which they were exercised became, as time went on, more haughty and imperious. When John Stratford was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury in the year 1333, we read how Pope John, formally ignoring any English rights, simply appointed the primate of the English Church, not because of any election of the Canterbury chapter, but simply of his own will,* "non virtute postulationis capituli cantuariensis set proprio suo motu."

The feeling, as the reign of Edward III. advanced, grew more and more intense. At length the king, now a great power in Europe, in conjunction with his nobles, addressed a strong remonstrance to the Pope, who, however, replied haughtily and contemptuously. This unavailing remonstrance was shortly followed by parliamentary action on the part of England. All the estates of the realm were agreed as to the intolerable nature of the abuse, and in the year 1351 the first famous *Statute of Provisors* was passed, in which it was enacted that any person accepting a "provision" of the Pope, and disturbing the right of a patron by such provision, was to be imprisoned, and not be released until he had paid a fine, and had given security that he would not transgress again or sue for redress in any foreign court. This great and important statute swept away the right of Rome to present to any preferment in the Church of England,

* Bishop Stubbs: "Constitutional History," chap. xvi., and Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. iv.

from a simple benefice to the ar of Canterbury. The Statute of visors, first passed in the year 135 formally re-enacted on several subse occasions, notably twice in the rei Edward III., and again in the reig Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry

Two years after the passing o statute of "Provisors," in the year a yet more direct blow was aimed at usurpations in the well-known stat *Præmunire*, by which all appeals t Pope and his courts were virtuall bidden and made penal. This all-imp statute derives its name from the words of the writ, which runs "*Præmunire facias præfatum*, A.B., Præmunire, a word fairly comm mediæval use, signifies "to forew The statute was very definite, and e that all the people of the king of Eng allegiance who should draw out realm, any plea whereof of the cogn pertaineth to the king's court, s appear before the king's justices to a to the king for the contempt done i behalf. If they failed to do this, lands, goods and chattels were for the king, and they were, in additi be imprisoned.*

The Statute of "Præmunire" w enacted in A.D. 1365, and in the foll year (1366) the parliament—the b lords, and commons—unanimousl pudiated the burden of papal supe which had been undertaken by king and refused to pay the tribute of marks, which had been long in and which now ceased altogether.

* Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbi vol. iv., chap. xii.

er's pence, the ancient Romescot, which d from the far-back Saxon times of and Ethelwulf, was withheld for a . Thus the first great blow was form- struck at the long-continued Roman emacy over the Church of England.

ever had these bold and drastic mea- s been passed and carried into effect, by a nation which stood so high among opean nations as did England after the paigns which followed the victory of i, had not the papal power previously into a state of degradation and com- tive impotence, in which state it con- ed for more than a hundred years.

When the great Pope Boniface VIII. , in the year 1303, divisions and in- ues divided the electoral college of inals. Boniface's death has been, not out reason, attributed to poison; e suspicion also hung round the swift sudden carrying away of his successor, edict XI. The year 1305 witnessed election of a Gascon, Bernard de h, archbishop of Bordeaux, to the acy, under the title of Clement V. election was mainly due to the in- ues and power of the king of France; the cardinals were summoned to nd the coronation of the new Pope, at Rome, but at Lyons. Cardinal ini is said to have uttered the sad ohecy: "It will be long before we l behold the face of another Pope." was right; for seventy years the seat he successor of St. Peter was fixed at gnon. A satellite of the kings of nce, with his permanent home at gnon, "the successor of St. Peter e more than a French prelate, no longer was environed with the traditional majesty and immemorial sanctity of the Eternal City. He had abandoned the holy bodies of the apostles and the churches of the apostles."* England could afford to disregard any threat of excommunication which issued from the Popes of "Avignon," and later from the Popes of the "schism." This epoch in papal history is termed by the Italian writers "the Babylonish captivity." It lasted more than seventy years—from 1305 to 1376—during which long period the Popes resided at Avignon, not at Rome. The "Babylonish captivity" was succeeded by thirty-eight years of a terrible schism in the Papacy; for these thirty-eight years, generally two rival popes, the one reigning in Italy, the other holding his court in France, claimed the allegiance of the faithful. The fatal schism was not healed until the year 1415 witnessed the formal deposition of the rival Popes at the council of Constance, and the election of Martin V. by that council, when once more the papal power resumed something of its ancient pre-eminence and dignity.

During their seventy years' residence in France the Popes abated none of their insolent claims to universal power, but the prestige of a Pope issuing his bulls and commands from the comparatively unknown and insignificant Avignon was sadly diminished. The glamour which ever belonged to the bishop of Rome, was not inherited by the Avignon Pope, who was rightly looked upon by Christendom as little else than a subservient vassal of the French king. In this country the effect

* Milman: "Latin Christianity," book xii., chap. i.

we have noted. In no European realm was the tyranny of the Roman bishop so oppressive as it was in England, owing to the unpatriotic conduct of king John; and the growing unpopularity of Rome among the English people received, no doubt, an enormous impetus, when the fact of the Popes of Avignon being really vassals of the French king became manifest to all men. The hereditary jealousy between England and France, the comparatively recent seizure of Normandy, and the French wars and victories of king Edward III., all combined to augment the English feeling against Popes who were French prelates in everything save in name. The result was the unanimous passing of the famous anti-papal act sof "provisors" and "præmunire." The enfeebled papal court found itself utterly powerless. Its threats, once so dreaded, were absolutely disregarded in the England of Edward III., and thus the great anti-papal laws were placed on the statute-book. The Reformation of the sixteenth century had already begun.

When the councils of Pisa in 1409 and the far more important council of Constance in 1415 had succeeded in restoring the Papacy, so long weakened by exile and discredited by a disgraceful schism, to something of its old grandeur and ancient influence, although some of the causes of papal unpopularity were removed, it was too late, as far as England was concerned, to bring back the old state of things. Happily for herself and her church, aided by the strange combination of circumstances above sketched, England had broken the fatal spell, and at last materially lightened the oppressive and cruel yoke which Rome had imposed on the dioceses of her church, serious peding all work and spiritual pr and fostering a spirit of insubordi alike injurious to church and state hateful to the patriotic layman as earnest, God-fearing ecclesiastic.

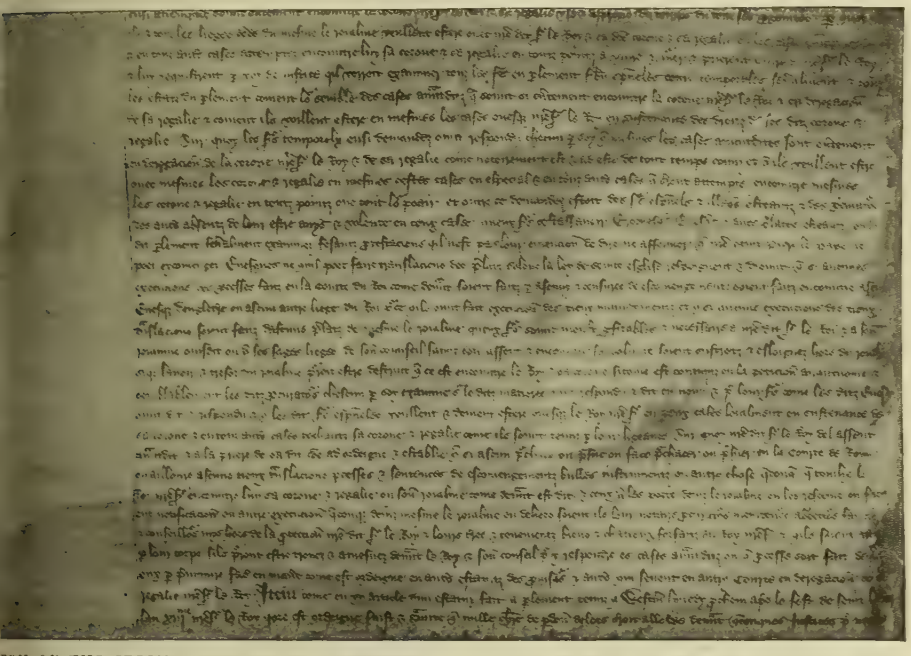
On January 1st, 1349, king Edwa wrote to the bishop of Wincheste the parliament which had been sum to meet on the 19th of that mont prorogued until the 27th of April, b a sudden visitation of deadly pes had broken out in Westminster a neighbourhood, which was increasing The parliament in question did no in April, nor all that year, nor, i until the February of 1350. Englan something of more pressing mom occupy it during the year of grace than the discussion of the king's ta the question of war and peace; a deadly enemy than the Frenchma in the land.

The year 1348 was a season of su ing glory and pride in England. great victory of Creçi had been and the warrior-king Edward was height of his fame. England had, th his successful wars, won the first among the nations of the west, an pages of Froissart and the chronicle brilliant with their pictures of the cessful monarch and his splendid Later historians have followed suit comparatively little has been told us awful pestilence and its results. It is by a careful search among the by of history, that we learn what took pl England in that terrible year of 1349

The frightful pestilence—for the

ack death" is a word of later usage—
te in the first instance from the east,
ng the track of the great trade routes
n Asia to Europe. We first hear of
n the Italian ports on the Black Sea.
ring the year 1347 there were notable
ospheric disturbances, extending over

are said to have perished on the continent of Europe in the fatal year 1348. In the more important cities we read of such numbers as 100,000 dying in Venice, 60,000 in Florence, 70,000 in Sienna. These multitudes of people may have been exaggerated by writers and chroniclers,



TRY OF THE SECOND STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE, A.D. 1393, IN THE STATUTE ROLL OF RICHARD II. (*Record Office.*)

rge area of southern Europe, resulting
extensive failure of the harvest, and
sequent distress and famine. In the
uary of 1348 we hear of a violent
hquake, which wrought immense
nage in Italy and on the Mediterranean
board. And early in the same year the
ilence made its appearance in Avignon
other cities, and a dreadful mortality
reported, especially in the towns of
y and France. Enormous numbers

but there is no shadow of doubt that the mortality was frightful. Early in the following year (1349), as we have seen, the black death—for we shall use the term by which the great pestilence is now generally known—made its appearance in England.

What was this awful disease? Many have suggested, but without reason, that it was scarlatina, as was, very probably, the disease known as the "great plague"

at Athens of which we read in Thucydides. It was not smallpox or cholera. It seems to have been in many respects like the awful scourge which still ever and anon makes its appearance in the crowded and filthy quarters of eastern cities, and in our own day has visited China and India. Villani, the Florentine historian, himself subsequently a victim to the fatal scourge, has left us some curious notes respecting the malady. "It took men generally," writes Villani, "in the head or stomach, appearing first in the groin or under the armpits in the form of swellings. Burning fever rapidly ensued, accompanied with vomiting of blood. The end came swiftly—in some cases in half a day, or within a day or two at most." Boccaccio describes it, as does the great emperor John Cantacuzene. The great surgeon Guido de Chauliac, who spent six months in the midst of it at Avignon, where its ravages seem to have been singularly severe, dwells upon the violent inflammation of the lungs which was a symptom of this fatal malady.

It was the year following its desolating progress on the continent, that the black death raged in England. Its havoc among us seems to have been so widespread that it is difficult to specify any special area where its ravages were marked with peculiar intensity. All the more important cities and towns seem alike to have suffered terribly. Of London, Gloucester, Worcester, Bristol, Oxford, Norwich, Ely, Leicester, York, we possess interesting and mournful details. The country districts were afflicted equally with the towns. The great monastic centres, such as Westminster, Glastonbury, and St. Albans, were visited with ex severity. If any part of the coun to be singled out, perhaps the vas important district known as East A might be cited as the section of En most cruelly ravaged by the scourge effect on England is best gauged simple quotation of the probable nu who perished of the deadly visit The entire population of England Wales previously to the mortalit 1349, apparently consisted of from to five millions, half of whom to have perished!* The general on the life of the country was striking. Rents fell to half their Thousands of acres of land lay un and valueless. Cottages, mills, and h were left without tenants. Ord commodities increased 50, 100, and 200 per cent. in value. Wages e where rose to double the previous and more.

This sketch of the awful calamit been given, because its effect upon ch life and work in England was very g and has only very lately, and by ce historians, been attempted to be ga The monasteries and religious h spread over the whole of the kin were simply depopulated. For instan the year 1235 we know that the abb St. Albans counted some hundred m within its walls. This, of course, does include the various servants and brothers, perhaps amounting to 30 more besides. Of these hundred,

* On these numbers, see Dr. Gasquet: Great Pestilence," and the various and co references there quoted; also Dr. Jessop: Black Death in East Anglia."

ɔot and forty-seven of his monks died one time. Glastonbury is cited as a y similar instance. "It is impossible estimate the effect of the plague upon e religious houses. . . . The mon-eries suffered very greatly indeed from e terrible visitation. A violent dis-bance of the old traditions and the er breakdown in the old observances, ed as disastrously upon these institu-ns as the first stroke of paralysis does on men who have passed their prime: ey never were again what they had en."* Indeed, after the pestilence of 49 the religious houses in existence atly more than sufficed for the number vocations in the reduced population. here is no need to have recourse to upposition as to the wane in popularity the religious orders, and the prevalent se that their work was over, to explain e diminution in their numbers and the ence of new monastic foundations."†

We possess a certain number of statistics some dioceses, cities, and religious ses, which, with their dry and prosaic res and unadorned statements, tell us nething of what happened in that awful r of death. In the county of Norfolk ne, out of 799 priests, 527 died of the l pestilence. In the West Riding of rkshire, then a comparatively thinly ɔulated district, 96 priests died out of . In the East Riding, out of 95, y 35 survived. It has been computed t above two-thirds of the clergy of gland were carried off by the sickness term the black death. There is no record of the number of Franciscans or Friars Minor who perished of the malady in England, but in the general chapter, held in 1351 at Lyons, it was reckoned that the order had lost through the sickness as many as 13,883 members in Europe. Wadding,* the Franciscan annalist, attributes to the frightful mortality of this plague the decay of fervour evident throughout his own order. "This evil" (the black death) "wrought great destruction to the holy houses of religion, carrying off the masters of regular discipline and the seniors of experience. . . . Our illustrious members being carried off, the rigours of discipline, being relaxed by these calamities, could not be renewed by the youths received without the necessary training rather to fill the empty houses than to restore the lost discipline."

The necessity which everywhere obliged the bishops to institute young and inexperienced, if not positively uneducated clerics to the vacant livings, must have caused grave injury to the work and the prestige of the Church of England. So pressing was the need of ministers in the various churches where the priests had perished, that special faculties were sought and obtained for ordaining persons scarcely qualified. So the archbishop of York received from Rome the power of ordaining at any time, and of dispensing with the usual interval between the sacred orders. The bishop of Norwich was allowed by Pope Clement VI. to dispense with sixty clerks, who were but twenty-one years of age—"though only shavelings"—and to allow them to hold rectories, as otherwise the divine offices

Dr. Jessop: "The Black Death in East lia."

Dr. Gasquet: "The Great Pestilence."

* Dr. Gasquet: "The Great Pestilence."

of the church would cease altogether in many places of his diocese. "At that time," says another writer, "there was everywhere such a dearth of priests that many churches were left without the divine offices: mass, matins, vespers, sacraments."

There is little doubt that much which Wyclif, of whom we are about to speak, saw and deplored in the church, was owing

JOHN WYCLIF.
(*From the portrait at King's College, Cambridge.*)

to this awful calamity, which in one short year swept out of life so vast a proportion of the clergy—two-thirds of the whole number; including without doubt many of the noblest and most devoted, who naturally, in the performance of their pastoral duties, fell in the forefront of the awful battle with deadly sickness. It seems that the church, in fact, never really wiped away the effects of the great calamity, it being absolutely certain that in tone, as well as in numbers, the various religious bodies had not recovered the ground lost during the year of the bla death, by the time of the Reformation.*

About the middle of the fourteen century many circumstances contribut to the state of things in the Church England, which was so unsparingly cr cised and so bitterly attacked by the gr reformer Wyclif, who was by far the m powerful adversary of the general hier chical system of western Christendom t had yet appeared, and who has be termed, with some justice, the first apos of Teutonic Christianity. Without s scribing to the sweeping and exaggerat opinion, perhaps too largely accepted, t the attack of Wyclif began precisely the moment when the church of t middle ages had sunk to its lowest po of spiritual decay,† it is clear that growing feeling of distrust of and d content with the church existed England from that period and onward

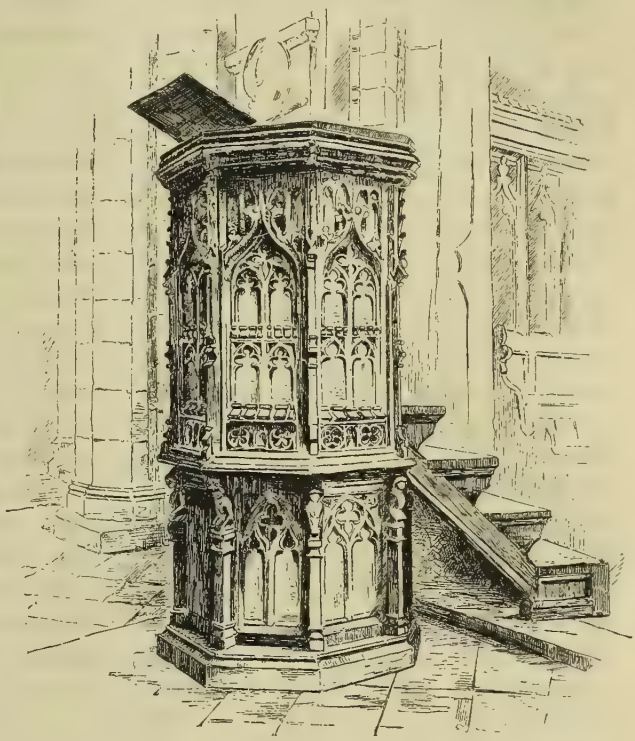
The papal tyranny and its disastro effects had justly excited a widespre feeling of dissatisfaction among all clas of men, clerical as well as lay. T system of papal "provision" for the filli up so many of the higher and m influential of the church's offices, h worked a widespread mischief. At o time the important deaneries of Yo Lincoln, Lichfield, and Salisbury, t archdeaconry of Canterbury, which w reputed the wealthiest English benefi the archdeaconries of Durham, Suffo and York, together with a host of p bends and preferments, were held

* Compare Dr. Gasquet: "The Great Pe lence," and "Henry VIII. and the Engl Monasteries," chap. i.

† Green: "History of the English People."

Italian cardinals and priests: these even obtained bulls from Rome which enabled them to hold as many as twenty livings at once. The abuse of plurality, which often left the spiritual care of the people to hirelings or to the volunteer agency of the friars, was a crying evil; and though it is probable that statements of this unhappy and self-seeking custom have been considerably exaggerated, it is indisputable that it existed, and that not a few districts and cities of England at this period suffered gravely from this shameful though, alas! recognised practice. The enormous sums drawn every year out of England by the Pope's various collectors, legates and officials, created the most serious and well-founded discontent, and these exactions were ever on the increase. Before the end of the century, it was asserted in Parliament that the taxes levied by the Pope amounted to five times the amount of those levied by the king! Taxes on property belonging to the church were, no doubt, specially referred to in such a statement. But, allowing for all exaggerations, there is no shadow of doubt but that the treasury of the Pope was enormously benefited by the various taxes imposed by Rome, and by the iniquitous and utterly inexcusable system of papal provision for valuable and important benefices and preferments. Much of the indignation excited by this wrong-doing on the part of Rome, fell on the church which submitted to and apparently countenanced such proceedings, carried on under the direct sanction of its acknowledged chief and head.

Then, too, the practice, which had become an open scandal, of selling pardons and indulgences—another device for replenishing the papal treasury and enriching the papal emissaries—was beginning deeply to wound and afflict thinking men. Chaucer, reflecting the public opinion current in the last half of the century (he wrote between A.D. 1382 and 1391), good-humouredly, but still with considerable irony, speaks of the wallet of "pardons hot from Rome."



THE WYCLIF PULPIT, LUTTERWORTH CHURCH, 14TH CENTURY.

Within the church itself, many things lessened its influence among the people, and stirred up hostile criticism from friends and foes alike. Her enormous wealth excited wide jealousy, especially as this wealth was very unequally divided, and the deepest poverty often existed among the ranks of her ministers, side by side with vast possessions and luxurious living of some of the members of the hierarchy. Nearly all the important offices of the state, too, at this time were held by ecclesiastics who left their spiritual duties to be performed by paid deputies. That a growing taste for luxury and magnificence among many of the wealthier clergy was on the increase, is manifest from the grave warnings which we find issued in the church synods of the period against extravagance in dress and foppishness, too common, apparently, among clerics. The costly furs, the hanging sleeves, the curled hair, the general imitation of the knights and nobles, were again and again commented upon by the more severe and spiritually-minded of the bishops and church leaders. Chaucer's picture of the hunting monk, and of the courtly prioress with the love motto on her brooch, is well known.

The friar, too, had lost his first love for poverty; his splendid and unselfish enthusiasm to devote himself to the poorest and most afflicted among the population, had sadly waned. A century of popular favour and of ever-increasing fame had not a little sapped his zeal. The mendicants in England, now divided into four orders, as everywhere else, had enormously increased in numbers; but as their numbers and their fame augmented, their original spirituality largely faded away. They h done noble and splendid work, many them were still doing it; but sad abu had crept in among them. They had vaded every stronghold of the clergy, universities, the cities, the county parish Terrible jealousies existed between th and the parish ministers, who complai with some reason that these intrud subject to no church law or ecclesiast discipline, intercepted the lawful offeri and estranged the affections of their flo When Wyclif preached and wrote, ther no doubt that a crowd of impudent mer cants too often dishonoured and brou discredit upon the cause they profes to serve.

And, above all, there was that ot cause, which modern historians have alm entirely left out of their reckoning, awful plague of 1349. The Black Dea whose ravages we have described at so length, had thinned the church by s denly sweeping out of its ranks two-thi of its members, including many of its m devoted and earnest servants. Those w supplied their places were largely you untried, ill-trained men. The church only suffered in its numbers, but in character of its ministers.

Yet we must be heedful of allowin too low estimate of the life and influe of the English church at this period— estimate easily arrived at by reading burning words of Wyclif's writings. T church was not dead, by any means. was still, in spite of many weaknesses, m errors and misfortunes, a great and liv power for good, a mighty influence in land. It still possessed, even in its thin and plague-shattered ranks, in its Ro

en cathedral chapters, in its desolated partly emptied monasteries, among its ple village pastors, many a great scholar, y a devoted and ascetic church leader, y a man holy and humble of heart. ucer, the popular story-teller, the poet e people, truthful, earnest, and bright; ming us still, as he charmed his own emporaries, with his life-like portraits e men and women he met with daily, ing with his kindly good-humoured y all sorts and conditions of men; ng his fourteenth-century portraits draws one of a humble and devoted sh priest:—

A good man there was of religioun
That was a poor person (parson) of a toun,
But rich he was of holy thought and werk.
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Christ's Gospel trewely wolde preche,
His parishens devoutly wolde he teche."

vas this beautiful and true picture parish priest, of a type the popular er must have known well and met often, that Dryden so accurately para- ses in his well-known lines in English, e familiar to us than the old form peech of the great fourteenth-century —

A parish priest was of the pilgrim train,
An awful, reverend, and religious man.
His eyes diffused a venerable grace,
And charity itself was in his face.
Rich was his soul, though his attire was poor,
(As God had clothed his own ambassador)
For such on earth his blessed Redeemer bore."

he story of Wyclif is not an easy one unravel. It will ever be a difficult ter to explain, for instance, how one ated and dreaded as was the great re- ner, was permitted to spend the evening of his days quietly preaching and working at Lutterworth. It is said that when his last illness seized him, his enemies were preparing for his arrest and condemnation; but this is uncertain. Considering his colossal greatness — for in learning, in energy, in the amount of good work he left behind him, he towered over all his contemporaries—scant justice has been done him. He has never been a favourite hero in the English church, and much of what is known of him is derived from men who disliked and dreaded him. He left no successor; he stands quite alone. His memory was execrated, and his teaching condemned after his death. But some of the more important doctrines of the reformers of the sixteenth century were anticipated by Wyclif, and clearly taught by him. Justly has he been termed the precursor of the Reformation.

There is no doubt that, mingled with his just views of the absolute independence of the Church of England of all Roman interference; with his intense desire that the Holy Scriptures should be read by all sorts and conditions of men; with his true, clear-cut conceptions of certain important doctrinal truths, notably that of the spiritual Presence in the Holy Eucharist—there are points in his teaching which no serious statesman or churchman could have accepted. His views on church property are impossible, are based on error and misapprehension, and would lead only to immoral confiscation. His teaching on church order is often faulty, and must practically lead to anarchy and disorganisation. In many respects Wyclif would answer to what in modern times is sometimes termed "a Christian Socialist."

But the apologist of this great man may fairly urge in his defence, that the state of the church in Wyclif's days urged him to exaggerate his teaching, drove him to propose crude remedies and destructive reforms, which in a happier and purer age he would never have dreamt of suggesting. No fair historian of his stormy career can consider without regret and sorrow the record of much of his teaching; but he may fairly find a reasonable excuse for these grave errors, when he considers the age and its awful corruption, in the midst of which Wyclif lived and worked.

But at the same time the just historian must, with unstinting praise, give all honour to that true and fearless scholar, who, out of the maze of false teaching which had grown up around the doctrine of the Eucharist, was able to disentangle once more the true conception of the great Sacrament, and to hand it on, a precious legacy, to great English thinkers and teachers. Wyclif's thoughts on this subject have never died. Some century and a half later we shall meet with them again in the period of the great struggle. They helped in no small degree to form the theology of the mighty English reformers. Then, again, it was Wyclif who was bold enough to make the first stand against that vast network of errors which Roman teaching had curiously woven round doctrine and practice, and which was working so disastrously in the Church of England in the fourteenth century. But perhaps the greatest and most enduring work of that strange, wonderful life, was his giving to England the first English Bible. Wyclif will probably never take his proper place among the popular heroes of our country. His teaching was too much mixed w errors, too much disfigured with sketc of unreal and impossible schemes. real life has still to be written; and wi that can be done calmly, dispassionat apart from the din of controversy, it be seen that, with all his many faults mistakes, it was a really great and t man who arose in that confused troubled period.

Wyclif's remarkable career may divided into three periods; the *first* tending to about the year 1366, when appears prominently put forward as opponent of Rome. During this period, the time of study and quiet Ox teaching, we hear little of him. Bu was in this long, still time, extending many years, that he laid the solid grou stones of his vast learning.

In the *second* period, the age of decline of king Edward III., he plays part of the recognised opponent of Ro claims and errors and oppressions. H the reformer, but rather of the life of church than of her doctrines. Du this period of some twelve or more y Wyclif was not content with putting mere theories respecting church refo He organised a kind of order of his —Wyclif's "poor priests," as they w called. To be poor without mendica was his ideal for these "poor prie Barefoot and wearing long russet gow these disciples of Wyclif mingled am the poor; and their earnestness and t boldness, and the novelty of the refo they urged, with their deep sympathy the poor, obtained for the "poor prie a wide popularity. Many of them w priests who had joined Wyclif out

WYCLIF SENDING OUT HIS "POOR PRIESTS."

*(From the picture by W. F. Yeames, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co., Limited, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.)*

admiration for his views and piety and eloquence. Some probably were not ordained at all, but were scholars and others whom his teaching had drawn round him from Oxford and elsewhere—lay preachers, as we should term them. It is erroneous to suppose that Wyclif, as some have suggested, took upon himself to ordain. This order of his, in its earlier years certainly, before he fell under the ban of the church, was even employed under episcopal sanction; certainly in the vast diocese of Lincoln, probably in other dioceses also. "It is idle, perhaps, to conjecture what might have been; but if Wyclif had died *before* his denial of transubstantiation (for which more than anything else he was condemned by the church)—strange dream as it seems, it is less strange than the real life of Francis of Assisi—his name might have come down to us in another form, and miracles might have been wrought at the tomb of their founder by the brother preachers of St. John Wyclif." *

The *third* period of Wyclif's life must be reckoned from the date of the death of Pope Gregory XI., the last of the Avignon Popes, the year of the real commencement of the papal schism, but when once more a Pope issued his mandates from Italy and Rome. This period of the reformer's career lasted from 1378 till his death at Lutterworth in 1384. A curious reaction in favour of the Papacy set in during these last six years of Wyclif's career. When the Popes ceased to be French Popes living at Avignon, their unpopularity in England in a great measure came to an end. A good deal of old reverence for the head of the ch naturally returned, when the head o church ceased to be a French pr devoted to the interests of the bitter f England; and Wyclif, when the Pope more to a great degree regained his p among the English people, gave u serious hope of seeing any practical re in the church. From this time till end came six years later, he devoted self exclusively to theology. In 138 English translation of *the Bible*—a he had no doubt been long preparing put out; and in the following yea famous paper, containing twelve pro tions, in which he denied the doctri transubstantiation, was issued. It wa these propositions that his prosecutio archbishop Courtenay was framed, an subsequent condemnation as a heretic principally founded.

Of his early, and indeed of his m life, we know very little. Of hu birth, he was one of the many poor ardent scholars who found their way, young, to the great teaching centr Oxford. Tradition speaks of him scholar, first of the loved queen Phili (wife of Edward III.) new foundatio Queen's College, and subsequently student—perhaps a teacher—in the and more famous foundation of Me Years must have passed over Wy head before we find him illustrious, d which long studious period he laid foundation of his future greatness. 1356 the famous treatise entitled "Last Age of the Church" was put It is usual to assign that wild but stri work to Wyclif, but no real or substa

* Introduction to "Fasciculi Zizaniorum," Rolls Series.

ce connects him with this writing. Last Age of the Church" was, no inspired by the awful plague, the Death which had so desolated nd a few years before, and the effects ch, in the emptied religious houses, thinned ranks of the clergy, in the s and confusion which were the of the fearful visitation, had stirred inds of many devout men, who in ushing calamity thought they dis- the woes which were to usher in ast things." The "Last Age of the h" contained stern denunciations t the clergy, especially the holders more valuable preferments, as well nterpretation of the recent miseries alding the approaching termination world; and although Wyclif was e author of the famous writing in on, it was amidst the scenes which ed it that his student life was passed. as not until the year 1361 that we Wyclif holding high office in his sity. Between the years 1361 and he seems to have been master or n of Balliol College, and especially guished for his bold denunciation of endicant friars, whom he branded as rites, as professing mendicancy while e while possessing stately houses, on noble horses, enjoying all the and luxury of wealth with the ation of poverty. The humbler of friars, numbering a great host, he nced with rough, eloquent indigna- as nothing more than able-bodied rs, who were working positive evil nischief in the church and state professed to serve.

ring all the early and middle life of the Reformer we hear nothing of any attacks by him upon the doctrinal system current in the Middle Ages. All his efforts were directed to a reform of the practice, rather than of the teaching of the church. It was only in the later years of his career that he appears as one who impugned the accuracy of the church's teaching in certain important points. All his earlier efforts were directed against what every earnest and thoughtful churchman felt were terrible abuses, though Wyclif and a few of his disciples were alone bold enough publicly to denounce them. The evils which the pretensions of Rome had brought upon the church, above described, the vast sums which were yearly drained from English ecclesiastics to support the extravagance and intrigues of the papal court of Avignon, the scandal which the vast crowds of begging friars brought on religion, the luxury and state which characterised too many of the office-bearers in the church—these were the points which especially engaged Wyclif's attention until, roughly speaking, he had entered into the last decade of his life.

Out of heart at the failure of his efforts to bring about a reformation of the inner and outer life of the church he loved so well, he then turned his thoughts to faith rather than practice; and by boldly questioning the doctrinal teaching of the day, he drew upon his head the bitter condemnation of Rome, and Rome's agents and faithful adherents everywhere. Condemned and viewed with suspicion and dislike, often shading into hatred, while he lived, after his death he was branded as a heretic.

The last fourteen or fifteen years of

Edward III.'s reign—that is to say, from about 1363 to 1377—was a period of rapid decline in the prosperity of the country. Between the years 1350 and 1363 England had stood on a lofty pinnacle of greatness among the nations after the victory of Creçi and the French wars. In these fifteen sad years all the conquests made during the early brilliant career of Edward III., save Calais, were lost. England saw her navies annihilated and her shores insulted by hostile ships; while at home her people, already enormously diminished by the plague, were still further exhausted by wars. The glory and brilliancy of the earlier days was utterly forgotten, in the shame and disasters of these last fifteen unhappy years, and the most kindly apologist is dismayed when he has to tell the story of a court where, after the death of the noble queen Philippa, one of the ladies of her bed-chamber, the beautiful Alice Perrers, as the royal mistress reigned supreme, and exercised almost absolute powers, interfering disastrously not only in home and foreign politics, but openly making in the courts of justice a shameful traffic of the favours of the crown.

During this gloomy period of our national history, Wyclif was brought into prominent contact with the general politics of the country. In the year 1366 Pope Urban, no doubt taking advantage of the declining fortunes of England and her king, put forward a demand for the long arrears of the tribute due to Rome under the shameful convention of king John. This payment of 1,000 marks annually—a very large sum, considering the value of money in those days—had been made with fair regularity during the feeble reigns of John, Henry II Edward II., but had been sternly r by Edward I. and his warrior-gra Edward III. Such a demand, press the Avignon Pope, intensified the with which Rome was regarded by men, and indeed generally by the E church and people. The attitude Pope towards England, however signally changed from the times o and Henry III., when he trampled every national right and privilege. he consented to temporise, inste launching interdicts and excomm tions against the country, so long missive, which had presumed to qu his so-called rights. Ten years l conference between England and the legate, to be held at Bruges, was upon, and the famous anti-papal s Wyclif was named by king Edward second commissioner. The formal ap ment of Wyclif to such a weighty m shows his importance to the and also in what esteem the scholar who had boldly proclaime necessity of urgent reforms in the c was held in the England of 1376, th year of Edward III.'s reign. Wycli during this part of his career, str supported by John of Gaunt, Edward's son, who in the declining of his father, when the Black Princ sinking into his premature grave, cised enormous influence. The rei Pope was Gregory XI., known as th of the Avignon Popes, an ecclesias high character and great energy.

Nothing was definitely or perma settled by the Bruges conference. the Pope and the English govern

THE TRIAL OF WYCLIF.

*(From the picture by Ford Madox Brown, by permission of Henry Boddington, Esq., Pownall Hall, Wilmslow, Cheshire.)*

made concessions, but it was rather a truce for a season than a definite agreement. The Pope certainly waived many of his haughty pretensions, but he formally surrendered none of the papal claims, and we find Rome still continuing to nominate to archbishoprics, bishoprics, and rich abbeys. On the other hand, on the part of England the anti-papal statutes of Provisors and Præmunire remained unrepealed. As a sequel to the Bruges conference, Wyclif was rewarded by the prebend of Aust, on the Severn, the traditional meeting-place of Augustine and the British bishops, and with the rectory of Lutterworth, which he held till the end of his life.*

The year 1377 witnessed the death of Edward III., who, alas! had long outlived his fame, and the accession of his ill-fated grandson Richard II., the dead Black Prince's heir. One of the first acts of the new king's ministers and Parliament was to claim a large amount of treasure collected for the Pope by his English agents. Desirous legally to establish the national right to this papal collection, Wyclif was selected to frame the legal plea for this confiscation. He declared with extreme hardihood that the necessities of the nation had the first and paramount claim to all moneys raised within the realm; and, quoting the honoured name of St. Bernard, publicly proclaimed besides that the Pope could pretend to no secular dominion as the successor of St. Peter. But now the time was arrived when Wyclif was regarded at Rome as a dangerous hereiarch Pope Gregory XI. sent bulls to En to the archbishop of Canterbury, of Sudbury, the University of O and king Richard II., commanding inquiry should at once be made the erroneous doctrines of the reformer. Wyclif, in consequence peared before an ecclesiastical court at Lambeth, and there openly de in a public reply to the accusation the property of the church was n alienable, but was subject to forfeit the temporal power. He also asserte spiritual powers of condemnation, su excommunication, and even the ri absolution, were not absolute and u ditional, but were valid only if utte conformity with the will of God. condemnation was only stayed by death of Gregory XI. and the subse schism in the Papacy. Gregory XI in the year 1378.

It was in the year 1382 that the vincial council at the Black Friars in L met under archbishop Courtenay. A council Wyclif was naturally conde His view of the Holy Eucharist wa nounced to be heresy, along with conclusions drawn from his writings. was banished from Oxford, but allow retire unmolested, at least for a tin his living at Lutterworth. The gra of the position of Wyclif in England the vast influence he had won ove hearts of the people, is strikingly s by the evident reluctance of archb Courtenay and his powerful enemi proceed to extremities with him afte public condemnation. For nearly years he was allowed to remain i

* Compare generally Milman: "Latin Christianity," book xiii., chap. vi., and "Fasciculi Zizaniorum Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico," ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden, Confessor to King Henry V. and Provincial of English Carmelites.

t retreat at Lutterworth, where he ched and wrote unweariedly; until fatal stroke of paralysis on the 29th )ecember, 1384—which occurred while vas in the act of hearing or celebrating —put an end to the wonderful life and urs of the profound scholar, the elo- nt and winning preacher, the unwearied er, and earnest reformer. It was per- well that kindly death then took him gently home, for his restless enemies busy preparing a fresh trial for the n-out and exhausted man. Had he l, it is more than probable that Wyclif, e so many of earth's great ones, would have passed through pain and agony is well-won rest."

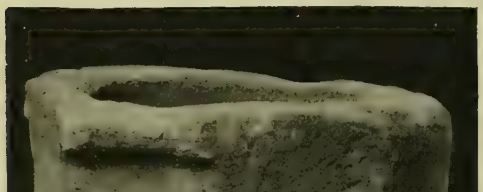
oo scanty are the materials ready to hand, when we endeavour to give fair idea of the man who exercised narvellous an influence over his own ration; who by his works and words d the seeds of that Reformation which red the Church of England with such ellous life and divine power, which its enemies grudgingly acknowledge still and works in it, after centuries, with minished vitality. "No friendly hand eft us any, even the slightest, memorial e great reformer." None speak of a nanding person, or even of a winning We can only picture to ourselves a lif with a spare, emaciated frame; but at frail, worn body must have lived a ss spirit which knew no fear, a con- on (which never faltered) that he was ng men along the path which alone to the City of God. Persevering and aried, he never allowed himself rest; fish and self-denying, his bitterest foes l find no flaw in his pure and spotless life. Austere even to asceticism, he lived himself the stern, hard life he preached to others with the irresistible earnestness of conviction.

His influence over all sorts and conditions of men was boundless. It reached from the ambitious prince John of Gaunt, to the illiterate, down-trodden peasant. Grave church dignitaries, men immersed in commerce, statesmen, scholars, soldiers, all acknowledged the winning charm, the holy eloquence, the irresistible power, of this strange and gifted man. It would be hard among English worthies to find one who possessed the key of human hearts like Wyclif. "To the memory of one of the greatest of Englishmen his country has been singularly and painfully ungrateful. On most of us the dim image looks down like the portrait of the first of a long line of kings, without personality or expression. He is the first of the reformers. . . . If considered only as the father of English prose, he might claim more reverential treatment than he has received at our hands. It is not by his translation of the Bible, remarkable as that work is, that Wyclif can be judged as a writer. It is in his original tracts, only one or two of which have been printed, that the exquisite pathos, the keen, delicate irony, the manly passion of his short, nervous sentences, fairly overmasters the weakness of the unformed language, and gives us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour."*

Among scholars he was absolutely the first of his day. In letters he ranks as the

* "Fasciculi Zizaniorum" (Introduction), Rolls Series.

last of the great schoolmen. His industry even in those laborious days was simply amazing. The number of his books—mostly, of course, tracts, but, as we said, tracts lit up with wonderful learning and powerful reasoning—baffles calculation. Two hundred are said to have been burned in the course of the religious troubles in Bohemia. "How much of the



FONT FROM LUTTERWORTH CHURCH.
(*Traditionally of the time of Wyclif. Leicester Museum.*)

translation of the Scriptures he executed himself is not precisely known; but even if in parts only superintended, it was a prodigious achievement for one man, deeply involved as he was in polemic warfare with the hierarchy, the monks, and the mendicant orders. He was acknowledged to be a consummate master in the dialectics of the schools. He was the pride, as well as the terror, of Oxford. He was second to none in philosophy," so writes a monk; "in the discipline of the schools incomparable."*

* Milman: "Latin Christianity," bk. xiii., ch. vi.

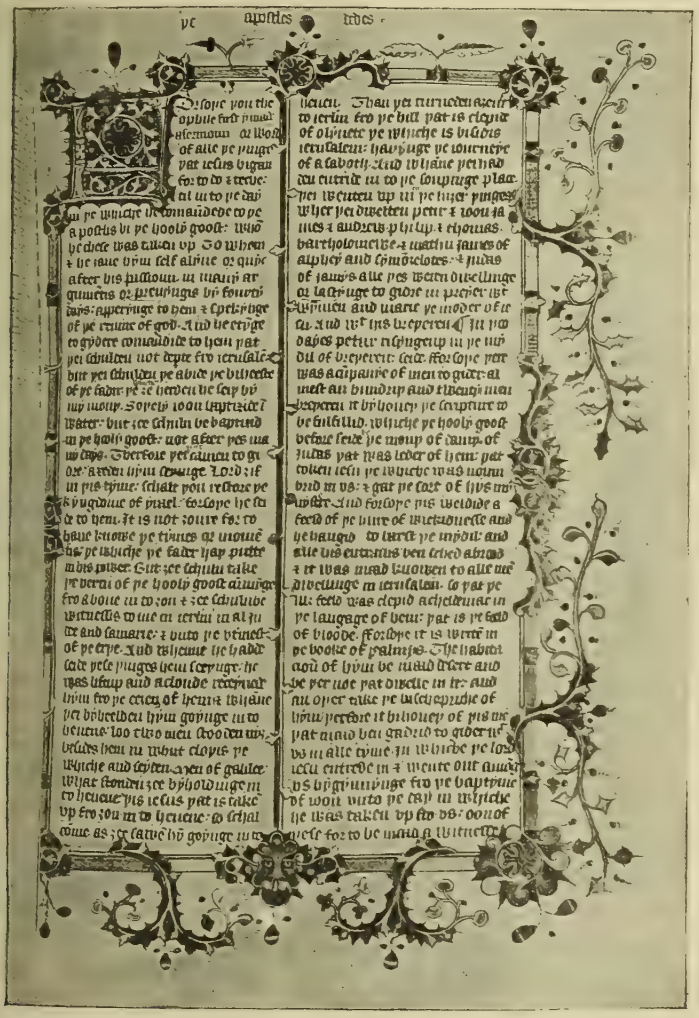
Of his doctrines, his teaching respe the sacrament of the altar was by f most important and far-reaching i final results. It has been well said "if there was one doctrine upon whic supremacy of the mediæval church r it was the doctrine of transubstanti It was by his exclusive right t performance of the miracle which wrought in the mass, that the lo priest was raised high above prin The grosser theory of transubstanti Wyclif emphatically denied in his tea respecting the spiritual presence i Holy Eucharist. He followed more closely the primitive doctrine taug the Anglo-Saxon church, before coming of Lanfranc and the N school. "With him the Euchar Christ's body spiritually, sacramen but the bread and wine are not a lated by transmutation. They co though to the mind of the believe elements are virtually the veritable and blood of the Redeemer."† In terms, the material substance of brea wine remain *after* consecration i sacrament of the altar. In Wyclif's words, "We are not to suppose tha body of Christ comes down from h to the host consecrated in every ch no, it remains ever fast and secu heaven. Therefore it has a spi presence in the host, not such as c measured by length or breadth."

His translation of the Bible wa made from the original Hebrew Greek, but from the Latin (Vu version; and he tells us in his p

* Green: "History of the English Peopl

† Dean Milman.

he was assisted in this work by some his friends. The price of this Bible very great, owing to the vast labour But, in spite of its great cost, it was soon in great request, and copies multiplied with strange rapidity. Wyclif in his



S. PAGE OF WYCLIF'S BIBLE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, CONTAINING THE BEGINNING OF THE "ACTS OF THE APOSTLES." (*Late 14th Century.*)

red in the transcription. The cost of by of the Holy Scriptures in Wyclif's on in his own time, would represent £30 or £40 of our present money. teaching especially urged the study of the Bible, particularly of the New Testament. "Christian men and women should study fast all the New Testament—should cleave

to the study of it. No simple man of wit," he said, "no man of small knowledge, should be afraid to study immeasurably in the text of Holy Writ." An attempt to suppress this first English translation of the Bible directly after the reformer's death, was quashed by John of Gaunt. This righteous act, and his general support of Wyclif in his life, will ever be remembered by the English people as one of the titles to honour of this ambitious and too often self-seeking prince. Wyclif's Bible was, however, by archbishop Arundel's influence, formally condemned in 1408, by a resolution of Convocation; but this condemnation was never, as some have supposed, confirmed by act of Parliament.

Well-nigh all the errors which had gradually crept in and were sapping the life of mediæval Christianity, and which subsequently were swept away by the Teutonic peoples, who generally adopted the principles of the Reformation, were attacked and condemned by Wyclif: such as pardons, indulgences, excommunications, pilgrimages, and the slavish, unreasoning submission to the Popes of Rome, the source of so much fatal mischief. Images, at least of the Persons of the Trinity, he condemned. But whilst in Wyclif's teaching there was much that was admirable and true, it cannot be denied that many of his views would, if pressed, have assuredly led to anarchy and confusion. He was a destroyer rather than a constructor. He even confessed that his theory of the Divine dominion was put forth as an ideal, but that it was, he felt, incompatible with the existing state of society. In his sweeping condemnation of a church the possessor of wea and dignity, he proclaimed that it the duty of the state, the king, or emperor, to confiscate the whole of th misused, and hence forfeited possessio He failed to see with what an evil po he was investing fallible and interes men; what an awful incentive he supplying to human avarice and gre The deplorable waste, the cruel injusti the fatal destruction and irreparable ru which accompanied and disfigured Reformation in England, is a sad co mentary upon such theories.

The day was to dawn in England wh not a little of the teaching of Wy would be actually incorporated in formularies of her church; when the gr doctrine of the sacrament of the alt much as he interpreted it,* would be ceived and preached by the great divi of her world-wide communion; when abuses and errors which he abhorr would be swept for ever out of her rit and practice. But that day was far dista For long years after the reformer's de his name was execrated by the church so passionately desired to purify, and memory was held up to shame and reproa In the year 1408 archbishop Arund presiding at a synod at Oxford, condemn all Wyclif's writings, and made it her to possess any version of the Bible authorised by the church. The effect this synodical decision was virtually proscribe all *English* versions of the W of God, as no English translation received such sanction.

* Compare the words of the "Confessio Wyclif in the "Fasciculi Zizaniorum." R Series, pp. 115—132.

Two years later, in 1410, the books of : reformer were burned publicly in that ford of which he had been so long : pride and ornament. The same arch-·late, with an animosity unrelenting as was ill-judged, applied to Rome for ·mission to burn his bones; but the pe, wiser than archbishop Arundel, re-ed the savage request. However, a few ırs later the General Council of Constance, 1415, made the fierce decree which the glish archbishop had thought fit to beg , and in 1428 Pope Martin V. sent an .er into England for its execution. To ·ming, bishop of Lincoln, belongs the ıbtful honour of having carried out the ›al command. The mouldering remains the great master were exhumed and ·nt, and the sacred ashes of the dead ·e heedlessly tossed into the waters of little river Swift, a tributary of the on, which flows by Wyclif's Lutter-·th.

Vyclif as a teacher and reformer stood olutely alone; he had, of course, a few r friends and intimate associates, but le more than their names have come vn to us. As a master and leader he no successor. He had founded no ; nor did he ever dream of such a ıg. He had simply wished to reform life and practice of the church; and in later years, despairing of effecting this, specially turned his attention to some the doctrines taught by the church. true words bore fruit, as we shall see; not for many, many years. Although, ·ever, the generation which had known lived to see the memory of the rmer defamed and disgraced, and his work stamped out, for a considerable number of years after Wyclif's death his opinions maintained their sway over a vast number of persons of all ranks and orders. Especially in towns—London was a conspicuous example—were Wyclif's reformed doctrines strangely popular. Under the uncertain term "Lollards," his disciples were everywhere. We find them even among the clergy. Anne of Bohemia, "Good Queen Anne"—Richard II.'s wife, was attached to Wyclif's teaching, and greatly prized his version of the Scriptures. Barons, burghers, peasants, were reckoned among these Lollards. "Every second persón you meet is a Lollard," was a saying of the day. The term "Lollard," in its derivation and exact meaning, is a doubtful one. All we can say of the word with any certainty is, it was a term of opprobrium coined by those whom we must call the church party, and that it generally signified a garrulous, loquacious person.

But from the day of the death of the master at Lutterworth, the Lollard party in England, as a party, were doomed to partial extinction. Various causes, some political—especially mixed up with the hatred of the Avignon (French) Popes—were at work, as we have seen, at first to exaggerate and afterwards to diminish the influence of Wyclif. In considering the story of the Lollards, however, and the reasons for their, comparatively speaking, speedy extinction after his death, we must remember that under the common name of Lollards were gathered every species of religious malcontents, and with them not a few of the discontented class which never dies out in a civilised community, a class which is ever ready for disturbance, revolt, and

revolution. All these availed themselves of the popular name of the so-called followers of the reformer—"Lollard"—and eventually brought the gravest discredit and the profoundest distrust upon the earnest men whose name they adopted, but whose principles they ignored. Crazy Socialist preachers like John Ball, stormy demagogues like Wat Tyler, men who shrank from no excesses which might in their opinion help on their wild schemes, and a little later the political and religious malcontents of the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V., were roughly lumped together as Lollards, till the very name and all associated with it came to be regarded as a positive danger to the state.

King Henry IV., John of Gaunt's son, who succeeded to the throne of the dethroned Richard II. in 1399, largely influenced by archbishop Arundel, his great supporter in the state troubles which had ended by placing the crown on his head, at the commencement of his reign declared himself the supporter of the church against her dangerous and heretical Lollard foes; and in the second year of his reign king and Parliament, affrighted by the wild and revolutionary views ascribed to all Lollards indifferently, and openly avowed by some, passed the well-known terrible statute, "For the burning of heretics" (*De hæretico comburendo*). At once, armed with the law, the archbishop and his suffragans determined to make examples. The statute had not many victims in the age which passed it; but it is memorable as being the first legal enactment of religious bloodshed. It was a terrible precedent, and bore in time sad and grievous fruit. William Sautre, a parish priest at Lynn, was the first of our religious martyrs. He was c demned as a heretic for the denial transubstantiation. He recanted, then wi drew his recantation, and eventually a relapsed heretic was doomed to the flan Nine years later a layman—John Badb was also condemned for the same offe against the sacrament of the altar. T dread sentence in his case was carried in the presence of the Prince of Wa afterwards the hero-king Henry V. T groans of the sufferer in his great ag were taken by the shuddering prince f recantation, and Henry ordered the fire be plucked away; but the proffer of and even of a pension, failed to move martyr spirit of the brave Lollard; cruel flames were again lighted, and Badby perished.

All through the reigns of Richard and Henry IV. Lollardry lived on. It ne really assumed the character of an organi movement, but it had penetrated into ev class of society. Women as well as m became its preachers. Lollardry had schools, its books, its tracts and pamphl The opinions of Wyclif, the resolve substitute personal religion for the mediæval system which locked up sal tion in the hands of the priests, the mon and the friars, with their absolutions, th pardons, their indulgences, and th anathemas, seemed to be gaining grou everywhere; but mingled with the ligious movement were Socialistic drea popular outbreaks, revolutionary risin peasant wars, general discontent. Both Parliament and the king were thoroug alarmed, and, as we have seen, were termined to stamp out the party, and crush all who sympathised with it.

It was in the reign of Henry V. (1413–22) that the Lollard movement was ally crushed. The story of the last act the tragedy is a confused one, and much it remains uncertain and obscure. A lant and successful soldier, a Sir John castle, who had served with great distion in the French wars, through a riage with a noble and wealthy widow become Lord Cobham. As is often case with soldiers, the man-at-arms ame a devoted and earnest religious . He put himself at the head of the gious Lollards, sheltered their proscribed achers in his strong castle of Cowling, r Rochester, and treated the citations and excommunications of the archbishop with contempt. Lord Cobham was subsequently arrested by the king's order, tried before an ecclesiastical tribunal presided over by archbishop Arundel, and by it condemned. He made his escape, strangely enough, from the Tower, and immediately afterwards we hear of a great Lollard plot. There was no rising, no rebellion, but the so-called plot was followed by the execution of some thirty-nine prominent Lollards, and the law against heretics was made yet more severe. Cobham was lost sight of for some time—three or four years—but in the year 1418 was again arrested and dealt with as a traitor and heretic. He was

*Photo: J. T. Sandell, Thornton Heath.*

THE LOLLARDS' PRISON, LAMBETH PALACE.

hanged on a gallows erected in St. Giles's fields, then on the outskirts of London, and slowly burnt. Refusing the aid of a priest, he said "he would confess to God only, now as ever present, and of Him alone entreat pardon." His last words, heard amidst the crackling of the flames, were praise of God. "His conduct was throughout that of a noble religious man."

Thus was Lollardism, as a political movement, effectively stamped out. That it lingered, however, long afterwards among the English people, and helped to prepare men's minds for the events of the following century, is indisputable. The teaching of Wyclif was never forgotten. The Lollard persecution of the reign of Henry V., which virtually ended with the death of Lord Cobham, was, so far as the confused and contradictory statements can be unravelled, the work of Arundel and his successor in the primacy, largely prompted by the hatred of Rome and the hierarchy to the principles of Wyclif. It is very doubtful if the charge of treason and of attempted rebellion, in the case of Cobham and his friends, was based on fact.*

One striking result of the suppression of Lollardism by the strong arm of the law deserves to be especially recorded. Oxford for a century and a half had been one of the greatest centres of literature and of intellectual life, and during the last half of the fourteenth century, when the reputation of Paris as a great seat of learning faded, during the period of the Avignon Popes, had become first amongst all the European homes of letters. In Oxford

* Compare Milman: "Latin Christianity," book xiii., chap. vii.

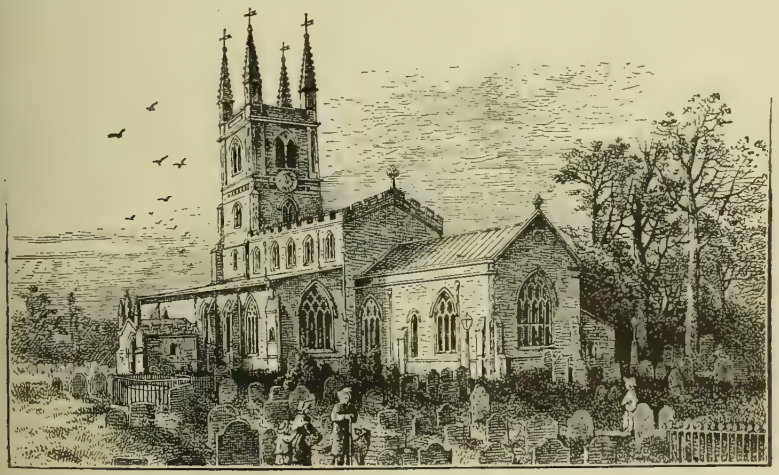
Lollardism and the influence of W was effectually stamped out, throug measures of archbishops Courtenay Arundel and their party in the ch During the century (the fifteenth) w followed, the decay of Oxford as a univ was complete. Religious freedom killed in the home where the great sc men and their last distinguished r sentative—Wyclif—had taught and wr but the agents of Rome and her so-c orthodoxy had killed something than religious freedom. A deat torpor settled for a long and dreary p over Oxford and her famous school.

In another direction the far-rea influence of Wyclif had made itself We have briefly related how, durin reigns of Henry IV. and his son, Parliament and the sovereign had s their bitter hostility to the Lollard p regarding it as a political as well religious movement. But while Lollard was an object of distrust dislike to Parliament, we find even unmistakable traces of the work of W Deep indeed had his teaching sunk the hearts of the men who compose great national assembly. The same P ment which showed itself hostile to Lollards, disliked and even hated church. Jealousy and hatred of P and all foreign influences, and an in mistrust of the Rome-ridden Churc England, showed itself plainly in acts, still more in their temper and o expressed wishes. In the fourth ye king Henry IV. (A.D. 1403) petitions presented that all monks of French o should be expelled from the country that all priories held by foreigners s

seized. In the year 1407 the Commons n suggested a general confiscation of rch property, presenting a carefully pared schedule showing what a vast provision could be made out of the poral possessions of the bishops, abbots, priors, now idly wasted. The king emptorily forbade a discussion of such gh matters." But this ominous foredowing of what actually took place a e more than a century later, shows us least what was in the minds of not a of the leading personages of the liament of Henry IV. in the first years he fifteenth century.

Can we marvel at the deep-rooted dist of the church at this period, or be prised that the words of the dead and thematised Wyclif were treasured in ny English hearts? *For Rome had ned nothing.* The lesson of the reted enactment of the great anti-papal s of Parliament, of "Provisors" and ræmunire," was, if not forgotten, at t ignored by the Pope and his advisers. e marvellous popularity of Wyclif and his earnestly pressed reforms, was treated as though it existed not. Pope Boniface IX., who reigned as head of the church A.D. 1389–1404, in his unholy acts went further than any of his predecessors. It was this Boniface who, to fill his treasure coffers, to supply the needs of his exchequer, to furnish funds for the perpetual intrigues of the Papacy, dared to establish the precedent of an indiscriminate sale of plenary indulgences. A jubilee festival was announced at Rome. Special privileges of pardon and remission of sins were offered to all those who would make a pilgrimage to Rome; while in England the Pope's accredited agents appeared, and actually offered for *money* the same privileges which a pilgrim to Rome might win. "Confession and penance even were not asked for—a money payment was all that was required. By the side of the altar in all the chief churches a table was spread covered with scarlet cloth, where this unholy traffic was carried on."*

* Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury."



LUTTERWORTH CHURCH. *Photo: Taunt & Co., Oxford.*

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### THE THREE LANCASTRIAN KINGS. THE SHADOW OF ROME.

The Two Great Lancastrians—Decay of the Crusades—Long Minority of Henry VI.—Absence of C Characters in either Church or State—Cardinal Beaufort—The Wars of the Roses—Extin of the English Baronage—The Church and the Crown—Apparent Power and Wealth o Church—Real Weakness from various Causes—Abuses and Superstitions—Bishop Pecock- Fall—His Defence of Mediæval and Roman Customs and Superstitions—In reality an Unimp able Exposure of them—Growing Incubus of the Roman Supremacy—Culmination in the Sy of Legates—Papal Appeals—Fees and Exactions—Selling of Pardons.

THE three successive monarchs, Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., were, in their way, each of them religious men. The last, we know, has even left behind him the reputation of a saint, and, although one of the most unfortunate and unhappy of our kings, is ever tenderly treated in the usually chilly and unemotional verdict of posterity. Henry IV. was, during his reign, in the closest alliance with the clergy, and maintained until his death a high reputation as a brave knight and strictly moral man. During the Lollard fever he was faithful to the church, lending no ear to the charges — some based on truth, others grossly exaggerated — which the Lollard reformers were never weary of making against the established order of ecclesiastical government. Indeed, Henry IV. and his more famous son and successor viewed Lollardism rather as a disturbing influence affecting civil government, than as a serious scheme of religious reform.

Even so late as the first half of the fifteenth century, the Crusading fever, which had more or less disturbed the minds of earnest and religious men since the days of William the Conqueror—a period of nearly three centuries and a —had not exhausted itself, and was of the influences at work in the live Henry IV. and of his son. Both father son hoped to die as Crusaders. Henry who in his latter days evidently loo back upon the deposition of Richard and upon all that followed that act, bitter remorse, made considerable prep tions for the Crusade which he inten as an atonement for his great sin. galleys which were to convey the Eng king and part at least of his army, wer is said, in readiness, when his fatal ill seized him, while actually praying Westminster Abbey for the success of Crusading venture. Henry V. too, d in his hour of triumph, the greatest in Christendom, almost with his last br professed himself a Crusader. "As su as I expect to die," were amongst his words, "I intended, after I had establis peace in France, to go and conq Jerusalem, if it had been the good pleas of my Creator to have let me live my time." It was only with these two pow ful sovereigns that there passed away England the strange Crusading pass which had fired the hearts of so m

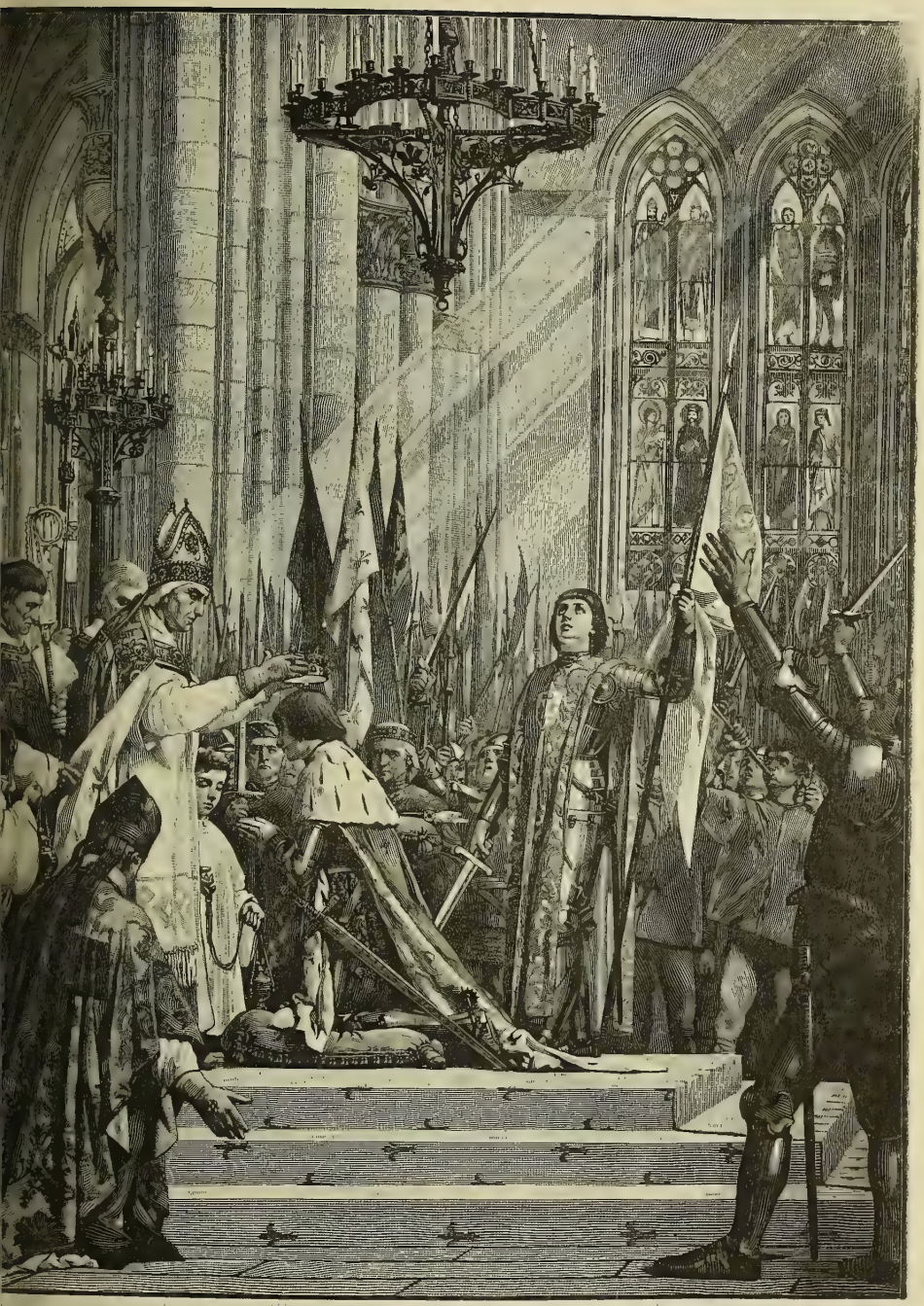


*Photo: Neurdin, Paris.*

JOAN OF ARC AT THE CORONATION OF CHARLES VII.

*(From the mural painting by J. E. Lenepveu, in the Panthéon, Paris.)*

royal and distinguished persons all through the Middle Ages, which were now fast closing.

With the death of Henry V., in A.D. 1422, commenced a disastrous and confused period for England, both in church and state. The premature removal by death of the victor of Agincourt was a grave misfortune for the Church of England as then constituted; for after he became king he had shown himself an example of an austere piety such as few of his predecessors had displayed, and he was, besides, the most bitter enemy in Europe of the followers of Wyclif and the Lollards. After his premature death, however, all was changed; and the new views in religious matters were no longer sternly repressed, but gradually continued to gain ground among the people. During the long reign of Henry VI. and his three successors, no really distinguished churchman arose far-sighted enough to see the weakness, and, indeed, the decaying state of that church which seemed outwardly so powerful and magnificent; who could discern that the hearts of the English people were being gradually alienated from the orthodox religious teachers. The leading ecclesiastics were, for the most part, statesmen rather than theologians. A long minority, the selfish disputes of the princes and the Lords of the Council, followed by a long and ruthless war, was a disastrous time for the mediæval Church of England; and the kings who followed—Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.—were not in earnest in matters of church reform. Thus the old errors in teaching remained unchecked, becoming every year more apparent. The old machinery was left to itself, th abuses were uncorrected, and no e were made to improve an organis which had been effectual and efficie past times to control and to guide. new learning, the invention of pri the great awakening of the people Wyclif and his disciples—all these t were ignored by the men to whom charge of the church was entrusted. century (the fifteenth) which followe death of Henry V. was, in fact, a cont preparation for the great upheaval i reign of Henry VIII.

Had one really great churchma peared in England during that a decay, he would have seen the d looming in the future, and would assu have taken some steps to ward it would have devised some means by the people's hearts might have bee gained. But one and all of the le of the hierarchy during this period serenely unconscious of the real st things, so that the awakening in the of Henry VIII. was indeed a rude

A few paragraphs will be sufficie indicate the changes which followed the death of Henry V. in England. conquests of the warrior king had p France literally at the feet of the En nation. It was, however, an unn state of things; and when the great s and statesman had passed away, the d of Henry V. to unite the two nation soon seen to have been merely a d The heir to the double crown of En and France—Henry VI.—was a child the government at once really passed the hands of the two brothers of the

NUNS IN CHOIR.

*(From a 15th-century Psalter made for the use of Henry VI. as a boy, and now in the British Museum.)*

the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. ›rd remained generally in France, Gloucester, with a restraining council ›bles, attempted to rule in England. two dukes have been well described: ›rd as "possessing all the high quali- ›f his dead brother Henry, without rilliance; and Gloucester as the heir Henry's popular characteristics, with- ny of his greatness."

e romantic story of the warrior king hout parallel in English annals. At religious in temperament, pure in valiant and successful soldier, a wise cautious ruler of men, when he died nparatively young—he had virtually ıered France; had his life been pro- d, he might have consolidated his vast ıests. But he left no successor; and tory of the years which followed his is simply the chronicle of successive ts, which gradually weakened the ige of the English nation abroad, and e end determined the English govern- to abandon all their pretensions and s in French territory. The account of English wars in France between 1422 1453, and the romantic episode of areer of Joan of Arc—"the one pure e," as she has been truly termed, ch rises out of the greed, the lust, elfishness and unbelief of the age"— not belong to this History of the ch. It is sufficient to say that before ear 1453 had run its course the English been finally expelled from the soil ance. The French wars, which, with intermission, had lasted a hundred s, were ended; and, in spite of the ıdid victories of Edward III., the k Prince, and Henry V., nothing was left to England of her French possessions save the town and harbour of Calais. Even the great southern provinces of Aquitaine and Guienne, which had been in the hands of the English ever since the marriage of the duchess Eleanor to Henry II., passed for ever from England into the possession of the French sovereign.

At home, during the thirty years which witnessed the gradual extinction of English hopes for the permanent subjugation of France, the government was weak and divided. During the long minority of Henry VI. the royal authority was vested in a council made up of powerful barons and ecclesiastics, at the head of whom stood Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, a legitimated son of John of Gaunt, and consequently a great-uncle of the child-king. The principal person in England, the duke of Gloucester, through his ambitious, selfish schemes and perpetual intrigues, his utter lack of principle, and his profligate life, was a continual menace to the realm. This long minority of Henry VI. was an unfortunate period. No prominent and wise statesman appeared to guide and direct home affairs. The nobles were lawless and dissolute, and the Parliaments of this time have been described as mere assemblies of the retainers and partisans of these self-seeking nobles. The church, of which we must treat in more detail presently, lacked enthusiasm and spirituality. English literature was just then at its lowest ebb. There were no historians worth the name, no poets, no kindly satirists.

The story of the young king, heir to so many hopes, as he grew up towards manhood, is a sad one. Weak in health from

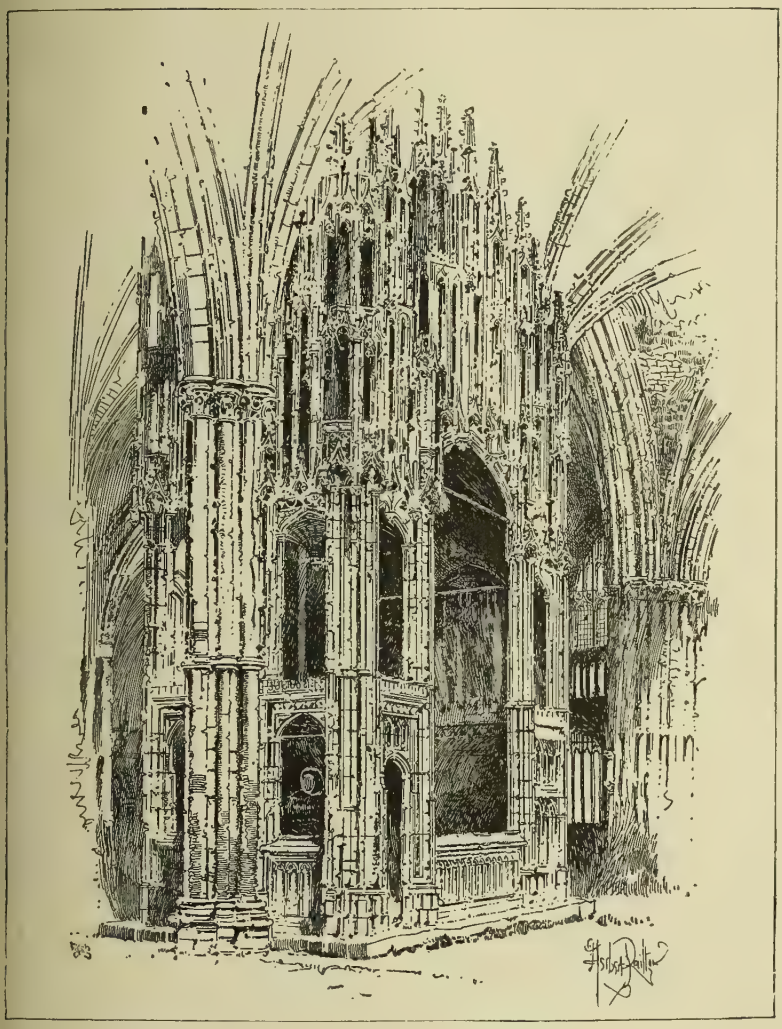
his earliest days, ever unfit to take part in the military matters which formed so large a part of a young prince's or noble's life in that age of war and perpetual fighting, he took a lively interest in all scholarly pursuits. His over-zealous guardians evidently pressed him imprudently, and he grew up weak and sickly, and a somewhat precocious scholar. We hear of letters written under his direction while still a boy, petitioning for the canonisation of king Alfred. At an age when hawking or tilting should have made up the chief interests of a youthful life, the young king was meditating upon the grave ecclesiastical discussions of the Council of Basle. At the age of eighteen his educational foundations at Eton and Cambridge first took shape, and were ever, all through his long reign, carefully watched and developed. From a very early date in that sad life, questions of statecraft were discussed in his presence. It was remembered that he was the king, and the gravest and most important decisions affecting the weal of England and of France were submitted to the boy-sovereign, though perhaps not decided by him. The spectacle of a divided council, of jealous princes, of ministers pressing the adoption of contradictory policies, was ever before him. Was it to be wondered at that an incurable insanity was developed at a comparatively early period of his unhappy reign?

The pathetic misfortunes, quite undeserved, of Henry VI., his mysterious death, after years of sorrow, in the Tower—a death probably the cruel act of his great enemy and successful rival—made a lasting impression on the English people. He was for long revered as as sain narrowly missed being canonised. F were offered in his honour, hymns sung in his praise; and the commo long loved the memory of the s generous, scholarly king who su power, wealth, and dignity, who s his friends perish round him, and all his bright, chivalrous son, princ ward of Wales. A more unfit king Henry VI., however, could not w imagined for that unhappy period culminated in the terrible dynasti of the Roses.

One by one the prominent figu the age of the minority of Henry away. Bedford, by far the nobles the best of those who guided the fo of England when the strong hand conqueror of Agincourt was removed first. Thwarted by the intrigues brother of Gloucester at home, conf in France by the splendid spirit of p ism and national defence evoked b of Arc, the duke of Bedford, prema worn out and dispirited, died in 143

Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Wincl when Bedford had passed away, b indisputably the most influential m England. His policy was to make with victorious France. He would England renounce what had now b hopeless pretensions; he would cl war which was draining the coun her best men and treasures. But aga duke of Gloucester was the deter opponent of the peace party in Eng So the French war dragged on, every more disastrous in its consequences. sudden death of Gloucester in 1447 st the country; and grave, though

bly unfounded suspicions that the of the turbulent and ill-advised prince he work of Beaufort, were current; but



CARDINAL BEAUFORT'S CHANTRY, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

uspicions were hushed by the death aufort himself only a few weeks after lisappearance of his turbulent and rival from the scene. The cardinal bishop expired calmly and with dignity in his Wolvesey palace at Winchester; and king Henry VI.'s kindly words when he heard of the minister's death were Beaufort's well-deserved epitaph: "My uncle was very dear to me, and did much kindness to me while he lived. The Lord reward him."

Cardinal Beaufort was a good example of the statesman-ecclesiastic of the Middle Ages; an ambitious, secular prelate, ostentatious, somewhat unscrupulous, jealous of the privileges of his order, but certainly unspiritual; on the whole, like so many other leading churchmen of his time, a better statesman than ecclesiastic. He was by no means one who would be likely to lift his church out of the many perils by which it was surrounded; indeed, men of his stamp were utterly unconscious that their church was fast losing its hold on the affections of the people. But, considering the difficulties of his position, Beaufort had been, on the whole, a wise and loyal statesman. From the moment of his death everything in England went worse and worse for the poor king.

The chief power now fell into the hands of the advisers of Henry's foreign queen, the beautiful but unfortunate Margaret of Anjou. The war with France went on until, as we have seen, England was driven completely out of the country she had claimed to reign over, and where for a brief season she seemed supreme. The unfortunate close of the long French war exasperated popular feeling against the government of Margaret of Anjou, who in the name of the king (whose mental powers were ever and anon completely clouded over) carried on the government. These terrible French disasters prominently brought to the front a formidable claimant to the crown in the person of Richard, duke of York, who boasted a double descent from Edward III., being descended on the mother's side from Lionel, duke of Clarence, son of Edward III. (this Lionel was older than John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the ancestor of Henry VI on the father's side from another Edward III., Edmond Langley, du York. Richard of York, taking adv of the continued and indeed hopel ness of king Henry VI. and the with which the government of the was regarded by the nation, caused h to be appointed protector of the rea 1454. Then commenced the long-c out "War of the Roses" betwee houses of York and Lancaster. Fron to 1471 England was harassed by bloody war between the rival dyna

It was a period of ruthless battles executions, and wholesale confiscation one remarkable feature deserves es comment. The ruin and bloodshed mainly confined to the great lord their families and their feudal ret Generally speaking, the trading and cultural classes stood apart from the struggle, and the towns suffered but In the fifth year of the war (in 146 cruel reprisals which followed the v of Wakefield, won by the Lanca partisans of Henry VI. and his queen the keynote to the conduct of the struggle. Richard, duke of York, was and his head, crowned in mockery w paper diadem, was impaled on the wa the city of York. A series of bloody cutions followed this victory of the of Lancaster. The fortune of war, ever, changed in the following year, a crushing victory gained by the Yo at Towton gave the crown of Engla Edward, the son and heir of duke Ri of York, whose head had been fix derision on the walls of the nor capital; and a vast bill of atta

cated the estates of the leaders of the of the Lancastrian king. But the gle was not yet over; for ten more the record of plots, invasions, trea-es, executions, confiscations, disfigure nnals of English history.

e year 1471, however, witnessed the of the awful and bitter civil war. decisive victories of Edward of York, n as Edward IV.—the one near on, at Barnet; the other under the w of the famous Norman abbey of esbury in the Severn vale—for ever ed the Lancastrian party. These ies were immediately followed by the er of Henry's brave son and heir, the e of Wales; and shortly after the of Henry VI. in the Tower removed st hope of the house of Lancaster. executions, confiscations, and banish- completed the dreary record of the es" war, and henceforth Edward IV. k reigned as undisputed king.

e result of the deadly struggle which asted for so many years was now ent. *The baronage of England was t wiped out.* The power of the was thus enormously augmented. ast confiscations of the estates of the ans of the crushed Lancastrians had ed the king, and rendered him com-vely independent of Parliamentary . The powerful nobles, who for so centuries had resisted the arbitrary of the sovereign, existed no longer. rder was virtually extinguished. The made up of the smaller landowners he traders, gradually growing into ommons, was as yet politically im-t. The church alone remained as a to be reckoned with, as capable of offering any resistance to the overpowering influence of the sovereign. And the church, imposing from its vast and varied possessions, its immemorial traditions, its learning, and its spiritual claims, was really weak from its lack of spiritual earnestness, from its want of eminent and devoted men who could guide its counsels. Above all, the church from various causes had lost much of its hold upon the hearts of the people.*

In this rapid bird's-eye view of the civil history of England during the three Lancastrian reigns of the descendants of John of Gaunt, the famous son of Edward III., we have spoken briefly of the kings and princes of the fifteenth century, of their wars abroad and at home. The brilliant figure of one of our national heroes, and the pathetic figure of one of the royal saints, have passed before us. We have seen how France was conquered by English arms, and almost as quickly lost through "the splendid heroism of a peasant girl." We have shortly told the strange and blood-stained romance of the wiping-out of the historic baronage of England, and the consequent elevation of the wearer of the crown to a position of almost undisputed and absolute authority. What now of the Church of England during this exciting, war-filled period? Let us proceed to consider the position which it held towards the lay-world outside, and strive to paint something of its inner life in the days when Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. were kings, and when

* See for above general historical sketch Bishop Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," chaps. xviii.–xix.; and Green: "History of English People," chap. v., sect. vi., and chap. vi., sect. i.

Edward IV., the White Rose chieftain, entered into and enjoyed without a rival his splendid heritage.

In these years of the century which immediately preceded the momentous events of its Reformation, the church was, outwardly at least, powerful; it was certainly an imposing and wealthy community. The

PORTION OF A PAGE FROM THE "CHICHELE BREVIARY."

*The miniature in the initial represents the Consecration of a Church. (Lambeth Palace Library.)*

ecclesiastical order furnished, with rare exceptions, the great ministers of state, such as the chancellor, the privy seal, and treasurer; churchmen were very frequently employed, too, in important foreign missions. Their training, their wide learning, and more especially their great knowledge of law, in an age when learning and literary knowledge were, comparatively speaking, rare, naturally pointed to ecclesiastics as the fittest persons for holding such offices, and for discharging the difficult and complicated duties nected with them. This constant pr of clergy at the royal council board w doubt, a considerable source of streng the ecclesiastical order; for althoug true that the obligations of holy ord many instances lay lightly on the cl man who filled the position of minis state or official of the chancery, " it came to a question of class pri or immunity, he knew when an to take a side with his brethren The clergy were strong in cor feeling." *

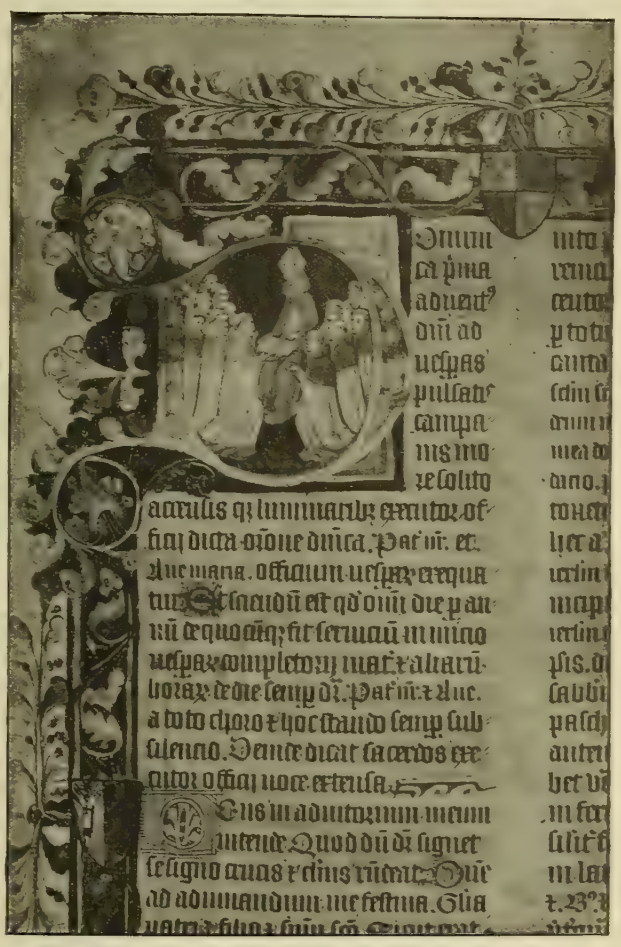
To take a few conspicuous exa of distinguished clergy filling highest offices in the state. Chichele, archbishop of Cant (1414–1443), was an eminent lawy statesman, and acted as prime m to king Henry V. His predeces Canterbury, while bishop of El held the great seal. John St archbishop of Canterbury (1443- had filled the offices of high tr and chancellor. John Kemp, arch of Canterbury (1452–1454), was a nent lawyer and a distinguished man; he, too, was chancellor. is, however, no doubt but that th of proficiency in legal studies and in statecraft being invariably a ste stone to the highest preferments militated against the spirituality hierarchy. It was the lawyer ar statesman, rather than the theolog the pastor, who was advanced to th places in the government and admi tion of the church.

The numbers of the clergy, takin

* Stubbs: "Constitutional History," ch

ount the comparative smallness of the nbers of the whole population of Eng-d at this period, were enormous; but se very numbers, paradoxi-though it may seem, were element of weakness rather n of strength to the rch. The population of gland had been largely inished by the great gue of 1349 and by subse-ent visitations of the same l sickness. We have lists persons ordained in the rteenth and fifteenth cen-ies still extant in the hops' registers. Ordina-ns were held at least four es a year, and the number nitted on each occasion s rarely below a hundred; l this number was often atly exceeded. For in-nce, we find in 1370 bishop rtenay, acting for the hop of Exeter, ordained at erton as many as 374 per-s. We read of such num-s as 463 ordained at Ciren-er on one occasion in 1314; Worcester in the same year, ; at Tewkesbury in 1338 June 6th), the enormous nber of 613. These crowds uded acolytes, sub-dea-s, deacons, and priests.*

he question confronts us—What occupa- was found for all these ordained clergy, whole number of the parish churches being not much over 8,000? Some, of course, were monks in the many religious houses. Very many were ordained on the



PORTION OF A PAGE FROM THE "CHICHELE BREVIARY" AT LAMBETH PALACE. (ENGLISH EARLY 15TH CENTURY.)*

*(These pages have been reproduced by special permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.)*

title or chaplains, on the proof that they

See for further details, Stubbs's "Constitu-l History," chaps. xix.–xxi.

* The miniature represents a bishop catechising or expounding to his priests. The coat of arms in the left hand bottom corner is that of Archbishop Chichele.

were entitled to pensions from private persons for saying masses for the dead. Apparently the majority of persons ordained had neither cure of souls nor duty of preaching; their spiritual work seems to have been simply to say masses for the dead. "They were not drawn on by the necessities of self-culture either to deeper study of divine truth, or to the lessons which are derived from the obligation to instruct others, and they lay under no responsibility as bound to sympathise with and guide the weak. . . . By the necessity of celibacy they were cut off from the interests of domestic life, relieved from the obligation to labour for wives and families of their own, and thus left at leisure for mischief of various sorts. Every town contained thus a number of idle men, whose religious duties filled but a small portion of their time, and whose standard of moral conduct was formed upon a very low ideal." * There is no doubt but that this crowd of unemployed, and in many instances disreputable priests, which men like More in the sixteenth century viewed with unveiled dislike and contempt, was one of the grave sources of the weakness of the church in the era of the Reformation, owing to the discredit which this numerous class brought upon the whole order of the clergy.

In the fifteenth century the church possessed vast wealth. The clergy, as a body, were very rich, the proportion of direct taxation borne by them amounting to nearly a third of the whole direct taxation of the nation. The landed estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and of the monastic communities extended into nearly every parish, and the tithes voluntary offerings which maintained beneficed clergy were even a larger sou of revenue than the lands. This wea constantly excited feelings of jealou The violent attack by Parliament on possessions of the church in the time Henry IV., already noticed, is an extre instance of this jealousy, and is an in to the feelings with which this ecclesiast wealth was regarded by many among laymen. The bitter Lollard denunciati of the temporalities of the church, wh found favour with many in all classes orders, ill-judged and exaggerated thou such denunciations often were, shows how deeply this feeling had been exci by the accumulation of riches on part of one privileged order in the st

Yet these abuses, many and gr though they were, must by no me blind us to the noble work done healthy influence exercised by the me æval church. With rare exceptions, higher classes of the clergy were compo of men of high and stainless charac The learning possessed by the nation largely in the hands of the ecclesiast order, and not a little pains was direc to secure educated men even among minor orders of the clergy. A care examination was exacted from every c didate for ordination. The bishop w wittingly ordained an ignorant person guilty of deadly sin. The humanis influence of the monastic and secu clergy in that rough age of perpetual and struggle was incalculable; and steady friendship of such able and mas ful kings as Henry IV. and Henry V the church, shows us how deeply consci

* Bishop Stubbs.

e rulers of England were of the vast nefits derived by the nation as a whole m the work and influence of the ecclesiical order. These powerful and faring monarchs were well aware that, on e whole, the power and influence of the urch were not selfishly used. Henry IV. s the constant protector of the church, ke from the violent and drastic reforms sisted upon by the Lollards, as from the vetous and jealous demands pressed on him by the barons and Commons in rliament assembled. He saw through e exaggerated complaints of the remers; and, popular though these remers were among men of all sorts and nditions, he declined to listen to their mours, and even threw the protective adow of his great authority over the ablished religion of England, branding e enemies of the church as heretics. enry V., the hero and statesman, one of e wisest and best of our kings, was ever e friend of the clergy, and was a faithful d devout churchman. In the midst of s work-filled life we read of him as nfessing every week, as accustomed to quent the daily service of the church, aking it a rule to come before the vice began, and never leaving before e office was concluded.

As regards what may be termed the ner life of the church, under archbishop ichele, fresh and stringent regulations re passed by Convocation against arriage among the clergy. The pertual series of enactments framed by the ediæval Church of England on this estion of celibacy, shows us how stoutly e rule was resisted and evaded among e rank and file of ordained persons. No married clerk, according to the fifteenth-century enactment, might exercise any spiritual jurisdiction whatever, and anything which should be done by a married clerk was pronounced to be null and void. Stern laws were also passed in the Convocations of 1415 and 1416 against heresy, the Lollards being specially referred to. Men of good repute in every deanery or parish were sworn to denounce all suspected persons—that is to say, all who held private conventicles, or who differed in their lives and manners from the generality of the faithful. Books written in the vulgar—that is, the English—tongue were to be regarded as suspicious, and were therefore to be seized.

Among minor matters, some interesting regulations of archbishop Chichele are extant, fixing the fees to be received by bishops, archdeacons, and their officers, from clerks, for institution and induction into benefices; the amount of these fees, however, translated into money of our day, was considerable. It was especially provided that no gratuity or demand whatever was to be made for ordination. Great care was evidently taken in the examination of the vast numbers who sought for holy orders. Every step that was taken from the lower to the higher grades of the ministry was guarded by a careful test of the candidate's proficiency in grammar (which covered a broad field) and in ritual. Even a bishop-elect might be rejected by the archbishop for literary deficiency. Various instances occurred of even a bishop being rejected on these grounds; but, on the whole, in the mediæval Church of England the cases of proved incompetence in the higher grades

are few. In 1432 Chichele issued a constitution rendering it imperative for persons in high ecclesiastical positions to be graduates at one or other of the universities.

Among the superstitions which were swept away at the Reformation, the cult of and foolish reverence for saints was very marked in the fifteenth century. After Agincourt, Henry V., on his return to England, paid a state visit to Canterbury, and worshipped at the shrine of St. Thomas Becket. The famous warrior king, believing that St. George, the patron saint of England, had fought at Agincourt for his army, desired that new honours should be conferred on this saint. The Yorkshiremen who fought in the battle averred solemnly that they had seen their Yorkshire saint, John of Beverley, fighting by their side; while other Yorkshiremen who had stayed at home swore that at the very time the bloody fight took place holy oil flowed by drops, like sweat, out of his tomb. Special services were therefore decreed in honour of this ancient English saint, John of Beverley.

A yet more curious and interesting insight into the inner life and opinions of the church between 1425 and 1459, when Henry VI. was king, is obtained from the writings which have come down to us of one Reginald Pecock, a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and successively bishop of St. Asaph and of Chichester. Pecock was a Welshman by birth. He became a most industrious and successful student at Oxford, whence he proceeded to London, and obtained at an early age good preferment. His London work brought him into contact with the Lollards, who, although they had ceased to be a politi power, seem to have permeated Engla with their reforming views. Of the heretics—for they ranked as such wi the hierarchy of the Church of England Pecock was the determined adversary, a his most famous works are largely tak up with refuting their opinions and co clusions.

Pecock became, comparatively early life, acquainted with the powerful a intriguing uncle of the king, Humph duke of Gloucester, who, as we have se during the long minority of Henry exercised great power as one of t council of state, and subsequently as p tector of the kingdom. Through influence, Pecock was elevated to t bishopric of St. Asaph. As an able a learned controversialist and defender the established order of things in t church, the bishop of St. Asaph acqui a great fame. As a vehement advocate the Roman supremacy, he no doubt stir up much enmity, the pretensions of Ro being at this period already much c credited in England. As most of accounts of this great man have proceed from hostile writers, there is considera difficulty in tracing the sources of t deep-seated hostility which eventua ruined his life. While, on the one ha he was the vehement supporter of Ro and the ardent defender of his order, a the skilful apologist, as we shall see, many of the abuses and superstitions whi had excited the indignation of the Lolla and reformers of his time; on the other, bitterly offended the powerful mendica orders by exposing the grave faults a errors which disfigured their system.

ut his ruin and fall seem, in great sure, to have been owing to political ons. When the duke of Gloucester , bishop Pecock still preserved the

PREACHING AT ST. PAUL'S CROSS (EARLY 17TH CENTURY).
(*From a print in the British Museum.*)

dship of powerful patrons in the ch and state; and the duke of Suffolk no, after the death of the duke of cester, became, through queen Mar- of Anjou's favour, chief minister— nced Pecock to the bishopric of Chichester. But Suffolk was eventually assassinated; and Pecock was then left without any eminent patron. We now find him charged with advancing heretical opinions—a charge apparently altogether without real foundation. His writings had stirred up many enemies; and probably, as the friend of Gloucester, and later of Suffolk and of the queen, he had been mixed up in many of the state

intrigues that accompanied the disputes which culminated in the Wars of the Roses. The Pope intervened in his favour, but fruitlessly. As bishop of Chichester, he was formally cited before a council under archbishop Bourchier, and passages in his writings were adduced as proofs of his being a heretic. It was in vain that he defended himself: his enemies were too powerful; and the archbishop offered him the choice between making a public abjuration of his errors, or being delivered, after degradation, to the secular arm "as the food of fire and fuel for the burning." Pecock, the brilliant scholar and controversialist, but apparently rather the political prelate than the earnest bishop, was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made. He became terrified, and elected to abjure heresies he had never advocated, or probably even dreamed of, and publicly burned the three folios and eleven quartos of his own composition. But his somewhat pusillanimous surrender availed him but little. He was deprived of his bishopric, and relegated to a kind of state imprisonment in the abbey of Thorney in Cambridgeshire, where he died some time after, in the year 1459.

No portrait of this scholar and writer, by far the most eminent and learned bishop of the Church of England of his time, now exists, but he is said to have been a man of stately figure and handsome features. We have dwelt thus upon his singular fortunes, because from his writings we obtain an interesting and contemporary picture of the church of the fifteenth century, with its errors and shortcomings; a picture drawn by its most learned prelate—by one who devoted his powers especially to its defence. the curious side-lights thrown by bi Pecock's defence on some of the and tenets of the church of which was so distinguished a member, shall see how sorely needed were purifying fires of the Reformation the next century. The very ability of apology throws a darker shadow the doctrinal errors and superstit customs for which he so earnestly plea

In the year 1447 bishop Pecock prea a celebrated sermon at St. Paul's Cros which he took upon himself the tas defending certain abuses in the ch which had attracted considerable pu attention. Of late preaching had much neglected. The bishops were e cially charged with looking upon the of preaching as something beneath t dignity—as an occupation fit only for inferior clergy. Archbishop Arundel the reign of Henry V., had further couraged preaching altogether, owing is said, to the spread of Lollard opin among the clergy. Pecock in his Pa Cross sermon defended the bishops, ass ing that their order ought to be conside free from the burden of preaching, as hav more important duties to perform in way of general supervision. In the s discourse he attempted to vindicate non-residence of many of the bishop their dioceses, a practice then only common (and against which excep had lately been taken by the reform party), on the ground that there many causes which would justify such residence in the sight of God, alluding doubt to the very general employmen

elates in state matters at home, and in e royal service abroad as ambassadors.

Bishop Pecock also touched upon the xed question of papal bulls of provision, which a clergyman might be appointed the Pope to a piece of preferment before was actually vacant, and for which papal ovision a considerable fee was generally id by the candidate thus provided for to e papal court. Pecock pleaded that the pe, as lord paramount of the universal urch and of all things thereto appertain-g, had a right, if he chose to claim it, the entire proceeds of all benefices, and at those whom he placed therein were rfectly right in giving to the supreme hop a portion of that which was his n, thus justifying one of the most un-pular abuses in the church of his day. ese views he repeated in several of his itings, which excited much attention, d were vehemently controverted.

Two years after the famous sermon at ul's Cross in the city of London, in 49, Pecock put out the work by which is best known, entitled "The Repressor overmuch Blaming of the Clergy," * in ich he formally took upon himself the k of categorically setting out and reply-g to some of the principal articles of the llard grievances, in the matter of the ctrines and practices of the English urch. Some of these grievances were doubt much exaggerated, and others ght have been safely disregarded, such the holding of landed possessions by the rgy, and the retention of the various ranks of the hierarchy, which the Lollard reformers alleged were not in accordance with primitive tradition. But some of the questions treated of in the "Repressor" referred to the grave errors in doctrine and in practice which had gradually crept into the theology and teaching of the mediæval Church of England, and which were for the most part swept away eventually at the time of the Reformation—notably the improper use of images, and the going on pilgrimages to notable shrines where miracles were reported to have been wrought.

The "Repressor" was a very able work, and, from the standpoint of the defenders of the system which Pecock laboured to uphold, was no doubt a masterly performance. It is looked upon, and justly, as the earliest piece of good philosophical argument which our English prose literature possesses. It is to the student of English mediæval church history especially valuable, for it clearly and unmistakably sets forth some of the doctrines and authoritative teachings of the church just before the era of the Reformation, which were most seriously controverted by the reformers; and it gives, too, in the case of the particular doctrines and practices dwelt on by Pecock, the best argument which could be alleged in their defence by a learned and trained theologian. Especially valuable is his defence of the use and even of the adoration of images, and of the widely-spread practice of pilgrimages in the English church in the days—roughly speaking, about the middle of the fifteenth century—when he was a public teacher of authority.

It will ever remain a curious and un-

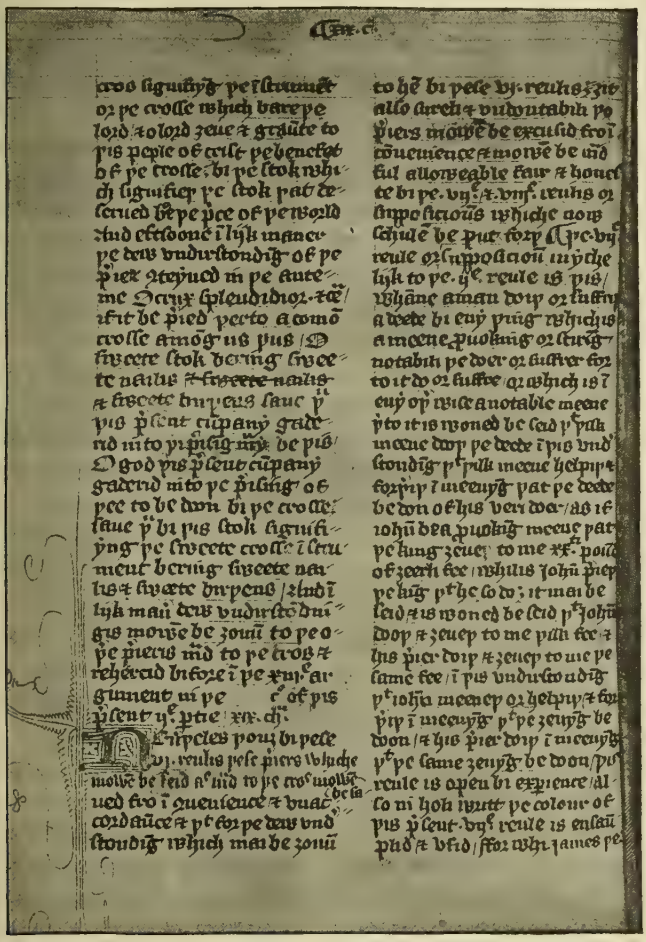
* "The Repressor" of bishop Pecock was blished in the Series of the Master of the Rolls 2 vols.—edited by Churchill Babington, 1860. is is the edition referred to in this work.

solved problem how it came to pass that such a fearless and uncompromising apologist of the existing state of things, such a vigorous defender of the grossly abused power of the Pope, of the unspiritual occupation of the bishops, of the many unscriptural superstitions which weakened the teaching and disfigured the practice of the church, could have fallen eventually under the ban of that mediæval church of which he was only the too faithful servant. The fall of Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester, his condemnation, his deposition from his high office, will probably ever remain a mystery. Political reasons, the constant changes in the unhappy government of the times of Henry VI., the relentless enmity of the friars, whose errors and mistakes he lashed with unsparing severity, no doubt largely contributed to the fate of this really great though mistaken man. They are not, however, sufficient in themselves to account for the ruin and disgrace with which the career of bishop Pecock was closed.

A curious testimony to some of the ritual and teaching of the church of his day is given in his "Repressor." The Lollard reformers seem to have taken special exception, and justly, to the teaching of the church on the question of the efficacy of prayers offered not only to saints, but to images of saints, and especially to crucifixes. Bishop Pecock pleads that these images and crucifixes are useful for the devotions of the people as "rememorative or reminding signs," and argues for their use in divine worship from the Old Testament history of the cherubim of the tabernacle, and the symbols of the temple of Solomon. In the course of his arguments, however, he lets in a floo light upon the general and prevalent in the last days of the mediæval Churc England of these strange novelties, tel his readers that it was "full reasonal and "full worthy" that where the bod bones or any relic of a saint might be that such a relic be set up in a pu place to which the people might access; and then he went on to say since we possessed neither bones body of Christ crucified, or of His mo Mary, it were well that images of t should be made and set up. Yet eminent teacher contradicts himsel little further on, when he quotes the hymns sung in church on the feas the "Invention" and "Exaltation of Cross." The "Hymn to the Crucifix an anthem sung on the Feast of the vention of the Cross, May 3—sho that the crucifix evidently had a de signification than merely as a remin sign. The hymn in question ran thu "O crux splendidior cunctis astris dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia fe pondera! salva præsentem catervam tuis hodie laudibus congregatam"— latter clauses of which Pecock transla "O sweete stok, bering sweete nailis sweete birthens, save thou this present c panie, gaderid togidere now this dai thi preisingis" (thy praises). And there should be no mistake as to estimation of images and crucifixes, argues on the perfect reasonablenes believing that some of them were won working. God, he urged, had made spe choice of certain images and crucifixes which He was pleased to work mira alluding to such marvels as sweat

es—of images that moved or that ed their eyes, or even spoke—ex- ing these marvels thus: "that specke

saints, so bitterly inveighed against by the Lollard reformers, Pecock warmly defends, and pleads as Scriptural authority for



PAGE FROM BISHOP PECOCK'S "REPRESSOR" (15TH CENTURY), CONTAINING THE WORDS "O SWEETE STOK," ETC. (*Cambridge University Library.*)

oun (sound) be mad in the ymage aungel of God, as it was doon in sse of Balaam."

grimage to notable shrines, to wonder- ng images and crucifixes, images or t crucified, and of Mary and of other

these religious exercises on the part of the people, so highly approved and recommended by the church in which he was an eminent teacher, the example of the holy devout women, "which wenten in pilgrimage to Cristis sepulchre, and to his deed

bodi, for to be the more remembrid of him." Christ, he adds, prophesied that Mary Magdalen should do so, and he approved and justified her deed. That the church in the days of Henry VI. believed in the special sacredness of certain shrines and in certain miraculous powers resident therein, and in its popular teaching encouraged the people to visit these holy places as pilgrims, is emphasised by bishop Pecock in his "Repressor."

One of the arguments pressed by the Lollard reformers against the blind superstition of these pilgrimages, which had become so prominent a feature in the religious life of England, was that God is present everywhere alike, and that no place or image is holier than another, and that therefore pilgrimages to Walsingham and other famous shrines were idle and vain. Pecock in the name of the church stoutly combats such an assertion, maintaining that God chooses one place rather than another in which to work miracles, and this divine choice makes one place holier than another, and by like reasoning one image holier than another, and consequently that a pilgrimage to such a place or image would be especially profitable and helpful to the devout pilgrim. In support of this assertion he refers to the Old Testament, how God chose Jacob's resting-place at Bethel, quoting the well-known words of the ancestor of the twelve tribes—"Sotheli the Lord is in this place, and y knewe not! . . . Hou gastful is this place! Here is noon other thing no but the hous of God, and the gate of heuen!" Again he cites the instance of the burning bush in Horeb, quoting the words of the angel to Moses—"undo the scho of thi feet, for the place in which thou sto is holi lond."

Besides the grave doctrinal errors w gradually had crept into the Churc England, obscuring the light and wea ing the influence of the cardinal trut Christianity; besides the lack of ea spiritual rulers and markedly able in the hierarchy during the first quarters of the fifteenth century; be the lamentable superstitions which disfiguring the church's life and prac and notably this undisguised rever passing too often into adoration, of i and crucifix, to which frequently supe ural powers were strangely attributed the tendency to imagine, perhaps to in miracles to support the pretended cl to sanctity of certain shrines chose fitting objects for popular pilgrimages sides all these grave defects in the doct teaching, and practice of religion, ove whole Church of England, penetrating and thereby affecting all its work, pri as well as public, brooded the dark sha of the Roman supremacy.

This claim to universal supremacy gradually grown as the age advan For four hundred years since the epoc the Norman Conquest, when its spir claims were first virtually admitted, R had been ruling over the Church England. When an evil or weak mona such as king John or king Henry III., on the throne, the interference of Italian bishop was not by any m confined to ecclesiastical matters, but openly meddled even with questions nected with the civil government of realm. When a strong ruler, such

ry II. or Edward I., wore the crown, interference with state matters apart the church was not brooked, or was sanctioned when that interference was cised in a direction which pleased the reign and contributed to help forward plans and wishes. Rome's power to rce obedience to her ever-growing, ghty claims, even in spiritual matters, ved a sudden check, as we have seen, ng the long-protracted absence of the es from Italy and their residence at gnon, and then during the fatal schism e Papacy which immediately followed years of the Avignon exile. It is true the exiled bishops of Rome during long period still maintained the same ghty attitude, and claimed the same ience, but the assumption of authority uttered in a feeble voice. That voice not unfrequently disregarded when it from Avignon on the Rhone, instead om Rome on the Tiber.

ie middle of the fifteenth century, ever, witnessed a renaissance of the l power. The period of exile from and Rome was over at last; the deadly m was at length healed; and once a Pope, without a rival or com- or in the sacred office, issued his and mandates from the city whose deur and splendid traditions had con- ted so largely to the gradual growth e power and assumptions of its bishop. time, indeed, seemed ripe for Rome, its newly recovered spiritual author- to assert and make good the claims forward by a Hildebrand or an Inno- III. to rule over the English church. England, too, much seemed at this ture to favour her pretensions. The government of the country was weak and divided; the hierarchy of the church possessed no really eminent spiritual advisers, its leading bishops being mostly statesmen of no specially marked ability rather than theologians; the church's teaching was becoming more and more honeycombed with grave doctrinal errors and baseless superstitions, and was every year losing more and more of its hold upon the hearts of the people. Such a prelate as Martin V., when, after the long exile and schism, he found himself once more restored to Italy and Rome, and seated firmly on the awful throne of the great Popes, would not be likely to abate the pretensions of his predecessors to supreme rule in the Catholic church; and in no country in western Christendom had these pretensions been recognised and exercised as in England. Let us briefly review what these Roman claims in the Church of England were; claims, too, so generally acknowledged, that nothing but a mighty revolution like the Reformation of the sixteenth century could have effectively put an end to them.

We may dismiss with a word or two Rome's claim to exercise a civil supremacy. It is true we read of such in the days of William the Conqueror, of his son William Rufus, and in the reign of the Angevin monarch Henry II., the Plantagenet; but these powerful sovereigns utterly rejected them. John Lackland's surrender and subsequent homage, and the weak acquiescence of his son Henry III., gave some colour to these pretensions, which were, however, finally and decisively repudiated by kings like Edward I. and Edward III.; and the formal and decisive repudiation

of the kings was sanctioned by their Parliaments.

But the claim of Rome to general spiritual supremacy over the Church of England was a very different thing, and was never successfully repudiated until the Reformation rudely broke off all relations between them. Before the Norman Conquest, in the eleventh century, this claim of the Popes to supremacy over the Church of England was shadowy and unreal, and was mainly confined to the bestowal on the metropolitan of the sacred symbol, the pall—a simple collar, which we have already described, of white wool with pendant stripes before and behind, embroidered with four white crosses. It was first bestowed on the newly-appointed metropolitan as a compliment ; by-and-by it began to be accepted as the vehicle by which metropolitan power was conveyed. With this gift of the pall, however—at most a shadowy and ill-defined privilege—the connection between the Pope and the Anglo-Saxon church began and ended. No direct or unsolicited interference of Rome with the affairs of the church before the time of the Conqueror, is recorded.

But with the Norman Conquest a new relation was at once established between Rome and England. The enormous assistance given by the bishop of Rome to the pretensions of the Norman William to the English crown, and gratefully accepted by the Norman duke, placed the Roman bishop in quite a different position as regards the church of the conquered land. Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, was not slow to avail himself of these new and changed relations. Within four years of the battle of Hastings we not presence of legates from Rome in En assisting the Conqueror to remove A Saxon bishops from their sees. It vain that the masterful Norman king soon had cause to dread this f interference, formally ruled that no R legate, with his great though und power, should be admitted into En unless he had been previously app legate at the request of the king a church. The mischief was done. presence of the papal legate had sanctioned, and his powers formally nised by the crown ; and from the the eleventh century onwards, with sc a year's intermission for some four turies and a half, in one form or an a legate, armed with vast though pe indefinite powers from the Pope, was present in England, guiding and trolling the church under the author his Italian master.

This custom, absolutely fatal to independence of the church, was onl continued when the Reformation se all connection between the church Rome and England. We read of An the too faithful servant of the apo see, who followed Lanfranc, the Norman archbishop, positively re strating with Pope Paschal II. for g the archbishop of Vienne legatine p over England. In 1125 the presen John of Crema, who held a leg council at London, was viewed a insult by archbishop William of Cor the English primate ; and deeming intrusion of a foreigner armed with powers a matter of such grave impor for the future of the English church

bishop of Canterbury undertook the and difficult journey to Rome, on ose to discuss the question with the . The result of his visit was the of Rome and England for several centuries. For while removing the ever-recurring presence of a foreign prelate in England, exercising vast and ever

A PAPAL LEGATE'S COURT.

ission of himself (the English arch-) as legate, with jurisdiction over hole island.

precedent here established was of ase importance, and had a moment- fluence upon the spiritual relations undefined powers over its national church, which would have been a constant affront and mortification to the national pride; by placing the legatine authority in the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, it forced the sovereign and the church

to admit the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, thus vested in the chief prelate of the English church, who was also, from his official position, one of the chief counsellors of the crown. From henceforth every important act done by the archbishop of Canterbury had the appearance, at all events, of being sanctioned by the authority of Rome. With the exception of a very few short intervals, when some other very influential English prelate took the place of the archbishop as papal legate, from the days of archbishop William de Corbeuil, in the first quarter of the twelfth century, until the Reformation, the archbishops of Canterbury were legates of the Roman see.*

The oath taken by cardinal John Kemp, archbishop of York, to the Pope when he was translated from York to Canterbury, in 1452, will give some conception of the relations of the English primate to the Pope in the middle of the fifteenth century. Six bulls were then issued from Rome with mandates to different persons and corporations, including the chapter appointing the cardinal-archbishop of York to the vacant primacy. The oath of cardinal Kemp ran as follows:—"I, John, archbishop of Canterbury, from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter and the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the Pope and his successors. . . . Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regality of St. Peter, I shall help and maintain and

* See Bishop Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," chaps. viii., xix.

defend against all men. . . . rights, honours, privileges, and auth of the Church of Rome, and of the and of his successors, I shall cause conserved, defended, augmented, an moted. I shall not be in council, t or any act in which anything sh imagined against him or the Chu Rome, their rights, seats, honou powers. And if I know any such moved or compassed, I shall resist my power, and, soon as I can, I advertise him or such as may giv knowledge. The rules of the holy f the decrees, ordinances, sentences positions, reservations, provisions, commandments apostolic, to my po shall keep and cause to be kept of c Heretics, schismatics, and rebels t holy Father and his successors I resist and prosecute to my power. I come to the synod when I am c except I be letted by a canonical in ment. The thresholds of the apos shall visit yearly personally or by de I shall not alienate or sell my posse without the Pope's counsel."*

This oath was formally taken b principal subject of the realm, afte various great anti-papal acts of Pro and Præmunire had been enacted a enacted, and formally placed amon statutes of the realm. There is no that these acts were again and evaded.

Occasionally special legates, beside perpetual resident legate, were se England from Rome, as in the ca

* Quoted in Dean Hook's "Lives Archbishops of Canterbury," vol. v., cha Archbishop Kemp.

ɔ and Pandulph in the reign of John, Otho and Othobon and Guy Foulquois ıe thirteenth century; but these ɔrdinary missions were only of rare rence. As a rule, for four hundred the archbishop of Canterbury repre- d the Pope of Rome in England as egate. The full significance of this nous concession on the part of the eval Church of England to the Italian p is often lost sight of. A good ıce of the position which an im- ıs Pope deemed his English legate, archbishop of Canterbury, to hold ds himself, occurs in the directions by Pope Martin V., as late as in the ıth century, to archbishop Chichele. insisted that Chichele, his legate, d procure the repeal of the anti- statute of Provisors, the effect of ı was so justly dreaded at Rome. ı Chichele declined to comply with nperious master's will, alleging that ɔssessed no power which would en- him to carry out such instructions, Martin V. suspended him from his ne office.

the case of the appointment of the sh bishops, all through the Middle the influence of Rome was very though varying with the character monarch who was at the moment of ıcancy occupying the throne. In the f the numerous disputed elections to piscopate, and disputes between the , the chapters of the cathedrals, and own, which each claimed an elective the decision was usually referred to . The knowledge that Rome pos- the power to decide such a vexed ion, and virtually to settle the appointment, no doubt enormously multiplied such disputes. These disputed elections were by no means confined to the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, but in several cases affected the metropolitan see itself, and several archbishops were appointed in consequence by the Roman see. To give a notable example of the boundless influence exercised in a weak reign by Rome in the appointment of bishops, in the thirteenth century, between 1215 and 1264, thirty disputed episcopal elections were referred to the Pope for settlement. Even under the strong rule of Edward I. as many as twelve cases of this kind were decided at Rome.

As time went on, the arbitrary assumption of various other powers over the English Church on the part of Rome enormously increased. In the thirteenth century the Pope began to claim rights in the bestowal even of the lower patronage of the church. As early as 1226 the special legate, Otho, demanded that two prebends in each cathedral church should be set aside for the use of the Pope. These demands were rapidly multiplied, and we have already noticed how in 1240 the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury were positively directed to provide livings in England for no less than three hundred foreign ecclesiastics! This terrible tyranny grew in time absolutely insupportable; the Pope's claim to the right of reservation of patronage affected the tenure of every benefice in the country, and the outcry against such a shameful abuse of power at last found expression in that famous series of anti-papal Acts of Parliament quoted before, passed between 1351 and 1390, and generally referred to as the Acts of Provisors and Præmunire.

Another and oppressive instrument of well-nigh measureless influence possessed by Rome, was the widely-spread system of appeals to the papal courts. These appeals in their wide range were, although perhaps principally, by no means confined exclusively to causes and questions connected with ecclesiastical persons. As late as the second half of the fifteenth century, in a letter dated 1473, in the interesting correspondence of the Paston family, we find an instance of one of these appeals to Rome on the part of the laity, and a singular comment added by the writer alluding to the frequency of such appeals.* To us, living under an elaborate and ever-improving system of English law, administered by English judges of various degrees, such a procedure is incredible, and seems to belong to a country semi-barbarous like Hindostan, whence appeals, though by no means frequent, and only in grave and important cases, are made to the supreme courts in England; but the relation in which Hindostan stands to England affords no parallel to those existing between mediæval England and mediæval Rome.

These appeals, save in the very early days of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, when Wilfrid of York appealed to the bishop of Rome against the judgments of the king and Witan of Northumbria, were absolutely unheard of until after the Norman Conquest. The Conqueror himself, before he became master of England, had set the evil example, and had referred the vexed question connected with his marriage with Matilda of Flanders to Rome for decision. From the days of the Conqueror onward the custom of appeal to the Pope, at first only when important matters we issue, grew more and more frequent. statutes of "Præmunire," which f the prosecution of suits cognisable b laws of England in foreign courts, alt often evaded, largely diminished the ber and importance of cases refer Rome, till in the course of the fif century, while papal jurisdiction in matters was seldom heard of, in matters, such as the case in the correspondence, it continued to be a tice of every-day occurrence.*

On the whole, how ill the anti statutes of Provisors and Præmunire kept is notorious. In our sketch of Pecock of Chichester's life and f writings we have dwelt, it will be r bered, on that eminent scholar and logian's earnest and eloquent pleadi the righteousness of the Pope's cla provide for whom he pleased out revenues and benefices of the Chu England, without regard to eithe nationality or even the fitness person so "provided for." This w direct opposition to the solemn st and laws of the realm, which had in s acts of Parliament declared such pro absolutely illegal. It is notorious large sums of money were drawn an out of England for the benefit of the and his court. The Roman exa during the earlier Middle Ages ha ready been slightly sketched. Fro nation at large, however, no clai money was formally made after the of Henry III., save on one occasion in But the amount continually forward

* See page 371.

* See generally Bishop Stubbs: "Constit History of England," chap. xix.

ne for bulls and dispensations must e been very large. The instance already d from the Paston letters, of the heavy paid for dispensation from a marriage agement, was an example of these mon and every-day exactions. Besides e sums of money in fees for dispensa-s, indulgences, and the like, paid by nen to the Roman court, other contribu-s were collected by the Pope's agents in form of voluntary gifts, ostensibly for n objects as defence against the Turks, nore commonly for a Crusade. These sading dreams were still in men's ds even in the fifteenth century. We ember how Henry V., as he was ng, spoke of his intense longing to be a Crusader; this was as late as the year 1422. Such exactions as these mainly fell on the clergy. A regular official papal collector of such moneys was appointed for England; an official who maintained great state and acted in the position of papal agent, to watch for vacancies in preferments, and to give timely information of opportunities for papal exactions.

In the last years of the century, in the reign of Henry VII., when cardinal-archbishop Morton, a man of stainless character, was chief minister of the crown, one John de Gigliis was furnished with a bull from the Pope, conferring on him powers to sell *pardons* for grave offences, such as usury, simony, and even theft.

CARDINAL MORTON'S TOMB IN THE CRYPT OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

# CHAPTER XXXVI.

## THE AGE BETWEEN MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY.

Edward IV. and Richard III.—Close of the Middle Ages at the Battle of Bosworth—Picture o Period in the Paston Letters—Their Homely Fidelity in Character—Evidences of Roman Domin and Mediæval Superstitions—Also of true Piety and Devotion—Increase of Literary Knowle The Introduction of Printing, and its Momentous Results—Secular Character of the Hierar Prevalence of Pluralism in the Church—Cardinal Morton.

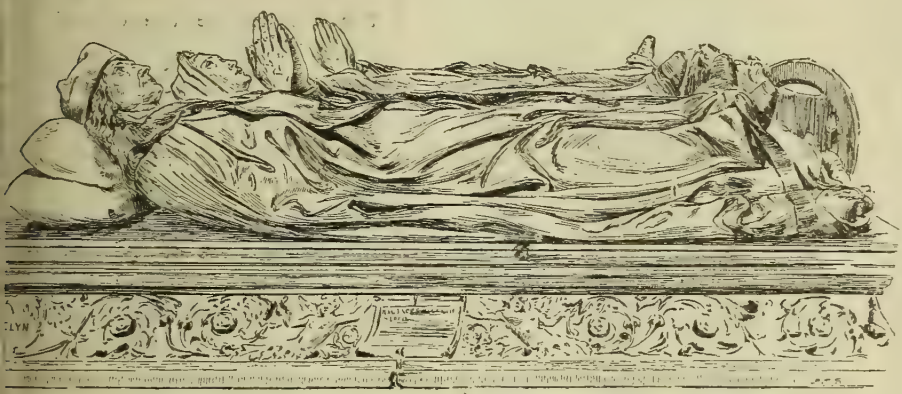
THE long, unhappy life and reign of the ill-fated Henry VI. came to a sudden close in the Tower of London, directly after the fatal battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471, had put an end to the hopes of the Lancastrian party, and closed the Wars of the Roses. The April and May of that fatal year had witnessed two bloody battles, in each of which the Lancastrians were utterly routed; the death in the field or by the executioner's sword of Henry VI.'s gallant son, prince Edward of Wales, and most of the leaders of the party; the captivity of Henry's queen Margaret; and lastly, the sudden end of king Henry himself (men said, and probably with reason, that he had been murdered). Only a few years more have to be accounted for, and the long period known in the story of the world as the Middle Ages, is generally understood to end.

After the events which happened in 1471, Edward IV. of York reigned without a competitor. His was a disappointing career. Gifted with no ordinary gifts; tall in stature and of singular beauty; possessing withal winning manners; an able but, alas! a pitiless soldier; a statesman of no common ability and foresight, he has left behind him the most ev reputations. His character has severely but not unjustly summarise that of "a man vicious far beyond king that England had seen since the of John, and more cruel and bloodth than any king she had ever known." great churchman, no eminent states appeared to break the prosperous but monotony of his short twelve years' re for Edward IV. died comparatively yo The judicial murder of his brother, duke of Clarence, in the traditional of wine, was the most notorious of many stern acts of high-handed crue

The nemesis which hurried the brill and successful Edward IV. into a pre ture grave pursued his family. The s of the boy-king Edward V., who was thirteen years old when his father d and his young brother, is too well kn to need repetition. All writers who h touched the subject unite in condemn with no unstinted condemnation the duct of the young king's uncle Rich duke of Gloucester, who became, on death of his brother, Edward IV., tector of the realm. Events now succee each other rapidly. We read of m bloody executions of the chief advisers

tives of the late king; then the setting e by the duke of Gloucester of his hews as illegitimate—a step which was kly followed by their secret murder; the seizure of the throne by Gloucester er the title of Richard III. All e changes took place in 1483, in a few t months. Only two restless years of son, plots, counterplots, executions, shments, confiscation, followed. In fatal field of Bosworth, near Leicester, unprincipled but conspicuously able ard III. lost his crown and life; Henry of Richmond, on a somewhat owy title, which he strengthened, ever, by his marriage with Elizabeth, hter of Edward IV. and sister of the dered boy-king Edward V., ascended hrone as king Henry VII. With the e of Bosworth, the death of Richard and the accession of Henry VII., rians consider the mediæval period nglish history to close.

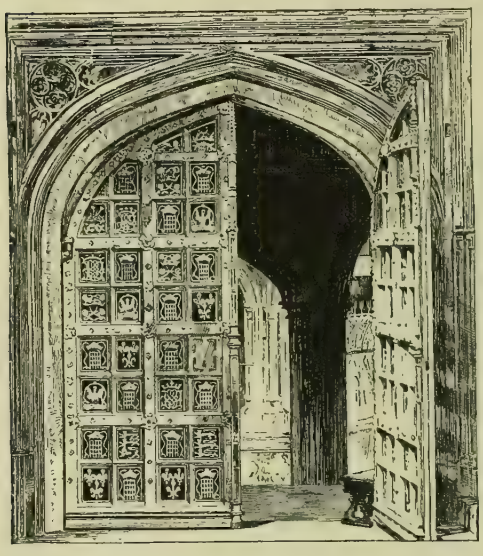
When a stranger from the Greater in beyond the seas, or from the mighty western Republic, wanders through that royal abbey at Westminster, and reverently gazes at the scarred and time-worn tombs where rest the dust of so many of the crowned chiefs of the great Anglo-Saxon race; when he passes eastward, from the sacred chapel of the kings who lie in solemn state round the august shrine of the saintly Confessor, he is sensible, as he enters the gorgeous chapel of Henry VII., canopied with its fantastic traceried



TOMB OF HENRY VII. AND HIS QUEEN IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

root, of a peculiar change. He needs no guide to tell him that he is in a building of another and later age, when he looks on the matchless monument which guards the dust of Henry Tudor. Everything is different. It is certainly not less striking, scarcely less awe-inspiring, than the grey chapel which contains those defaced—but hallowed monuments of the Confessor and his girdle of Plantagenets, which he has just been gazing at; but there is a change, which can be *felt* rather than described. The ornaments are still Gothic, but it is a different Gothic; more elaborate, perhaps some might say even more beautiful;

but the tomb, the heraldic shields, the tracery of the chapel, the gorgeous roof overhead, all spring from another and a different inspiration. The stranger hears without surprise that round the vast tomb which covers the narrow sleeping-chamber of the first Tudor king, are grouped the graves, the monuments, the chapels, where rest another line of English sovereigns—



DOORWAY OF HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, IN SOME OF THE PANELS OF WHICH MAY BE SEEN THE EMBLEM OF THE CROWN HANGING ON THE BUSH.

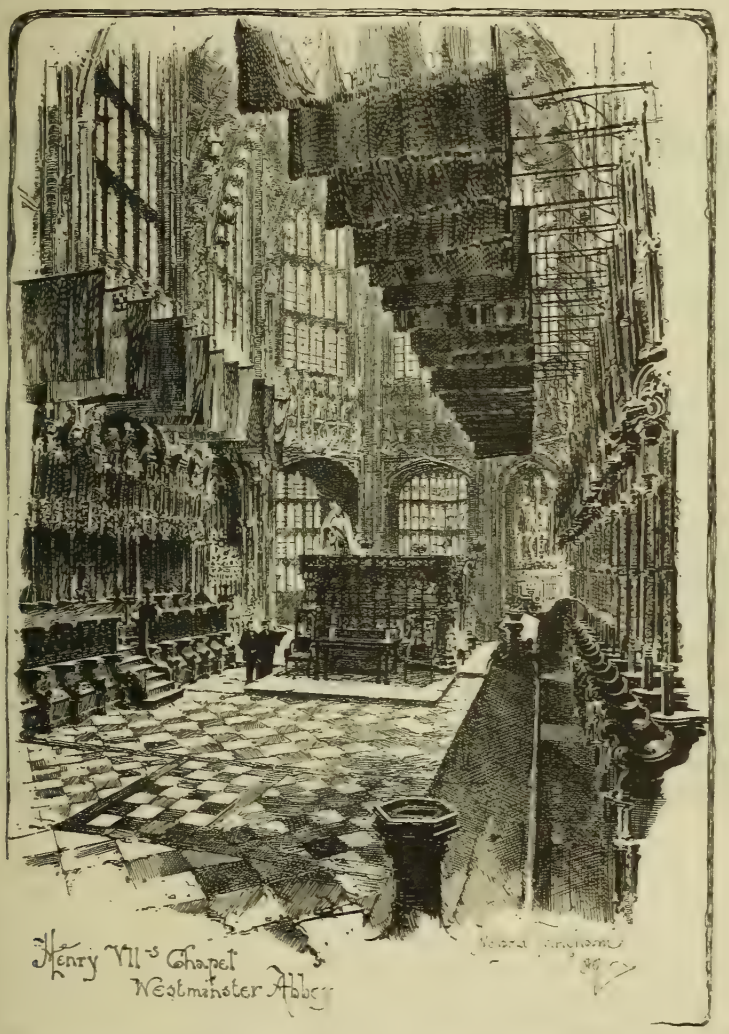
Tudors, Stuarts, Guelphs. Hard by sleeps Edward VI.; to the left lie the sister-queens, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth; to the right repose the mutilated remains of Mary, queen of Scots. The first Stuart sovereign of England has found a home in the little vault of Henry Tudor himself. Other kings and queens, who in their days have worn the crown of England, rest close beside him.

What associations crowd upon t pilgrim as he hears these historic nam and looks upon this newer group of ro graves! The graceful and stately tom of Henry VII. and Edward VI., of M Tudor and Elizabeth, of the ill-fated M queen of Scots, suggest memories less interesting than did the scarred a battered monuments over the coffins Edward I. and Edward III., of Richard and Henry V. But while the Plantagen are the heroes of mediæval, the Tud and the Stuarts are the central figu of modern history.

The royal English abbey is true here the historic spirit, and marks with its o peculiar ineffaceable mark the divis between the two epochs. Our definiti which takes the field of Bosworth (A.D. 14 as marking the close of the Middle Ag is no fancied one. Among the pictu symbols in that gorgeous jewelled gl which lights up the Tudor chapel and splendid tombs at the east end of t royal abbey, occurs and recurs the qua image of a crown hanging upon a h thorn bush, telling the old story of h the kingly coronet, falling from the he of Richard III. when he was wounded death, was thus caught, and thence pluck out and laid upon the brows of the c queror in that stricken field, Henry Tud The stained glass in another form t the same story as the traceried roof a the cunning ornaments of window and wall of Henry VII.'s chapel; the sa story as do the comparatively new a splendid Tudor tombs.

It was the old crown of the kings of t Anglo-Saxon race. But the circumstan of its transfer from Richard Plantagenet

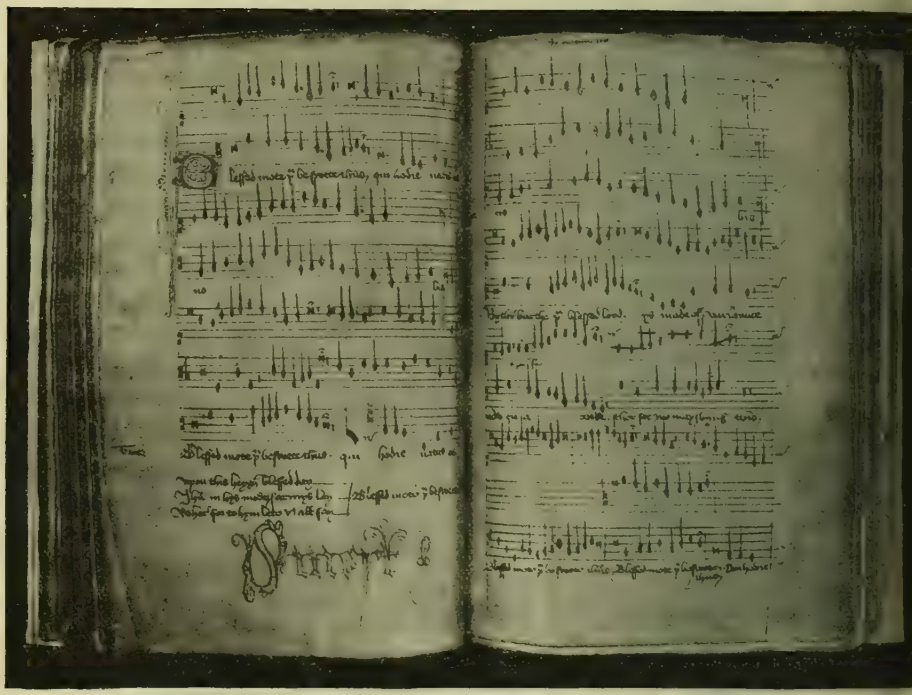
kinsman, Henry Tudor, were strange. e throne was surrounded now with new n. New ideas took the place of the




conceptions of things. The crusading our which had endured for centuries, an to present itself to men's minds ner as a feverish unreal dream than as a ity which might be accomplished. The old feudal relations were disappearing, and the old and mighty baronage of England was well-nigh extinct. Few had survived the long and bloody civil wars. A new and mighty war engine had been discovered in gunpowder, which was fast changing all the old conditions of mediæval fighting. There was a wonderful progress in all

directions. From this period modern music may be dated; counterpoint was now invented, and the new advance in music received great encouragement in England. But chiefest of all, the printing press had begun its work in the homes and hearts of men—its work of spreading the knowledge of good and evil among the nations of the west; a far-reaching, all-penetrating work such as neither churchman nor statesman, scholar nor soldier, had ever dared to conceive or even to dream of, much less to provide for.

It was with this new state of society that the Church of England, in the last years of the century we have been picturing, was now confronted. It was a new changing order of habits and custom practice and of thought, that the ch had to deal with, and if possible to and to guide. We have already how terribly unfitted, how sadly un pared she was, owing to various chances mischances, to undertake with any h of success the difficult and dangerous t Much, very much in her teaching, in government, in her uses and practices, quired to be changed, altered, reforn before she was fit to assume her ri ful place as the guide and teacher of new England which arose under Henry and the Tudor kings.



HYMN IN LATIN AND ENGLISH, "BLESSED MOTE THOU BE, SWETE JHESUS."
(*From a Collection of Latin and English Hymns and Songs in Parts in the British Museum. Add. MSS.* 5665. *Late 15th Century.*)

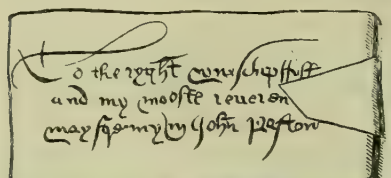
A most interesting literary discovery, l one that throws much light on the nestic history, on the *home* life of this enth century, was the unearthing of so-called "Paston Letters." Here, n chance allusions in their correspond-e, we catch some glimpses of the in-nce of the Church of England of this iod upon the life of a middle-class ily of the eastern counties, and of the ious power of Rome to interfere in most private domestic concerns. The y of these letters is briefly as follows :— e family papers of the second and last l of Yarmouth, the head of the Pastons, e sold by that impecunious nobleman ; , after passing through two or three ds, a large collection of letters found ng these papers were published by a l Norfolk antiquary towards the end he last century, attracting at the time at attention, as they were undeniably uine. The letters comprised the cor-ondence of a respectable family occupy-the position of middle-class county try during the reigns of Henry VI., ward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., eriod stretching over some ninety years. re of this curious collection of letters e since been found, and we possess four hundred of these old-world uments.*

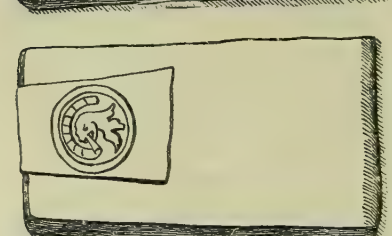
he letters which have so strangely come ight are the family correspondence of a ge, a soldier, a country gentleman, and few ladies closely connected with the tons, with here and there a letter from eat ecclesiastic or statesman of the age. With the not inconsiderable contributions which some of the letters supply to our knowledge of the political history of the time, we have not here to occupy ourselves. Nor are we specially concerned with the strong light which this voluminous family correspondence throws upon domestic life in England, in the period preceding and succeeding the Wars of the Roses. What really interests us in these unique and precious relics of a long past age, are the scattered notices of the religious life led by a respectable middle-class household. We look curiously to see if the peculiar doctrinal errors, the correction of which was the great work of the Reformation, which followed hard upon the close of the Paston correspondence, and which we have noticed in our own narrative of the church of the time, were colouring and affecting to any marked degree the individual life of the more cultured middle class.

In passing, and as enormously enhancing the value of any such passing allusions to the Church of England, its teaching and influence, in this old family correspondence, we may dwell for a moment on the perfect "naturalness" of the bulk of the letters. They were written evidently for no eye to fall on, save that of the person to whom the letter was addressed. The wife writes her thoughts and wishes to her husband, and the husband to the wife; the servant or the bailiff to the master; the parent to the child. The very colour of the dresses she wants, the lady in the country describes to her husband in the great city; while he, with equal care, dwells upon his house, his farms, his rents. Agnes Paston tells her husband about her

* "The Paston Letters" (A.D. 1422–1509), edited ames Gairdner, of the Public Record Office. ls. 1896.

little various household wants, and John Paston, in return, amidst the business details, breaks in with notices of certain syrups and medicines he has found efficacious. The terrible visitations of the deadly sicknesses which, under various names, were so frequent in the Middle Ages, are not unfrequently alluded to. All the cares and troubles, the joys and sorrows, the hopes and fears of an orderly



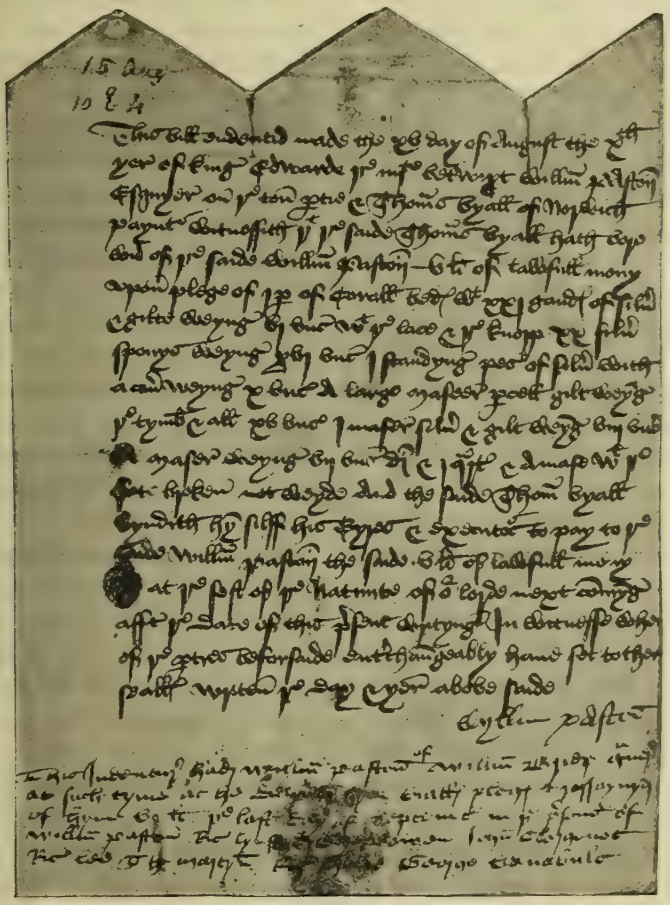


EXTERIOR OF A PASTON LETTER.

middle-class household, are just told and retold simply, naturally, unaffectedly. Horace Walpole, who was living when the first instalment of these curious letters was published, thus writes:—"The letters of Henry VI.'s reign are come out, and, *to me*, make all other letters not worth reading. I have gone through one volume, and cannot bear to be writing when I am so eager to be reading." Hannah More, on the other hand, was disappointed; the Paston letters she described as quite barbarous in style. "They might, perhaps," she thought, "be of some use to correct history; but as letters and fine reading, nothing was to be said f them." But it is just this which mak them valuable to us: their perfect si plicity and evident truthfulness. T they were disinterred from the yello time-worn bundle into which they h been wrapped together, no critical eye h looked on them to correct or to impro to select or to reject. We have them save that the ink has faded and the pap become discoloured—just as the lon forgotten members of the Paston fam first wrote them.

The family from whose remarkab preserved letters we are about to fo some little picture of religious life amo the middle classes in the fifteenth centu do not appear by any means to have be a specially devout or church-loving fami Commonplace ordinary believers—nothi more—were these Pastons. We read their letters of no sublime spirit of se sacrifice; nothing about any Crusadi passion; no ardent desire after t monastic life, either on the part of t men or the women. Only in one case any intention shown of becoming a pries and in that solitary case the prude mother of the would-be clergyman e dently has her doubts as to her so fitness for the work of the ministry. will love him better," she wrote to h friend and adviser, the parish priest, " be a good secular man than a bad pries A singularly unemotional family th seem indeed to have been. Their ve love affairs were evidently managed gene ally in a calm, business-like fashion, fitti alliances being sought after, and a fair pr vision for the married life being usual carefully arranged for. The love-lette

w in number, are decidedly prosaic, and e expressions of the lovers most re-ained. One thing is especially notice-le, however, throughout the long series constantly the son asks his father's or his mother's blessing; the wife ever addresses her husband as "right worshipful." In well-nigh all of them the protection of



A PASTON LETTER. (*British Museum.*)

these curious old-world compositions: vein of marked courtesy runs through em all. Was it the lingering remains of e old spirit of romantic chivalry, which s fast dying out in the age when these stons lived and wrote to each other? the most familiar letters we notice how Almighty God, the blessing of Our Lady, or some honoured saint, is carefully invoked by the writer on the head of the person to whom the letter was addressed.

What, then, do we learn of the doctrines and practices of the Church of England, of

which these Pastons were loyal though perhaps not enthusiastic members?

Again and again the parish priest is alluded to. He was clearly an influential person in the family life of that period. Men of mark like Sir John Fastolf, the cousin of the Pastons, would write to the parson of Castlecombe as his trusty and well-beloved friend, putting into his hands the management of his household at Caister and the improvement of his lands. Margaret Paston entrusts to her parish priest the future of her son, and takes his advice in all her affairs. Great care is evidently taken to secure good and efficient men for the benefices of which the family possessed the presentation. Some curious, business-like details of one of these benefices appear as memoranda among these letters, and give us some idea of one of these family livings in the time of Edward IV. Oxnead Parsonage was within six miles of the city of Norwich. "The church"—so runs the Paston memorandum—"was but little, and is reasonably pleasant and in good repair, and the dwelling-place of the parson is adjoining, and is also in good repair, with a hall, chambers, barn, and other offices." It possessed large fruit gardens, with arable land, pasture and meadow. It stood by a fresh riverside, and was only two miles distant from the good market-town of Aylsham. The various emoluments are given, but they do not appear to have amounted to a very large sum, for a special note, written in William Paston's own hand, adds: "He that hath this benefice, if he be a poor man, might have license to perform other services"; for Oxnead, according to the memorandum, was "an easy cure to l for there were not more than tw persons to be yearly houselled"—th to receive the sacrament.

In many of the letters is the que discussed of the generous bequest c John Fastolf to the church; a be which provided for the establishment college or religious endowment, in w were to be maintained seven priests seven poor folk, at Caister—a found which seems subsequently to have transferred to Magdalen College, O with the consent of the Pope. acknowledgment of the supreme pow the Pope appears several times in letters, notably in this Roman dispen enabling Sir John Paston to appl endowments of the intended rel house at Caister to the support of M len College, Oxford.

This supreme dispensing power of P however, was by no means confin matters of public interest, such as tions of the removal of the colle priests from Caister to Oxford, bu exercised in private and delicate f matters. Sir John Paston was for engaged to a mistress Anne Hau distant kinswoman of Elizabeth Wy queen of Edward IV. From this ma contract, after much correspondenc John Paston was released by the Pope formally annulled it. Some curious c respecting this delicate family negot are given, and they show us to wh extent Rome and Rome's agents wer to interfere in the most private m in England, as well as in important affairs and in business of a public int The question in the Roman courts c

nlling the marriage contract evidently red on the amount of fees which should aid for the dispensation, rather than on moral question of right or wrong. Sir lt Paston writes to his brother thus on matter:—"I have an answer again Rome that there is the will of grace salve sufficient for such a sore, and I may be dispensed with. Neverthe- my proctor there asketh a thousand ts. But Master Lacy, another Roman er here which knoweth my said or there, saith that he meaneth one hundred ducats, or two hundred es at the most. He wrote to me also the Pope does this nowadays very ently."

ese Paston letters and papers supply with many and ample proofs how ly the superstitions and doctrinal ptions, which were dealt with so ringly in the Reformation, had ed all religious life in England. aret Paston writes to her husband in nner Temple in London, after he had ered from some grave malady, telling that his mother had vowed to give age of wax the weight of himself to Lady at Walsingham, and that she garet) was bound on a pilgrimage ter, and also to the shrine of St. card's at Norwich. Prayer to "Our c," the blessed Virgin Mary, was ently most usual in private as in bc. References to it occur and recur ese letters.

Several copies of wills are among the n papers. Some important refer- to doctrines and teaching common e church of the fifteenth century r in these documents. In the will of Sir John Fastolf, dated 1459, are directions to his executors, John Paston and another, to distribute certain sums among poor and needy persons, "for the more hasty deliverance of my soul from the painful flames of the fire of purgatory." In the same will we find, too, a direction that "one of the priests or monks in the college to be founded at Caister should sing specially in perpetuity for the soul of my mother and all her ancestors and good doers." In the will of Agnes Paston, the wife of the judge, dated 1466, we meet with the following direction:—"A sum of money be paid daily for ever to the monk that for that day singeth the mass of the Holy Ghost in our Lady Chapel in Norwich, where he (her husband) purposed to lay his body; to sing and pray for his soul and mine, and all the souls that he and I have had any good of," etc. And, again, Agnes Paston bequeathed to the altar in the house of the White Friars at Norwich, where her husband and she had a perpetual mass, a vestment of red satin for the priest. Sir John Paston's will, dated 1477, bequeathed his soul to God, Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Christopher and St. Barbara, and directed that a brother of the priory of Bromholm should "sing for his soul." Margaret Paston, in her will, dated 1488, likewise commended her soul to God, His blessed mother, St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, and all saints. She directed, among other things, that a taper of wax should burn upon her grave in the church of Manteby each Sunday and holy day during all divine services in that church, and daily at the mass of the priest who should "sing there for her soul." In the bills and

documents relating to the expenses of the costly funeral of John Paston (1466) occurs the following strange entry:—"To the vicar of Dallying, for bringing home of a pardon from Rome, to pray for all our friends' souls."

In spite, however, of all this strange outgrowth of mediæval superstition, which increased as time went on, and which threatened eventually to crush out all the real life and marvellous power of the church for good over men's souls, there was still in England much earnestness and real piety and devotion. In the packets of the letters written by the Paston family in the disturbed and anxious years of Henry VI. and Edward IV.—letters faded and discoloured with age—it is pleasant to see traces of the holy influence which the church, with all its errors and superstitions, still exercised over the hearts of a middle-class family like the Pastons of the eastern counties, who may be taken as an example of countless other homes of the same class, whose very names have been long forgotten; as would their names and story have been, had it not been for the fortunate accident which has kept their letters safe and unharmed for us to read and muse over after some four centuries.

To take one or two instances from the correspondence, what a picture of a quiet religious man's practice and custom is painted in Agnes Paston's letter to her "well-beloved son" John, written in 1453, telling him of the peaceful death of Sir John Henynham. "On Monday last," wrote Agnes Paston, "he went to his church and heard three masses, and came home again never more. He said to his wife he would go and say a little devotion in his garden, and then he would dine, and forthwit fell a-fainting," and so died. Very to ing is the message of the last blessi his father, which the same Agnes P sent to John Paston, her well-beloved —"that blessing" which, as she phras "I prayed your father to give you the day that ever he spoke—the blessin all saints under heaven." The m wrote on: "By my counsel, dispose y self as much as ye may, to have less t in the world. Your father said, 'In business lieth much rest. The wor but a thoroughfare, and full of woe, when we depart therefrom we bear nought but our good deeds; and no knoweth how soon God will call therefore it is good for every creatu be ready. Whom God visiteth, him loveth. . . . Our Lord have yo His blessed keeping, body and Written at Norwich, by your mothe

Margaret Paston, writing to John P in 1475, asks him to speak to the bi of Norwich about a licence which desires may be granted her, to have sacrament in her own private chapel, was far for her to go to church, and was sickly. There seemed some diffi in procuring this licence, for she w again, suggesting that application sh be made for it to the bishop (the bishop) of Canterbury.

John Paston, in 1472, writing to brother, Sir John, describes the ea Arran, whom he admired greatly. I portrait of his hero he says, "He is *devoutest*, most perfect, and truest t lady of all the knights that ever I

* The quaint old English of Agnes Paston course, here modernised.

CAXTON SHOWING SPECIMENS OF HIS PRINTING TO KING EDWARD IV. AT THE ALMONRY AT WESTMINSTER.

*(After the picture by D. Maclise, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co., Limited, 6, Pall Mall.)*

acquainted with. Would God my lady liked me as well as I do his person and most knightly condition."

Among the "Paston" correspondence was found a copy of a letter addressed to his little boy by the famous statesman the duke of Suffolk, for a time the chief minister of king Henry VI. He was cruelly and treacherously murdered at sea. How the copy of the duke's letter came among the Paston papers is not known; but it is specially interesting to us, as showing how the influence of the church and its teaching was working in the hearts of all sorts and conditions of men, not only among individuals of the middle class such as the Paston family, but among men of the most exalted rank like the all-powerful duke of Suffolk. The chance discovery of such a letter is of invaluable importance in any sketch of the religion of the age. A few extracts will show the deep unaffected piety of the writer.

"My dear and only well-beloved son, I beseech our Lord in Heaven, the Maker of all the world, to bless you, and to send you ever grace to love Him and to dread Him. I charge you and pray you . . . to know His holy laws and commandments, by the which you shall, with His great mercy, pass all the tempests and troubles of this wretched world, and that also wittingly ye do no thing for love or dread of any earthly creature that should displease Him." . . . Then the duke enjoins his boy to be a "true liegeman in heart, will, and deed to the king (Henry VI.), to whom both you and I have been so much bound to." His son must live and die in defence of his most royal person. After loyalty to the king, the father charges his little son alwa love and worship his mother, to ob wishes, and to believe in her couns advice. The duke then went on t his boy to flee the company and cou proud men, covetous men, and fla men; and to draw to him the co of good and virtuous men, and such good conversation and of truth. N follow his own wisdom, but to see advice of such good true counsell he had been telling him of . . . these things, with the mercy of G would live in much worship and in heart's rest and ease. "Last of all," the duke, "as heartily and lovingly a father blessed his child on earth, I you the blessing of our Lord and which shall increase you in all virtu good living." The beautiful letter is with a prayer that, after departin wretched world, the boy and his po may glorify God eternally amon angels in Heaven.

"Written of mine hand, your true a loving father,

SUFFOL

The introduction of printing an consequent rapid spread of literary ledge at this juncture, requires a few of reference before we return to our subject. Literature during the re Henry VI. and the civil Wars Roses, for the moment seemed to lan Chaucer had no successor; original th and writers failed to appear for years; the literature of the Middle was dying out with the Middle Ages selves. There were various writer none who rose above mediocrity: asters, copyists of Chaucer, co

pilers, translators of French romance, riters of old mediæval legends. In the period the universities of Oxford and bridge declined grievously in numbers tudents, and in the learning of the ners. It is said that at Oxford only a of the scholars who had attended the res a century before, resorted to her -rooms. The monasteries, too, were g gradually their reputation as seats arning. Yet, in spite of this strange ch of original writers and thinkers, of il teachers, and of scholars eager for ing, there was a new and ever-growing est among the upper and middle es of the people in literary knowledge. nce more we may refer to the Paston spondence as a proof of this. An nt of literary knowledge and facility ars in this large and varied collection tters, which a few years earlier would been impossible. Books and libraries a place in the letters of this middle- undistinguished family. Henry VI., peak of the habits of more exalted nages, had a valuable collection of s. Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, ng the transient successes of the English ance which followed Agincourt, seized ouvre library as a great prize, which esented to the university of Oxford. John Fastolf, the famous soldier of n we hear so much in the Paston ers, was a known book-lover. Only a few years later than the times of y VI., when his rival and successor, rd IV., was on the throne, we find of the chief of the nobility taking a inent part in the love growing so fast g the people for books and letters. Rivers, the queen's brother, for instance, was not only a lover of but a writer of books; the cruel, relentless lord Worcester was even more distinguished in the new world of letters.

All seemed ready for the new and marvellous invention which was to work so far-reaching a revolution among men. Indeed, some attribute the invention of the

A PRINTING PRESS OF 1498.
(*From the Frontispiece to a Book printed in that Year by Iodocus Badius Ascensianus, figured in Charles Knight's "Life of Caxton."*)

simple yet wondrous art of printing to the curious increase, about the middle of the fifteenth century, of the demand for books and pamphlets, especially (though by no means confined to) writings of a religious character. "Originating at Mainz with the three famous printers, Gutenberg, Faust, and Schœffer, the new process travelled southward to Strasburg, crossed the Alps to Venice, where it lent itself to the Aldi for the spread of Greek literature in

Europe, and then floated down the Rhine to the towns of Flanders. It was probably at the press of Colard Mansion, in a little room over the porch of St. Donat's at Bruges, that Caxton learnt the art which he was the first to introduce into England." *

This celebrated man, originally a mercer, became engaged as a copyist in the service of Edward IV.'s sister, duchess Margaret of Burgundy. He learned the new art of printing at Bruges, and brought it over to England in 1476, when Edward IV. was reigning; and for fifteen years, from his press established in the Almonry at Westminster, he worked indefatigably not only as a printer but as a translator. Out of this first printing-press, between the years 1476 and 1491, issued an incredible number of volumes for that age. We read of his supplying priests with service-books and preachers with sermons, knights and nobles with "joyous and pleasant histories of chivalry." He printed all the English poetry of any consequence which was available at that time. In history he gave his readers the Chronicle of Brut and Higden's Polychronicon. Of classic or post-classical literature, too, from the first press of Caxton issued, among other works, a version of the Æneid from the French, and one or two of Cicero's writings.

Many other influences were at work to change the established order of things. The discovery of America, for instance, opened out a new world to the enterprise and industry of Europe; the composition of gunpowder changed the methods of war. But the invention of the printing-press transcended them all in importance.

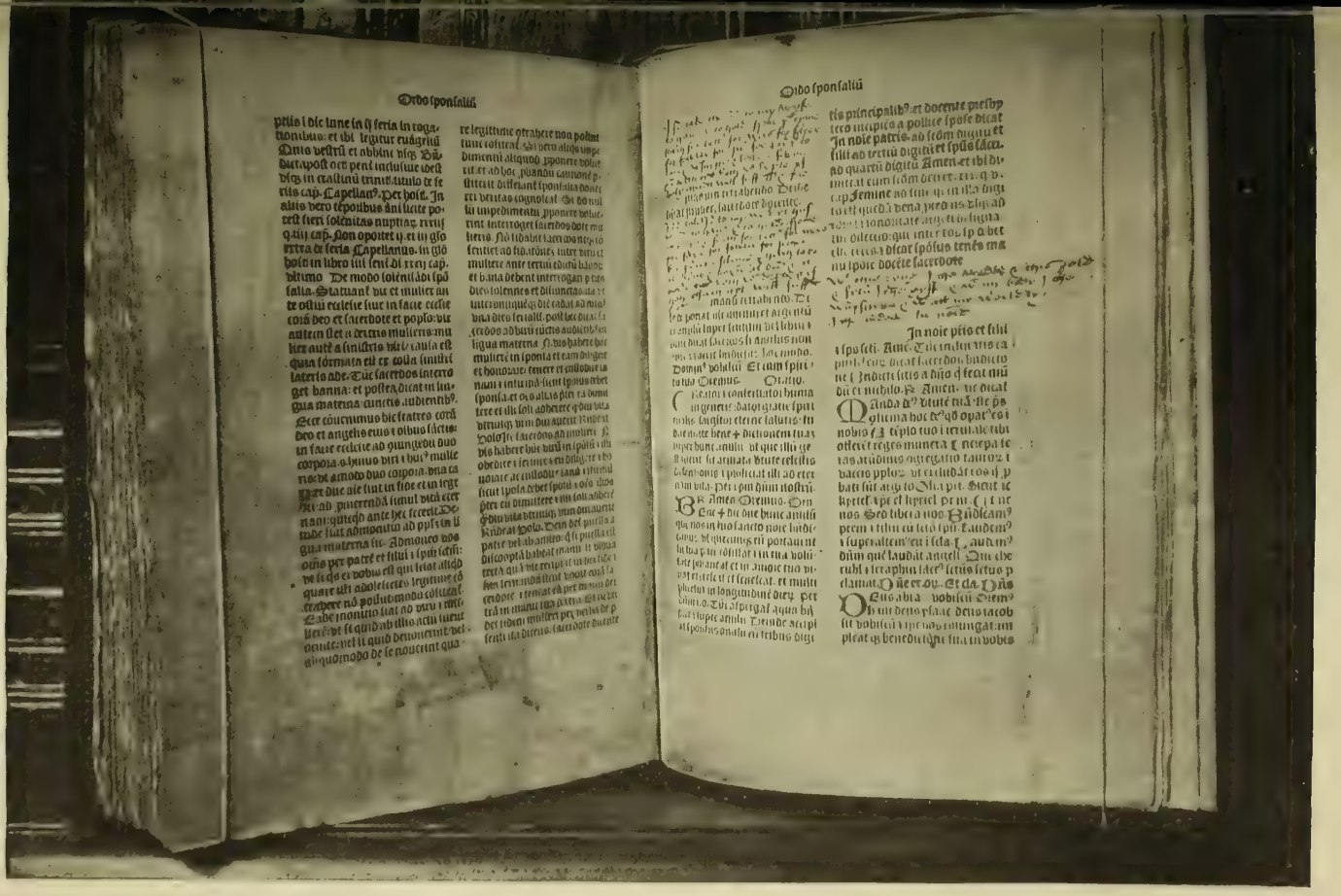
* Green: "History of the English People."

In the last thirty years of the fift century a vast number of editions of and pamphlets are said to have published throughout Europe, the important of them in Italy; and fore the sands of the century had out, all the Latin authors were gen accessible to students. Greek liter became common property only a later, the capture of Constantinopl the Turks in the middle of the ce driving a crowd of Greek scholars t neighbouring havens of Italy; an publication of the text of the New T ment in its original language pr tated, if it did not absolutely bring the mighty convulsion which mer the Reformation. "For the first men opened their eyes and saw." *

One of the sources of the wea of the Church of England at juncture, and one that has receiv popular histories less attention th deserves, was the composition hierarchy, which was strangely un cope with the newly-awakened spi the age. To resist this spirit w course, impossible and undesirable the church might have guided it, di it, only that for this task it was u incompetent. A modern writer, whom we should scarcely have exp such a terrible picture, in a po passage, tersely and without concea or apology, sets this out. The wor those of a modern Romish scholar o high authority.† He is writing of En

* M. Taine.

† Dr. Gasquet: "Henry VIII. and the Monasteries." (1889.)



PAGES FROM THE "LYME" MISSAL, CONTAINING PART OF THE MARRIAGE SERVICE.

*This Missal is the earliest known impression of the Salisbury Missal, and is dated 1487. It was printed in Paris by William Maynyal for Caxton, by whom it was published. The English responses are thought to be in Caxton's handwriting, and were probably not printed because Maynyal did not understand English. (In the possession of Lord Newton, by whom permission to reproduce has kindly been given.)*

during the end of the fifteenth and early years of the sixteenth centuries.

"The bishops were, with some honourable exceptions, mere court officials pensioned out of ecclesiastical revenues, holding their high offices by royal favour rather than on account of special aptitude to look after the spiritual welfare of their dioceses. They appear, perhaps not unnaturally, to have had little heart in their work. Too frequently, also, the holding of a see was regarded as a temporary position, and as an earnest of appointment to another pecuniarily or socially more advantageous. Thus, looking to obtain future favours, a bishop's energies were often directed to obtaining promised or expected preferment rather than to the management of his present district. This place-seeking kept the lords spiritual much at court, that they might gain or maintain sufficient influence to support their claims to further promotion. They looked to the king, not to the church; and regarded the temporal adjuncts of prosperity and power rather than the spiritual duties and obligations of the episcopal office. Too often, also, the bishop of an important see would be occupied in the management of the secular affairs of the state. Perhaps, even, he was paid for these services by the emoluments of his ecclesiastical office. To the king all looked for hope of reward. The church had few favours to give except at the wish and by the hands of the king. Even cardinals' hats were bestowed only on royal recommendation. The episcopal see was, moreover, not unfrequently looked upon as a property conferred for political services, and out of which the most, in a temporal point of view, was to be made. The higher spiritual and pastoral du were often forgotten when a bishopric sought or retained by one having higher ideal than that of temp advantage. Only when declining y made the struggle for position less poss or when failure to please made abs from court advisable, did the bishop often come to spend his remaining y in his diocese, and devote his expi energies to his flock. The worshi wealth and influence, the struggle power and position, in which too m churchmen joined, and the employmen energy which should have been dev to purposes ecclesiastical, upon the sec business of state, were constantly at w at this period, sapping the very life of church."

We may quote another similar t mony: "I declare," says cardinal Be mine with a preacher's exaggeration, with a foundation of truth, "that teaching, heresy, the falling away o many peoples and kingdoms from the faith—in fine, all the calamities, w tumults of these distressing times, their source from no other cause t because pastors and the other priest the Lord sought Christ, not for Chr sake, but that they might eat His br The renowned glory of the clergy sacred orders had perished; priests despised, laughed at by the people, lay under grave and constant infa And whence came all this? Was it because the pastors did not seek above else the glory of Christ and the salva of His sheep, but the loaves and fish that is, in their ecclesiastical ministrat they regarded chiefly the income

aments? This was the origin, this the nt of all these evils."

is perfectly clear from the testimony n conclusions both of Romanist and restant writers, that apart from many rous doctrinal errors and the growing for superstitious practices, the church ie age which preceded the Reformation a fatally injured and depressed from the c of so many of its leaders being states- rather than churchmen. All through Middle Ages, a sure road to high rerment in the church had been through reer in which the successful practice w, finance, or diplomacy had been the n features. Yet still, eminent and ted spiritual leaders had rarely been ting in the English hierarchy: a ession of men of the type of Lanfranc, elm, Becket, Stephen Langton, Grosse- s, and Rich, had arisen from time me, and had guided the inner coun- l of the church. But in the fifteenth ury none of such saintly and eminent chmen appeared. Chancellors, finan- e, diplomatists, ministers, more or less l of the type of cardinal Beaufort, op of Winchester, and Chichele, bishop of Canterbury, appeared during e first half of the century—honourable painstaking statesmen, but little more. he second half, Kemp (1452–1454), chier (1454–1486), Morton (1486– c), and Dean (1500–1503) were success- e primates. These prelates, who pied the chief seat in the councils of e church of England during that critical rd when men's eyes were opening to e many corruptions and fatal errors h were disfiguring religion (1452– c), were all statesmen; legates of the Roman see, as a matter of course, and hence bound to support the oppressive usurpations of the Pope; and the first three, who sat in the chair of Augustine for well-nigh fifty years, were cardinals as well. Among other high offices of state, the first three were chancellors of the realm, and the fourth (Dean) occupied the same high office, under the title of lord keeper. His successor, Warham, archbishop from 1503 to 1532, was also a lawyer and subsequently chancellor. This brings us far into the reign of Henry VIII.

These are merely conspicuous instances of the position and work of the church leaders at this period. The dioceses of these statesmen-bishops were too often sorely neglected, and were placed for all administrative purposes under the charge of suffragans—comparatively unknown men, often of little influence and weight; the real bishops of the sees too often forgetting that they were anything but ministers of state. It was this condition of things that bishop Pecock, in his famous work already alluded to, "The Repressor," set himself to defend. Indeed, Pecock, in his sermons and various writings, gives us an admirable and vivid picture of the state of things in the church in the last years of mediævalism. He makes no effort to explain away its errors either in doctrine, practice, or administration, but calmly and with considerable ability gives us his opinion that it was absolutely right in its teaching, practices, and ways of working; that its errors were not errors at all; and that its practice generally was in accordance with the best ecclesiastical traditions, its administration generally commendable, and positively needing no change or reform.

No doubt exists that what Pecock, bishop of Chichester, from his point of view, so ably and clearly states and so vehemently defends, was the deliberate conviction of the leading churchmen of his day. No one, alas! of any weight or position in the English hierarchy arose to point out the better way. And so the great ship of the church floundered along, seemingly, as we have said, powerful and stately and full of life and vigour, until a few years later the terrible storm arose, and then its weakness and utter inability to ride the storm became sadly manifest.

Of the group of statesmen-archbishops who ruled at Canterbury between 1452 and 1503, to whom we have been alluding, by far the most eminent, and at the same time the most earnest, was cardinal Morton, who must be considered as the minister and chief adviser of the crown in the reign of Henry VII. Henry Tudor, not a popular hero either in his own day or in the eyes of posterity, in many respects was a great king. "He found England weak and poor and divided against herself, and isolated in Europe, drenched in blood, and impotent in internal government; and he left her rich and at peace with herself, and growing in contentment and well administered, having a place in the councils of Europe second to none, and courted on every side. The king himself was, too, a virtuous man, sober, temperate, and chaste. His household was kept frugally and severely."* And by his side during the first fifteen years of his useful reign stood Morton the archbishop, an able and industrious

* Stubbs: "Constitutional History."

minister of high and stainless char and in the hands of Morton the left almost entirely the administrati ecclesiastical affairs.

Morton, like the other minister-pr of his type, was first of all a statesma is as the wise and prudent adminis the cautious adviser, the skilful fina that he will ever appear in the long g of historical portraits of the great serv England. But this minister of Henr was something more than a statesma loved well the church in which he the foremost part, and saw not a f her shortcomings, and longed to s foot a reformation of many of thes only the church had been his first In his pastoral, for instance, put o 1487, addressed to the bishop of Lo he lashes with no tender hand some more glaring of the follies and faults clergy. For a long period, as we seen in former letters and pastorals metropolitans, many of the clergy affected the dress and had adopte ornaments of the gentry—such as s and daggers and gold-adorned belt these weapons and ornaments M sternly forbade. Great stress had be some time laid upon the necessity degree, conferred by one of the univer being acquired by ordained priests. desirability of this was, no doubt, p in order to limit the large number of desirous of ordination for various c and to secure for the church the se of educated scholars. "No presbyte runs the pastoral of Morton, "to v it is not competent by reason of a d taken in a university, was to wear hood, furred or without fur, either do

silk, or simply with a horn or short or with camlet about the neck, pub-ly." Presbyters and clergy of the ince of Canterbury were to be properly ured; "they were to walk out with

RICHARD FOX, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
*(From the portrait by Jan Rave.)*

er tonsures, showing the ears plainly, ding to the canonical sanction." re penalties—such as sequestration eir benefices and suspension—were tened, in the event of these orders and nders not being strictly complied with. nother evil was specially noticed in this pastoral: the constant evil of non-residence on the part of the beneficed clergy. In such cases, and they were very numerous, proper curates were to be appointed in places where dispensation for non-residence had been obtained, and the ordinaries were to see that this was carefully carried out. This system of one priest holding two or more livings was no new grievance; but, like many of the mediæval church abuses, the scandal of pluralities grew more painfully evident

as time advanced. Men like Morton felt that it was one of the serious weaknesses in church administration, and one which gravely affected church spiritual life. As early as the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, according to archbishop Winchelsea's register, we find some famous priests holding as many as fifteen, others thirteen, while one held no fewer than twenty-three benefices. The clergymen mentioned in the archbishop's list held an average of eight livings each. In the sixteenth century, the epoch of the Reformation, this terrible abuse had increased. We find priests having as many as ten and twelve benefices, and very possibly resident in none; while there were plenty of learned men in the universities for whom no preferment could be found. In high quarters cardinal Wolsey affords a striking instance of this shameful scandal, holding, as he did, a plurality of livings, being bishop of more than one see, whilst he farmed others. This neglect of duty on the part of so many of the higher clergy had a disastrous effect all through the parochial system.

Carelessness and incompetence were too common among the parish priests of the period we are describing; indeed, Wolsey's successor in the arch-diocese of York, Dr. Edward Lee, reported that in all his vast diocese he only knew of twelve of his parochial clergy able and willing to preach to their people. In fact, when the spiritual lords and other prominent ecclesiastics took so low a view of their duties and responsibilities, it were scarcely to be expected that a high standard of life and work could prevail among the ranks of the lower and less distinguished priests of the church. To give one conspicuous exa of an episcopal conscience: Richard holds an honourable and distingui position among the prelates of the years of the century we have been sp ing of; and this Fox was consecr bishop of Exeter in A.D. 1487, transl to Bath and Wells in 1491, and the Durham in 1494, and yet is said n to have seen his cathedral at Exete ever to have set foot in his dioces Bath and Wells.* He also obtained abbey of St. Albans *in commendam.*

Curious special provisions were made to legalise this unhappy abuse. E spiritual man of the king's council allowed to keep three livings; every c lain of the queen or of the royal fa two each. Archbishops and dukes m keep six chaplains; each marquis and five; and every chaplain was allowed to two benefices. Every doctor of divinity the same privilege, livings in the ch being regarded as legitimate source income. No wonder that a man of high character of cardinal Morton, had stern views of duty and responsibi adverted in his "pastoral," addresse the bishop of London, to the grave h likely to result to the unfortunate pari and these parishes were, alas! nume —whose pastor was one of these residents; no wonder that he insi upon an investigation into the chara and powers of the curate placed in ch of such a deserted cure of souls.

In curious and unexpected ways this system of pluralities and non-residence veloped itself; for instance, in the sixte

* Compare Dr. Gasquet: "Henry VIII. an English Monasteries."

tury we find a young man, a possessor high interest—Reginald Pole, the future dinal-archbishop—when only seventeen rs old, receiving a prebendal stall, and n a second two years later, both in the isbury diocese. At eighteen this young oured ecclesiastic was nominated to the nery of Wimborne minster.

In the case of the monasteries, which med a certain exemption from episcopal trol, archbishop Morton applied for mission from the Pope, as his legate, visit these houses. In certain of the gious communities much laxity and lessness were said to prevail, though bably this complaint has been greatly ggerated. Pope Innocent VII., in his granting the permission to visit, dated 9, speaks of the "religious in the vince of Canterbury as having gradually xed their rule of living—growing weary leasant meditation." Armed with this al authority, the primate visited the eses of Rochester, Worcester, and sbury twice, and the dioceses of Lich- and Coventry, Bath and Wells, chester, Lincoln, and Exeter once. he visitation of 1491 he was attended commissioners appointed by the king, he head of whom was Richard Fox, op of Exeter, who was one of the t energetic of the statesmen-prelates he reign. This Fox was an ardent cationist, and established grammar ols at Taunton and Grantham; and him the noble foundation of Corpus sti College at Oxford owes its existence. even wished to found a new monastery, was persuaded to turn his attention usively to the promotion of educa- The words of his friend and adviser, bishop Oldham, on this occasion are memorable, and, indeed, prophetic: "What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for housing monks whose end and fate we may live to see? No, no; it is more meet that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as shall do good to the church and commonwealth."

In his early life Sir Thomas More, whom we shall find in the next century the chancellor and minister of king Henry VIII., and ranking among the noblest and purest of the statesmen of that strange age, was among the intimate associates of Morton. From More we learn how devoted a friend was the eminent minister of Henry VII. to young men, and how the archbishop's household was a home and a school to not a few who received there their training for subsequent work in the church and state. Sir Thomas More in after life never forgot the kindness and friendship which the primate had shown him when young; and he loved to refer to conversations he had listened to in his palace, and has left us his estimate of his character. Morton, he says, was full of energy, and of polished manners—a man of great grasp of mind, and blessed with a prodigious memory; and king Henry VII. depended much upon his judgment. He was ever serious and grave in his deportment, but nevertheless easy of access. More's testimony to Morton, indeed, must never be forgotten in our estimate of the archbishop's character, which estimate will be an important factor in some of our conclusions. "He was a man," wrote More, "not more to be venerated for his high rank than for his wisdom and virtue."

# CHAPTER XXXVII.

## ENGLISH MONASTICISM AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Numbers of the Monastic Orders at this Period—Their Income—Recapitulation of their Histo
Evident Decline in Popularity even before the Reformation—Its Causes—Past Services of the O
as Teachers of Organisation—of Agriculture—of Arts and Sciences—Life of a Monastery—The "
of Durham"—Glimpses of Art Treasures—The Monk's a Social Life—Organisation and Office
a Monastery—Its Daily Life—Order of the Services—Austerity and Hardship—Recreation—De
in Sanitary Regimen—Inherent Selfishness of the Monastic Ideal.

IN our sketch of the state of the church at the accession and during the earlier years of the Tudor dynasty, we have left to the last the picture of the monk and the friar—of the men who for so many centuries had played an all-important part in the church's work. A somewhat melancholy interest attaches to this division of our picture, for in the storm of the English Reformation the familiar and once well-loved figures of monk and friar disappeared for ever from the Church of England. Her doctrinal teaching, with its graver errors, was revised and remodelled after an older and a purer standard. Her archbishops and bishops ceased to be statesmen, and generally gave their life-work to things spiritual, to teaching and watching over the flocks of which they were the chief pastors. The fatal evils of non-residence and of pluralities, where benefices were regarded rather in the light of wages than as solemn cures of souls, were corrected. The baleful shadow of the Roman domination, which for so long had brooded alike over the lordly cathedral and the stately abbey, as over the humbler village church, was swept away, and the old church of Aidan, Cuthbert, and Alfred, purified and restored, resumed its sway over the souls of men. But in the formed and nobler church, although lar remodelled after the ancient pattern, t was no place found for the monks friars. These disappeared altogether, the thoughtful student of the past, w acquiescing in this disappearance, and cognising that the work of the mon orders was done, still sorrows over unjust and even cruel treatment m out to many a man holy and humbl heart, who was living and working acc ing to the traditions in which he had b trained, though after a pattern which the new and changed condition of thi had lost its ancient signification.

At the period of the dissolution (1 1540) the strength of the army of mo friars, and nuns in England is comp at 8,081, besides probably more than times that number of people who were t dependents, and who obtained subsist in their service. In considering t numbers, again we remind the reader some idea must be kept in mind of population of England at that time. number of this population has been ously estimated by different experts. certainly did not exceed altogether millions; it was probably considerably

HUNTING PARTY REFRESHING: SCENE AT THE GATE OF A MONASTERY.

*(From the picture by J. R. Herbert, R.A., by permission of W. V. Herbert, Esq.)*

At all events, assuming the largest computation possible, the whole population did not amount to the numbers of the present inhabitants of London. The 8,000 to 9,000, including monks, canons, friars, and nuns, were thus divided :—1,800 were friars ; the Austin and Præmonstratensian canons numbered 932 ; there were 1,560 nuns ; thus leaving some 3,789 monks.

These regular clergy, in all some 6,000 in round numbers—regular in contradistinction to the secular clergy, who included the parochial and other ecclesiastics not bound by monastic vows—consisted of two classes: the more ancient orders, and those which sprang up in the thirteenth century, commonly known as the mendicant orders or friars. The latter, the friars, were essentially townspeople. The scene of their work, which lay almost entirely in cities, consisted mainly in preaching, hearing confessions, and any such-like directly spiritual ministrations.

The canons—mostly Austin (black) or Præmonstratensian (white), the black Austin canons being by far the greater number, the order of Prémontré never becoming really popular in England—occupied a position somewhat midway between the monks and the secular clergy. Some of these canons, though still on the roll of their houses, were busied in parochial duties, but the bulk of them still maintained a community life like the monks themselves. The term "monks," strictly speaking, belonged only to the Benedictine order, including its important offshoots of the Cluniacs and Cistercians, and to the Carthusians. Even among those professing the rule of St. Benedict, writes Dr. Gasquet, there is a broad line of distinction. The English black monks (Benedict and the Benedictine offshoot from Cit the Cistercians or white monks, differe their character, work, and ways. were great landowners, but it may be that the Cistercians were essentially far and farmed their own lands thems In proportion to their income the Ciste communities were, at least until the years of their existence, larger than Benedictine. But the size, import and wealth of the Benedictine houses the black monks a singular promin in England. For instance, the impo houses and abbeys of Westminster, ham, Gloucester, Worcester, Tewkes Evesham, St. Alban's, Reading, St. Edmund's, Winchester—to take spicuous examples—all belonged to Benedictine order.*

In the early part of the sixteenth tury, just before the dissolution, the number of nuns is computed at 1,5 small number in comparison with th thousand monks, friars, and canons o regular clergy. These nuns owned one hundred and forty convents. M them were small houses, and the majority of these convents, at the ti the suppression by king Henry VIII. not possessed of a yearly income suff to exempt them from the operation o act by which the "lesser" houses p into the king's hands.

The income enjoyed by all these m canons, friars, and nuns, according t "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of Henry

* For many of these details respectin monastic orders at the epoch of the Reform the writer is indebted to Dr. Gasquet. numbers given from different causes slightly

is to have amounted roughly to about 0,000 per annum, but from this sum be deducted the yearly income of the fices held by the monasteries, which ncluded in the "Valor" of Henry VIII. very important item. Indeed, one very ul computation returns the income e estates of the monasteries only at a t more than £50,000 per annum.* To nate these amounts in modern cur- y, it is fairly safe if we multiply them welve. Some finance experts would, ever, suggest a larger figure by which ultiply the original sum. All these es, however, must be accepted with reservation; for while, on the one well-nigh every religious house was in debt, and its lands were crippled mortgages more or less heavy—a of things brought about largely by oitant royal taxation—on the other the amount received annually through and offerings is quite uncertain, and ly varied in different houses, shrines, abbeys; but the total amount of offerings must have been very con- able.

e number of monasteries or religious es in which these 8,081 monks, nuns, and canons dwelt, at first sight seems large. The general numbers of these es were in all about seven hundred and ; this is slightly under the number h probably existed. Eight hundred, wer, would probably cover every- . Of these the greater and more im- nt houses numbered two hundred and and about eighteen or twenty convents omen. The lesser houses, roughly three hundred, with one hundred and twenty convents of nuns, and some two hundred friaries. Outside the two hundred and twenty greater houses, monasteries and convents, the communities were very small and very poorly endowed.

Most of them were of Norman foundation. Far back in our eventful story, at the end of the seventh and during the eighth and ninth centuries, the monastic system occupied a great place in the Christianity of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. This, the golden age of English monasticism, came to an end when the Danish Vikings swept the land with fire and sword from the Forth and Humber to the Thames. Few, if any, of the early Saxon world-famed monasteries, survived the awful shock of the Danish triumph. Alfred and the kings of his great house, and their ministers, usually if not always ecclesiastics, endeavoured, as part of their church policy, to rebuild, to re-endow, to wake up again the perished spirit of monasticism, but only with partial success. We hear again of monasteries and nunneries in the England of Alfred and Edward, of Edgar and Canute, and they come before us even more prominently at the close of the Anglo-Saxon period, when the Confessor wore the crown. Still, it is clear that monasticism never flourished in the second period of Anglo-Saxon history, as it did before Ivar and Hubbo and their savage Vikings destroyed the ancient monasteries which the early North-folk loved so well. It is said that three hundred monasteries of various degrees of importance existed in the day when the Norman William the Conqueror slew Harold the Saxon on the

* mpare Canon Dixon: "History of the Church gland from A.D. 1529."

field of Hastings, but this computation is probably exaggerated.

Under the Norman kings, however, monasticism in England received a sudden and vast impulse. It is no baseless theory which sees in the countless stately religious buildings of the Normans of the generations which immediately followed the new settlement after the Conquest, churches and abbeys and monasteries of "expiation." It was under the Norman sovereigns and the early Plantagenet kings that the greater number of monasteries were built and endowed. The dry catalogue of numbers will best tell the strange story. There were founded under William the Conqueror forty-five monasteries. The pious work, of course, only began many years after Hastings, when the conquest of the wealthy island was virtually completed. Under Rufus twenty-five more were built. Under the long and comparatively quiet and prosperous reign of Henry Beauclerc, the Conqueror's younger son—when the Norman baron could quietly look round his new home and broad lands, not many years back the home and lands of the Saxon thanes he had dispossessed, and understand *what* he and his father who fought at Hastings and in a hundred other bloody battles and frays had done—no less than 150 new monasteries appeared in conquered England. But the passion of expiation had not yet run its course. Under the Conqueror's grandson, Stephen, 122 of these monastic houses appeared. During the long reign of the mighty Angevin, Henry II., 124 more were built and endowed; then the passion of expiation began to relax, for in the days of Cœur-de-Lion we only read of the foundation of forty-four; and whe brother, John Lackland, was king, of two. In the long reign of Henry stretching over more than half a ce some seventy-four more monasteries added to the long list.

In the days of Henry III. the friar among us; and for the mendicant ciscans and Dominicans, and their known imitators, eighty-three poor munities or friaries, with their la and generally unendowed establishn were added to the long roll of E religious houses. Under Edward I.'s the growing influence of the menc friars largely diverted the flow of g pious individuals from the monaster the Benedictine or Carthusian order we only read of sixteen new monast but of the establishment of sixty-one friaries.

The foundation of new monasterie almost ceased, and even the friars losing their first popularity, for in reign of Edward II. the number of religious houses fell to five monas and twenty friaries. Edward III.'s reign saw but seven new monasterie twenty-four new friaries. In Richar time only four additional monasterie four friaries were established amon During the reigns of Henry IV., Hen Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward Richard III., Henry VII., only eight religious houses appeared; but durin period in which monasticism dec some sixty colleges, hospitals, and sc were established by royal and other donors in England, some of them of spicuous magnificence and richly endo

A glance over this dry catalogue

w clearly, how the popularity of these nastic foundations had declined long ore the hour of their destruction ved. "From the time of Henry IV. stream of benefaction was diverted n them; and while colleges and public ools were planted in numbers and

SCENE AT THE GATE OF A MONASTERY: TRAVELLERS SEEKING REFRESHMENT.
*(By permission, from the drawing by G. Cattermole in South Kensington Museum.)*

nificence, the scanty sum of six or n foundations of monks and friars in course of one hundred and thirty s, bore witness to the change of the nations of the nation." *

oughly speaking, we possess records of ly 1,200 religious houses. Of these "alien" priories—that is, those communities which were cells or dependencies of Continental abbeys—after a precarious existence during a prolonged period, were finally suppressed, to the number of about a hundred, by king Henry V., on the ground of their occasionally affording assistance to the French and other enemies of the realm. The dissolution of the Templars in the reign of Edward II. removed some more from the roll; these were about twenty-three in number. Others disappeared owing to various causes, such as gradual falling away of their property, and confiscation. In the sixteenth century, out of the eleven or twelve hundred religious houses and foundations, only about seven hundred

*Canon Dixon: "History of the Church of and."

really remained;* and of these but two hundred or two hundred and twenty alone were reckoned among the larger or more important foundations.

And not only had the monasteries of England for a very considerable period ceased, or practically ceased to multiply; the many houses that existed were sadly empty. It is computed that on the eve of their dissolution the numbers of "religious" of all the various orders had diminished by at least a third in the course of the last century and a half. This great falling away in numbers, it is true, has been explained as being due in large measure to the desolating sicknesses of the second half of the fourteenth century. The Black Death of 1349–1361 had carried off, it is generally believed, well-nigh half the "religious" in the country. No monastery in England could be said to have ever recovered from this calamity; and in the era of the Reformation no monastic house, large or small, possessed anything like its full complement of professed monks. This sudden removal by pestilence of so many of the best and most devoted must, as it has been already said, have broken also the continuity of the best traditions of ecclesiastical usage and teaching. Still, making every allowance for the awful ravages of the Black Death, had the monastic orders preserved the key to the people's hearts, a key they certainly possessed in the early Middle Ages; had the noble impulses which originally called one order after another into being still existed, there is little doubt but that they wou great measure have filled up their nun again during the century and a half w had elapsed since the havoc of the pla

The truth, however, was that these ginal impulses had spent themselves. changed were the conditions of life the days of the golden age of monastic and the invention of printing may be to have been the last and final blow to old system. The monk no longer posse the monopoly of knowledge, and the p ing-press took away at once from cloister much of its occupation. education of the world was no longe the hands of the famous "orders." Bi Stubbs speaks of the "incurable use ness" of the monastic orders on the of the Reformation; and although per this expression may convey some exag tion, it cannot be fairly denied, even by most ardent apologists of the fading sys that very considerable truth underlies great scholar's assertion. A reforma or rather a complete recasting of monasteries and their inhabitants, if were to continue to exist, was imperati needed; and the clear-sighted ministe Henry VII. and his imperious son—a bishop Morton and cardinal Wols plainly saw this, though they were un for various reasons, in their day of po to effect it.

One cause of their growing unpopula with the people must, no doubt, be sou and found in the fact of their b especially the strongholds of papal fluence. During much of the later pe of the Middle Ages, the Pope at Avig as we have seen, was little else tha powerful French bishop, and hence

* The *exact* number of religious houses is difficult to obtain, as the cells or offshoots of the more important foundations are sometimes added to the totals.

litary enemy of England. The close intimate connection of the English steries with this naturally hostile ual power, no doubt seriously affected elations of the monks and friars with sovereign and people. The Benene and Carthusian houses, bound by voted and an interested loyalty to a n bishop, closely connected with the foreign network and organisation of own orders, too often forgot or ignored nationality. A true Benedictine or usian monk, a Franciscan or Dominiriar, acknowledged no country as his was really loyal to no earthly king, to the general or chief of his own order, and to him who sat in the of St. Peter at Rome or, it might e, at Avignon.

"1 the later Middle Ages," writes p Stubbs,* "scarcely any abbot takes onspicuous part in English politics; egisters of the abbeys are no longer ds of national history, but of petty its; the monastic life separates itself widely than ever from the growing the nation; the temporalities of the steries are offered to the king by the ous reformers as a ready source of ue, by the confiscation of which no an lose. When the great shock of Reformation comes at last, the whole n falls at one blow, and vast as the s at the time, it is forgotten before eneration that witnessed it has passed "

it was not always so; and in the ruin and storm of obloquy, amidst the monasteries of England were away, their vast services, not only to religion, to literature, and to education, but well-nigh to everything which makes life beautiful and desirable, have been by many men, if not completely ignored, at least slurred over as a work of little moment, of merely transient importance. Yet no one who dispassionately reviews the history of the monastic orders can fail to see their great and beneficent influence upon the rough and often ruthless society in the midst of which they lived, in the days of the Norman and Plantagenet kings; or to recognise the splendid work done by the mendicant Dominicans and Franciscans among the hopeless and neglected poor of the fast growing mediæval towns.

A great scholar, no passionate admirer of monasticism, writing of a Benedictine community, thus dwells upon the pattern a well-ordered religious house afforded for the organisation of home and public life generally: "Administrative completeness such as reigned within the convent walls was not to be found elsewhere; in no other place do we find so exact a subdivision of labour, so placid a sequence of routine. Even the king's court in comparison was but slightly organised; the feudal lord, who was in some ways the nearest parallel, lived careless and profuse, and his castle was a scene of rough, ill-ordered plenty, secured by no very scrupulous means. The civic communities had as yet but little of the common life, and administered few estates. On the other hand, the strong organisation of the religious houses, the subdivision of responsibility, the custom of demanding and carefully auditing the yearly accounts of the officers, combined to make monasteries patterns after which a better order slowly came into being.

* "Constitutional History."

They had no need to take part in the fighting which absorbed and destroyed the well-being of the lay world; within their walls peace reigned, from their stately churches ever rose the sound of prayer and praise, their gates were open to the pilgrim and traveller; hospitality and brotherly kindness softened in many ways the harsh incidence of feudal custom." *

THE CHAPEL OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

In the earlier Middle Ages it was the monks who were the teachers of agriculture. To the end of their existence in England they were ever among the best and most indulgent landlords. And it is no exaggeration to speak of the monastic societies as being in a way the pioneers of modern commerce. From such documents as the charter of Edward III. for the St. Giles' fair at Winchester, we learn that many strangers from different parts of England resorted to this renowned fair, and purchased silver objects, gems,

* "Obedientary Rolls of St. Swithun," Winchester. Edited by Dr. Kitchin, dean of Durham.

and spicery and wine from the r
stalls. In the early years of the four
century we ascertain that there w
fewer than 180 religious houses in E
which supplied the Flemish and Flor
markets with wool.

In art in its various departmen
through the Middle Ages the Bene
especially, and imitating the Bene
the less prominent orders too, wer
tinguished as the chief fosterers and p
of architecture, painting, sculpture
broidery, and music; and probabl
large majority of English artists cam
their ranks. The lordly abbeys, the
churches, and the scarcely less be
and exquisite buildings clustering
them, which even now, scarred and d
are the joy and delight of all whos
are opened to see in them the fairest
ings the world possesses, perhaps ev
possess, were mostly built for the n
and were probably largely designe
gifted members of their order; they
certainly commenced and completed
their immediate direction. Work
quisite in taste and elaborate with ri
of detail, such as the chapel of Kin
Cambridge, the matchless tower of
cester, a very marvel of strength cr
with beauty, the Bell Tower of Eve
the Lady Chapel at Gloucester, sc
completed when the great crash ca
show us that up to the end, neithe
hand nor brain of the monk-artist ha
its cunning.

But all this was forgotten in the e
age which witnessed the ruin of the
lish monasteries; ignored by the g
tions which have come and gone sinc
memorable age. The monk too oft

n a byword on the lips of English n and women—a something to scoff at to scorn. No whisper of pity for the im, no word of condemnation for the n-handed spoiler of his goods, and the an awful act of ingratitude committed at the beginning of that Reformation which, as a whole, has done so much towards the making of the mighty England of to-day.

In spite of this humiliating confession,

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

ly, ruthless instruments of king Henry I's policy, appears among the usual ding manuals, which for centuries have placed in the hands of the children r people. Yet the story is a saddening and men are beginning only now to nsible that a great wrong was done, however, even the most ardent apologist for the monk must allow that when the sixteenth century, that great age of change and reconstruction, dawned, *the monastic orders had done their work;* that there was no place for them in the new order of things arising in England. This is

evident from the spiritless acquiescence with which the people of all ranks allowed the king and his servants to carry out the great spoliation. *Vox populi vox Dei*, runs the old saying, so true in the abstract, so fallacious in the particular. This popular voice would have been heard, loud and angry, had the country at large really cared for the objects of the royal confiscation. Angry murmurs, it is true, rose from certain classes of Englishmen and in certain districts of the island, when the length and breadth and depth of the great spoliation became manifest —murmurs which resulted in such outbreaks as the famous "Pilgrimage of Grace" and the formidable Yorkshire rising. But these murmurs and sporadic revolts were far from being the voice of England as a nation, and soon died down. The monk, the nun, the friar, had disappeared, had dropped out of the busy ranks of the English people; and only a few cared very much. It is an indisputable fact—and even those who not only mourn with a true mourning over the cruel wrong done to a crowd of God-fearing men who were many of them striving to live up to the light vouchsafed to them, but bitterly resent the still graver wrong done to the memory of most of them, cannot help acknowledging—that England as a nation, if it did not applaud, at least calmly acquiesced in the tremendous monastic confiscation.

Before we let the curtain fall on the last days of the mediæval Church of England, it may be well to devote a few paragraphs to a picture of the life led in one of those great monasteries, whose utter ruin and destruction we shall have so so chronicle. The picture of the life important religious house such as about to paint, is simply an exam the many. The life of a large Bene monastery, whether at Durham or St. Edmunds, at Peterborough Gloucester, differed in but very particulars.

That the life led by the dwell such a house was very different fro common conception—a conception, fostered by the conspicuous unfairne want of candour of some of our popular and admired historians—we from the lips of the great spoiler h king Henry VIII., who, in the prean the famous Act of 1536, which runs august name, speaks of "divers gre solemn monasteries of this realm (o land), wherein, thanks be to God, r is right well kept and observed." formal state acknowledgment availe objects of the acknowledgment no and the king in whose name it was within four or five years of its publi swept all these monasteries, "whe ligion was right well kept and obse into the common net of confiscatio is the picture of one of these "gre solemn monasteries" we are abo paint, and the colours we shall u no fancy ones, but simply repro from a picture—a very quiet, tr one—painted by one who had see interior of such a house.

The "Rites of Durham," publish the Surtees Society in 1842, from written in 1620 from an original b the date of A.D. 1593, is a document stands alone as a connected account

a great monastic community at the moment of its destruction. It is ainly the work originally of a man who personal experience, and had actually what he describes. It is no animated y, no apologia for a vanished life; it quiet prosaic description, partaking, ed, rather of the character of a le-book or of the catalogue of a eum, than of an apology, or a defence, piece of accusation.

he famous Benedictine house of Durham e subject of the little memoir. Now urham we possess the great advantage eing able to verify much of the writer's ription. Had our picture been drawn ury St. Edmunds or of Whitby, or of ding or of Evesham for instance, a ed wall, the remains of a traceried low or solitary tower, would have been he *matériel* at our disposal when we ht to check the accuracy of the writer. in a few rare instances, such as at ham in the north, and at Worcester in southern midlands, and at Gloucester he south-west, the spoiler happily did complete his work of ruin. Scarred disfigured, sorely mutilated and plun-d of most of its wondrous treasures of still, with the little book of the "Rites" and, we can make out a fairly accurate tal picture of what Durham was in the of its ancient glory; while with a still ter certainty we can acquaint ourselves the life led by the citizens of one of e vast cities of prayer and teaching learning just before it ceased to exist.

he first thing that strikes the student he "Rites," will be the numberless ions to the *art* treasures which such nastery, with its stately abbey-church and surrounding buildings, must have contained. We read not only of the costly worked vestments worn on the many festal days so curiously multiplied in mediæval Christianity, but of curtains or hangings of velvet and silk of various colours, constantly changed, which were hung on certain days before the many shrines and altars; some of these were embroidered, we read, with great flowers of gold, often enriched with pearls and precious stones. The embroidery used in the mediæval monasteries must have been extraordinarily rich and costly. The many shrines are described as literally ablaze with cunning work in gold and silver, and in the less costly brass and iron work. In all times the goldsmith's art was cultivated by the "orders." Special mention is made of solid gold and gilded and silver crosses, crucifixes, censers, candlesticks, basons, fonts for holy water, cruets and patens for the Eucharist, made of the precious metals; of priestly vestments of all descriptions magnificently adorned with gold, and various other ornaments used in the gorgeous ritual of the later mediæval church. The treasury of the Durham monastery was also filled with costly and precious plate; and while the greatest simplicity was strictly followed in the dormitory and apartments of the monks the guest-chamber of the house was furnished with rich and beautiful furniture.

We come, too, upon many mentions of pictures, for painting was among the arts specially cultivated in a great house like that of Durham; pictures of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, pictures, too, of all the kings and queens of England and Scotland who had been devout and godly founders and benefactors of the famous church. Nor

was sculpture neglected; but all the many images of stone and marble, of alabaster and of precious metal, described so vividly, have disappeared. In many places the carved base of the image remains, and the wall is still shadowed by a dim outline of the figure, which has been long thrown down and broken up. Some few of the beautiful tombs, with fragments of their carved and delicate work, still remain, but most have been destroyed.

We are told of several organs for the maintenance of God's service, and in one instance mention is made of the fine wood and workmanship of the pipes—"very faire, partly gilded upon the outside and inside, with branches and flowers finely gilded."

Again and again in this curious document, the wealth of colour and gold, the curious and costly marbles and alabaster used, the elaborate tracery and carving which adorned the mighty abbey, the cloister, the guest-chambers, and other parts of the huge pile built round the shrine of the loved saint Cuthbert on the rock which overhangs the river Wear, are dwelt upon. It is indisputable that during the Middle Ages the monk was the great artist as well as the art-lover in England.

THE HUNTSMAN SALT-CELLAR (15TH CENTURY).

*(Presented by Archbishop Chichele to All Souls' College, Oxford, whose property it now is.)*

Their way of living is described some detail. First of all, any idea solitary life, lived for most part in sep cells, like the Carthu ideal now carried ou the Grande Chartr near Grenoble in Sa and in other house their still famous o must be dismissed. Benedictine (the prin and by far the mos fluential of the or monastery, the life from beginning to social. The bro worshipped togethe the choir of the ch or abbey to which community was atta they took counsel tog daily in the chapter-h they studied togeth the stately cloiste library; they ate tog in the refectory; slept in one vast d tory. The size of refectories and d tories is manifest the remains, still c traceable, of such b ings in Durham, Glo ter, and in other sites of large Benedi monasteries.

Under the lord prior at Durhan Winchester, or the lord abbot at G cester and Bury St. Edmunds (the

), were gathered a group of inferior ers or obedientaries in strict subordina- one to the other, by whom the monks, was rarely if ever the case in the last century of their existence, amounted to four hundred, or even more. The actual

WESTMINSTER CHASUBLE (LATE 15TH CENTURY), CRIMSON VELVET EMBROIDERED WITH GOLD.
(*In the possession of Lord Arundel of Wardour.*)

dependents, and tenants were ruled. whole number, including all depend- in a large house when filled, which number of professed monks, exclusive of lay brothers and dependents, in an important monastery, rarely seemed to have

exceeded a hundred. By the abbot's or the prior's side, as the case might be, stood the first, second, and third priors, lieutenants of the head of the house, ready at once to step into his place, should he at any time be incapacitated from exercising a general supervision over the whole community.

After these dignified officers, who with a few other of the chiefs of departments had separate lodgings of their own, being exempted from much of the ordinary social existence, came a group of officials specially attached to the great church or abbey. The *sacrist* had charge generally of the innumerable services which were performed by night as by day; these services will be presently enumerated. The sacrist, an important official, often had the charge of the library, and acted as chancellor or secretary of the society, and wrote the letters which had to be sent out on legal and other business. After him came the *precentor*, who arranged the elaborate music and singing which formed so large a part of the many services, and which served to break the awful monotony which must have accompanied a life, so many hours of which were spent in worship in the sanctuary. In some of the smaller houses the offices of sacrist and precentor were combined. The precentor in a large house like Durham, Gloucester, Evesham, Bury St. Edmunds, and many others of like rank, presided over the singers, arranged the processions, and exercised under the abbot or prior the chief authority in the church.

The *circa* was an official charged in a great community with watching over the discipline of the services. His little stone desk, hard by the monks' entrance to choir, is still to be seen near the n gate of the choir of Gloucester. Ther the night hours, at matins, or in the dawn of the early morning, he would s and carefully note who was absent the company as they passed in from dormitory to prayers; on the following to the full chapter he would report absentee monk. The same officer would when all were assembled in the choi these night services, go his quiet round his little lamp gleaming in the dimly-lig church, watching carefully to see if weary brother had fallen asleep in his or stall, when he would at once rouse up again to take his share in the perp nightly round of prayer and praise.

The *custos operum*, or master of works, ranked also high among the obedientaries. His was no light duty watching over the constant repairs ne in the abbey-church and in the vast of buildings which clustered round house of God. Even in the far- Plantagenet days, we read in Jocely Brakelonde's charming gossipy chron of the ruined state into which many o abbey buildings had fallen as early a the reign of king John, in the monas of Bury St. Edmunds. Then, too, a have said, the monk was ever a res artist, ever an indefatigable architect, loved to be always adding to, ador with fresh ornamentation, with new trac with beautiful, often with strange, fant work, his loved home. Our cathedrals abbeys, in the exquisite confusion of st of architecture which they present, us how successive generations of mo planned, designed, and carried out

ks. Never was the monk weary of ving to make his beautiful church, his ster, his many conventual buildings, e beautiful, more richly adorned. Over these works, the delight nowadays of antiquarian, the architect, the historian, of many others who lay no claim to se titles, the master of the works was ureme. We, who after long centuries content simply to admire and now and in to copy what the vanished monk has e in those abbeys and cathedral build-s, which in their defaced and sadly iled condition are still among the glories our land, owe a large debt to many an nown, unrecorded master of the works.

he next group of monastic officials is a re homely one. The first in order was *receiver* or treasurer. He had the duty receiving and accounting for the rents the abbey farms. His office in later s, when from various causes the religious ses grew poorer, must often have been nerous if not a painful one. The per-al strain to make ends meet, the find-resources to meet the often exorbitant ms of the sovereign, the calls of the e to contribute to some foreign war, difficulty of paying the large interest on sums borrowed to meet such claims, too often the lot of this official.

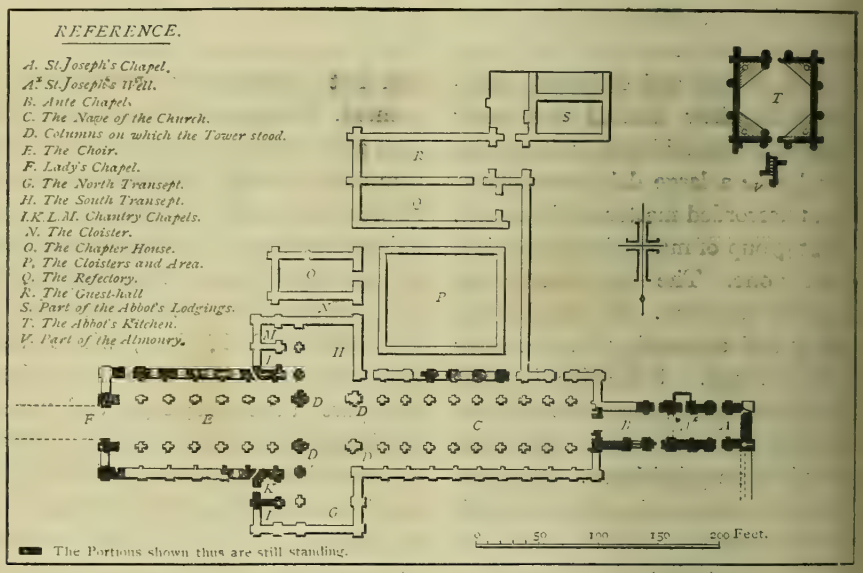
n obedientary with the quaint mediæ-title of *hordarian* shared with the arer and refectorarion the labour—no ll one in an important house—of pro-ng for the bodily needs of the numerous pany who made up the community. tain estates belonging to the monastery e usually set aside exclusively for this pose. These were administered by hordarian, who derived his somewhat barbarous title from his peculiar duties. He was set over the "hoard," or the supplies of food required for the refectory and infirmary.

Among the other notable obedientaries in a monastery of the larger class, the *infirmarian* occupied a prominent and important position. Tender and loving care for the sick, the ailing, and the infirm especially distinguished the Benedictines. Their infirmaries were usually spacious, and not unfrequently were richly ornamented. The graceful arches, still graceful after a somewhat clumsy attempt at restoration, of the infirmary of the vast Benedictine house of Gloucester, testified to the former existence of stately buildings erected for the sick and aged monk. This hospital, which adjoined the cloister walls, the sick shared with the aged brothers, whose waning strength was insufficient to enable them to take part in the austere life and perpetual services of the house. In this building, or in the little sunny garden adjoining it, the monk spent his last days, without cares and without fears, till he was carried out to burial in the cemetery, God's acre hard by, to lie among the brethren gone before. The infirmarian usually possessed a knowledge of medicine and surgery. These acquirements were not uncommon among the Benedictines.

The guest-master had the charge of entertaining all visitors, all travellers, rich and poor, who claimed the hospitality of the house. Lavish hospitality to travellers, whether as pilgrims—pilgrimage, as we have seen, was a common feature in mediæval religious life—or as merchants, distinguished all monastic establishments. The splendid and noble remains of the

guest-halls of many of the more important religious houses, that are with us to this day, tell us how carefully and even generously this duty was provided for. "Entertainment," says the "Rites of Durham," "was given to all staits, both noble, gentle, and what degree soever that came thither as strangers, ther interteynment not being inferior to any place in Ingland, both for the goodness of their diets, the sweete and daintie furniture of their lodgings, and generally all things necessarie for traveillers."

Another well-known obedientary in a large monastery, the *camerarius* or chamberlain, must not be forgotten. He had the charge of all the furniture of the dormitory and refectory and guest-chambers, and of the various lodgings and halls of the monastery, including the separate apartments of the higher officials, the monks' vast day-room, and the varied arran ments for study in the cloisters. T duties of such an officer, when the size a complex arrangements of a large Be dictine establishment are borne in mi were no light ones, and required const skill and forethought to preserve the nec sary decency and cleanliness and custom




PLAN OF GLASTONBURY, A TYPICAL MEDIÆVAL MONASTERY.

stateliness, without exceeding the sum money set apart for this purpose, an amou which gradually decreased as time went and the religious communities grew poo

There were, besides these import officers, in a Benedictine house of la size a number of subordinate officials, su as cooks, doorkeepers, gardeners, and like, who need not be specially describ The policy of the monastic orders w rather to multiply offices, with a view providing the brethren with occupatio which would give them an interest in t

GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

-being of their order, and in the perity and discipline of their own icular house.

THE ABBOT'S KITCHEN, GLASTONBURY.

the centre, of course, of a monastery sts church or abbey. To its adorn- the monk devoted century after ry all his care and skill in architecture, ng, sculpture. Upon the services of oved sanctuary untold sums were spent in goldsmith's work, in embroidery for the gorgeous hangings and the still more costly priestly vestments, and in a lesser degree upon the multitude of candles almost perpetually burning, many of these costly lights being absolutely necessary for the various night services.

The following sketch of the ordinary

daily and nightly services in a Benedictine house will give a fairly accurate picture of the way in which a day was spent. The details, of course, slightly varied in the different houses, but in the main our sketch represents what took place in the majority of instances with fair accuracy.

In all seasons the monks rose from their beds at midnight, and went into a cold church—we should remember how terribly cold it must have been through the long winter season, for we have no reason to suppose that the monastic churches of the Middle Ages were ever artificially warmed—and there went through a service, or rather two services of *matins* and *lauds*, which were mostly sung, and lasted about an hour and a half. These services on certain saints' days were considerably prolonged. They then returned to bed again. At 7 a.m. they once more assembled in their church for *prime*, and at its close there was a short meeting in the chapter-house for the transaction of the ordinary business of the house, and especially of matters connected with its discipline. This chapter-house meeting of all the monks, in some communities took place at about 11 o'clock, in others at an earlier hour. A short meal in most houses preceded the gathering in the chapter-house ; but the morning arrangements seemed to have somewhat varied in the different houses.

At 9 came *tierce*, which was followed by high mass and *sext*. Dinner, the principal meal of the day in the fourteenth century and after, was served in the refectory about 11.30 a.m., and during the meal some lesson would be read aloud. After dinner came *nones*, and whilst most of the monks were engaged in that service, the conversi or lay brethren, often a numerous body in a large community, and the monks who had in their turn served the others at dinner, sat down to their meal. Then came a short time set apart, if desired, for sleep, which was followed by active employment of various kinds, by study, or by recreation. *Vespers* were sung at 3 p.m. Then went on again study, recreation, or some other work in which the monk was specially engaged and interested. Supper was usually at 6. At 7.30 came the last service of the day, *compline*, and then at 8 the brethren retired to the dormitory, to sleep until they were roused for the midnight matins.

Up to the period of the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536–1541, with little change in the hours, this had been the unvarying use of the large majority of the religious houses of England. Prayer to and praise of Almighty God in their church or abbey, interspersed with hours of study, had been the principal object of their lives, roughly speaking, for well-nigh five hundred years. In the Durham Rites we read how before the high altar were "three marveilous faire silver basons hung in chaines of silver ; these contained great wax candles, which did burne continually both day and night, in token that the house was always watchinge to God." Many and various are the estimates which men make as to the efficacy of prayer, with a view to change and modify God's purposes towards men ; but few will be found to deny the moral beauty of this conception, which was the common heritage of all the monastic orders. The life-aim of every monastery was the ideal typified by the Durham ever-burning lights : "*The*

*house was always watchinge to God"*—alas! too often it was only a beautiful but unrealised ideal!

After all, the life of a monk was a hard and austere one. The scoffer has too often chosen it as the butt of his thoughtless pleasantries, but the shafts he aims with so much zest are generally the weapons of ignorance and prejudice. Of course, in all ages there were bad monks, and monasteries where misrule and disorder reigned; but quiet, scholarly research goes far to disprove the assertion that this class of false monks was to be often met with in England in the last age of the existence of monasticism. The daily life we have sketched. That life was sweetened and beautified with few of those luxuries men are ever accustomed to associate with even modest comfort and happiness. The diet varied in different religious houses, and although one of the latest students of monastic life,* after careful examination of many "diet" rolls, does not consider that the "religious," on the whole, fared amiss, there is no doubt but in many—it may be said in the majority of houses—there was a wearying sameness in the food provided, which was, though plentiful, often rough and coarse. It must be borne in mind, too, that most of the brethren were drawn not from the poor labouring folk, but rather from the upper middle class. An examination of the diet rolls shows that condiments, such as mustard, were freely used, especially on the many fast-days. It would appear that the tasteless and somewhat indigestible fish diet became often repugnant.

* Dr. Kitchin, late dean of Winchester, now dean of Durham.

In a climate often damp and chilly like that of England, the monk must in winter have suffered acutely from cold. There were few fires kept up in any monastery. For the monks, save in the common room or in the refectory at "snow time," as it was termed, there was no fire. The common room is described in the "Rites of Durham" as "having a fyre keapt in yt all winter, for the mounckes to cume and warm them at, being allowed no fyre but that only." The same account expressly repeats—"they were allowed no fyre in the dormitory." We meet with constant notices respecting warm clothing, furs, etc., so chill was the atmosphere of the unwarmed great church, the refectory and the dormitory, and above all the cloister walks, where so many hours of a monk's life was spent. Anyone who has had experience of the cold damp "carrells" or study-cells of the once famous Benedictine house of Gloucester, where they are still perfect as on the day of the dissolution in 1540, and where the cloister was evidently mostly glazed as it is now, cannot help wondering how patient study and writing, or illuminating books, could have been carried on under such circumstances. In many cloisters, as for example at Westminster, there seems to have been no glazing; there the monks, as they sat and read or walked, were exposed to the chill winds and damp.

Few and monotonous were the recreations of the monks. The chief of them was perhaps the pacing up and down the cloisters and the little walks of the cloister garden, the somewhat larger garden or orchard, or the gloomy cemetery, where they were one day to lie. This "recreation"

was allowed during certain hours of the day, but in a well-ordered house gossipy talk, as Jocelyn de Brakelonde tells us in his quaint memoirs of the community of St. Edmund at Bury, in the days of king Henry II. and John, was sternly checked by some such obedientary as the "circa," as he moved silently among the brethren during the hours of recreation. There was a bowling-green for the novices, which the professed monks seem to have used at times.

These novices and the other school-boys, pupils in the house, have left the traces of their games on the stone benches of our Gloucester cloisters, and in other parts of the great building. In these cloisters, where the boys and novices were taught, are some play-boards not obscurely marked in the stones. These game-boards for "fox and geese," "nine men's morris," and other games, are found in similar conventual buildings at Westminster, Norwich, Salisbury, Durham, etc. Other vestiges of unlawful recreations of these more youthful and thoughtless dwellers in a monastery such as cutting and carving the stones with letters and other devices, are occasionally found. Half-way up the winding stairs of the great tower of Gloucester, there is a rough little figure in the perfect dress of a burgher of the city in the time of the Wars of the Roses, evidently the secret work of a youthful amateur in stone-carving. A beautifully-carved game-board has been recently found in another flight of turret stairs of the cathedral. Other such curious relics will no doubt be discovered, now that many are found who care for such voices from a vanished past. In some monasteries the monk was allowed to possess and amuse himself with strange pet animals such as apes, peacocks, falcons, and even tame bears, and the consuetudinary of St. Swithun's at Winchester tells us that the cellarer had the special care of these strange pets of the brotherhood.

THE REFECTORY OF A MONASTERY.
*(By permission, from the drawing by G. Cattermole in the Corporation Art Galleries, Glasgow.)*

We have alluded to the "carrells," those little cells or recesses in the cloister, where the monks who gave themselves to study or to writing and illuminating used to sit. Besides these, there was in most of the larger communities a public scriptorium or writing chamber, where those marvels in illumination were executed, where many of the books which are now prized so highly, were copied and preserved for us.

Most monasteries possessed a library, large or small. In the greater houses the library contained many books, some of which treated of medical subjects. Not a few among the more famous early mediæval physicians belonged to some monastic order. The Durham "Rites" speak of its "lybrarie," and carefully specify the situation of this storehouse of learning, which the "Rites" tells us was "well replenished with ould written docters and other histories and ecclesiastical writers." The same records mention, also, how after the monks had dined, when they had done their prayers, "that they did returne to the cloyster, and there did studie their bookes until three of the clocke, when they went to evensong. This was their dutie, exercise, and studie every day after they had dyned."

THE CLOISTERS, GLOUCESTER.

The said monks, went on the "Rites" to say, "were the onlie writers of all the actes and deedes of the bishopps and priors of the abbey church of Durham, and of all the cronacles and stories; and that, also, did write and sett furth all things that was thought worthie to be noted, and what miracles was done every year, and in what month. . . . They were alwaies most virtuouslie occupied, never idle, but ever writing of good and goddly wourkes or studying the Holie Scriptures, to the setting furth of the honour and glorie of God, and for the edifieinge of the people, as well in example of good life and conversacion as by preaching the worde of God. Thus yow may se and perceave how the mounks and religious men were occupied in most godly writing and other exercissis in auncient tyme." But most of all this work of copying, writing, illuminating, and preserving books and treatises—profane as well as religious, and which, but for the monastic houses, would have been lost—came to an end with the invention of the printing-press at the end of the fifteenth century.

Much has been said and written concerning the evil example set by the monastic orders in matters of health and cleanliness; and there is no doubt that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, if not later, an ostentatious neglect of these matters was too manifest in the teaching given and pattern set by the religious communities. This curious neglect of the body seems to have been based upon two considerations. The one, and by far the weightier, as it was connected with what the monks deemed the true end of existence, looked upon all disregard of the perishable and dying body as acceptable to God. The other was of far less moment, and appears to have been connected with the notion that dirt was a preservative against cold. There is a passage in archbishop Lanfranc's decrees (end of the eleventh century) which directs the chamberlain of the house to change the hay in the monks' pallets at least once a year, and once a year to clean out the dormitory. This injunction of Lanfranc, a great friend to the monks, gives us some idea of the state of a monastery in the days of the early Norman kings. What must have been the condition of a large chamber in which thirty or forty or even more monks slept for a year on the same hay! Another decree of this same Lanfranc prescribes one bath a year for the dwellers in a religious house, just before the Christmas feast. The scene which followed the martyrdom of Thomas à Becket* illustrates only too well the above remarks.

But as the Middle Ages advanced, a very different state of things was by degrees introduced. We find from entries in monastic records such notes as the one in the "Consuetudines in Refectorio" of St. Swithun at Winchester, which charges the prior of that important Benedictine community with the duty of strewing the refectory with new rush mats seven times in the year. These rush mats formed a considerable item in the furniture of a mediæval monastery. They were often woven by the monks themselves, who slept under them or on them, prayed on them, and lay on them when dying. They were harder than the straw litter, and more wholesome. The same consuetudinary of

* See p. 204.

St. Swithun's tells us, too, that one of the chamberlain's duties was to renew the canvas cloths on the refectory table from time to time, and to provide napkins to wipe out and cleanse the cups of silver and wood used in the ordinary meals. Provision also appears in the same record for cleaning out the refectory by the porter.

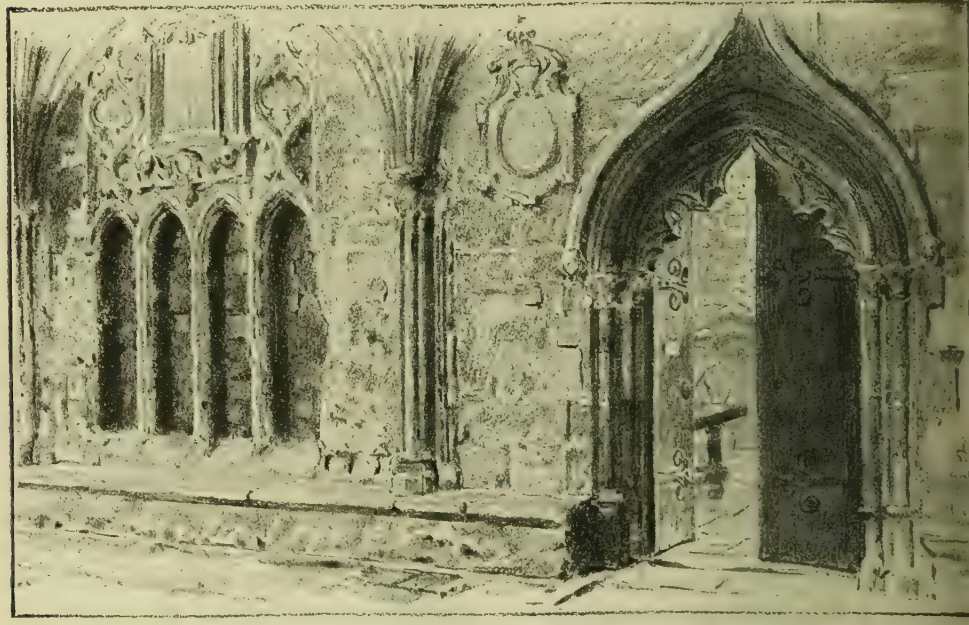
In the Durham "Rites" we read of a "faire almerie (close to the refectory door) joyned in the wall. All the forepart of the almerie was carved work, for to give ayre to the towels, and every mouncke had a key to the said almerie, wherein did hinge clean towels for the mounckes to drye their hands on when they washed and went to dinner." Such an almerie, hard by the refectory door, with the iron hinge of the vanished gate, to which each monk had a key, and the beautiful carved open tracery above to let in the air to dry the towels, is still to be seen in the cloister of the Benedictine house of Gloucester, opposite the lavatory, with its exquisitely carved roof only slightly injured by time, and not much defaced by a troop of Cromwell's horse which, tradition says, were once stabled there. The Durham "Rites," dwelling on this advance in the principles of cleanliness, describe minutely the "faire laver or conduit for the monks to wash their hands and faces at, covered with lead and all of marble, having many little conditts or spouts of brasse, with xxiiii lockes of brass." They tell also of "a bell hung near the conditt door to give warning at a leaven (eleven) of the clock for the mouncks to cumme and wash and dyne, having their closets or almeries kept always with swete and clene towels"—a great advance on the habits of a Benedictine monastery of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The discipline of Durham, as pictured in the "Rites" in the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth century, must have been very rigid. No woman was allowed to come into the body of the church or into any of the precincts of the monastery. The Lady Chapel was first erected, it appears, in 1154 for women to worship in, but subsequently, the Lady Chapel being considered too near the shrine of St. Cuthbert, a new and exquisite piece of work at the west end of the abbey was built, "wherunto yt was lawfull for women to enter, having no holie place before where they might have lawful accesse unto for there cumforthe and consolation."

In the "dorter" or dormitory every monk had a little chamber of wainscot to himself. Every little chamber was partitioned off, and the novices had also little chambers, each separate, and in the dormitory every night there was a search by the sub-prior, who called over every name in each little chamber, to guard against all disorder. This roll-call was made both before and after midnight. The sub-prior's chamber was "the first in the dorter for seeing of good order keapt." The doors of the house, too, were rigorously locked at 6 o'clock every evening, and were kept in the sub-prior's care until 7 o'clock the following morning.

If a monk were found guilty of any grave moral offence, the punishment was exceedingly severe. At Durham, underneath the master of the infirmary's chamber, was a strong prison called the lyng-house, which was "ordained for all such as were greate offenders." The guilty monk

was to be immured in this underground dungeon "for the space of one hole year in cheynes." No one was to have access to this dungeon save the master of the infirmary, "who did let downe there meate thorough a trap-door on a corde, being a great distance from them." It would be interesting to know if such offenders often emerged alive from this living death.



REFECTORY DOOR AND WASHING PLACE, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

To Lanfranc, the friend and minister of William the Conqueror, the first Norman archbishop, the great monastic reformer of the eleventh century, the kindler of light and earnestness among the Norman clergy, and to Anselm, his greater successor at Canterbury, are owing, in a large degree, the plan of life, devised originally by Benedict of Nurscia, in the province of Spoleto, in the beginning of the sixth century, which we have been sketching, led by the monks in England in that vast network of religious communities which covered our country from 1070 to 1541. In many ways it was a noble as well as an enduring conception, and in a rough, stern age, did an incalculable service. It was a life with a lofty ideal, and the ideal was not often reached but it was something in that age of selfish violence and high-handed tyranny men call the Middle Ages, that there should be an ideal of life which men who earnestly desired to serve God with all their heart might strive after. It did its work, on the whole; but the work, as far as England was concerned, was done when the sands of the fifteenth century were running out.

While the present writer, however, is intensely convinced that this monastic life, on the whole, powerfully influenced our country for good, and trained up not a few earnest and God-fearing souls, who in their turn served well the generation in which their lot

*Photo: Harvey Barton, Bristol.*

THE BELL TOWER, EVESHAM, THE TWO PARISH CHURCHES IN THE BACKGROUND.

was cast, such a study as this would be incomplete, and indeed unfair, did it not call attention to one cardinal error which is inseparable from the monastic ideal. Men of the austere, uncompromising school to which Lanfranc and Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux belonged, taught that religious men could best fulfil God's purpose by abandoning the world, leaving it to follow its own way, and by securing for themselves havens of refuge, in which they would be sheltered from its wild tumults and stormy passions. This teaching ignored the solemn prayer of the Founder of Christianity, "not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil." The ultimate result of it was to beget a spirit of stern exclusiveness among the "religious." Their own salvation, their own safety, with little reference to that of the world outside, was really what the true monk aimed at. "Self-centred, having few interests outside those cloister walls where they proposed to pass their lives, under the shadow of which they hoped to die, they regarded themselves as a chosen

band, they believed themselves to be moving heavenwards as a company and all together. The whole notion underlying their existence was that of each helping the others within the narrow limits of the community. On the other hand, their religion had hardly any outward tendency —they had no vocation to save the outer world. The monks hardly realised that those outside were their brethren, hungry and naked, full of needs and sufferings; the provision for their stately church, their community, their administration, made them hard and unfeeling towards others, and this was fostered and aggravated by their own firm belief that they were, in a sense, especially God's elect, the heirs of safety here and of salvation hereafter." *

This spirit of exclusive selfishness conspicuously manifested itself in the architecture of the noblest and fairest of those matchless homes of prayer, which the spirit of devotion and enthusiasm for religion guided them to build and adorn. In every great minster and abbey, the choir was looked upon as the most sacred part of the church. This was beautified and cared for with an especial care, but was rigidly reserved for the use of the monks, and the servants and lay brothers of the house. In some few of the monastic churches—such as in the lordly abbey of Evesham—the nave as well as the choir was generally closed to the outer world; and another and less important church was erected close by, for worshippers who belonged not to the charmed inner circle of professed monks and their servants. In the immediate precincts of the mighty abbey of Evesham, to take a well-known exampl there were two of these churches. Thu when the day of destruction arrived, th mass of the people cared little or nothin about the ruin of a building, howeve beautiful and venerable and sacred, fro which they had been shut out. At Eve ham, save for one solitary tower, th glorious abbey has disappeared; while th two people's churches are still standin and still used by devout congregatio from the little town built originally und the shadow of the vanished abbey.

There is no doubt but that the apath with which the people of England viewe the downfall of monasticism, was large due to this narrow spirit, the natural ou come of the monastic life. The mon notwithstanding his splendid record service to religion, to art, to letters, an indeed well-nigh everything that mad life beautiful and desirable in a natio had failed to establish any claim to th people's hearts, and when he fell at th bidding of a tyrannical and unscrupu lous king, his fate at the time was almo unpitied and unnoticed.

Monastic Christianity finds its mo complete expression in that small and e quisite manual of devotion put out in th fifteenth century, known as the "Imitatio of Christ." No book outside the Ho Scriptures has been so often reprinted so frequently translated. (There are, it said, sixty translations into French alone It was written, as is well known, the Latin tongue. "Its boundless popu larity reminds us that it supplies som imperious want in the Christianity mankind; but, like monasticism, it absolutely and entirely selfish in its ai

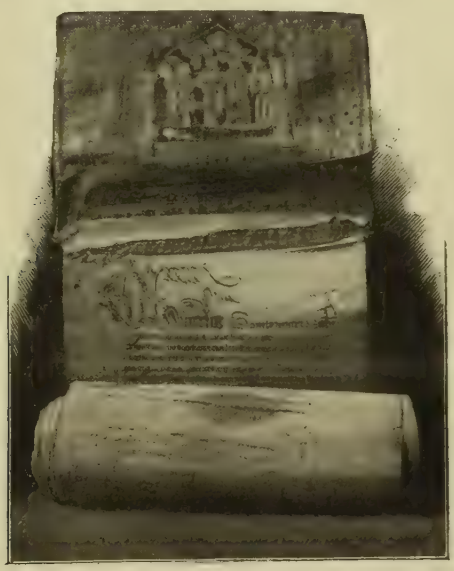
* Dean Kitchin: "Notes on the Obedientiary Rolls of St. Swithun."

is in its acts. Its sole, single, exclusive object is the purification, the elevation of the individual soul of the man, absolutely isolated from his kind. With no fears, no hopes, no sympathies of our common nature, he has absolutely withdrawn himself not only from the cares, the sins, the trials, but from the duties, the moral and religious fate of the world." *

Dominic and Francis of Assisi were conscious of this want in the work of the great orders. The Benedictines and Carthusians of their day and time were never missionaries; they touched not, nor did they make any real effort to touch, the mass of uncared-for souls living, dying, at their gates. Hence the idea common to both of these great men, of founding mendicant orders. The acknowledged aim of the Dominican and Franciscan friar was to spread abroad the glad message of salvation, which the monk chose mainly to confine within the precincts of his own loved monastery. The work of the mendicant friar was not the salvation of the individual monk, but that of others through him. The rapid growth and wonderful popularity of the friars, tells us with no uncertain voice that, in some ways at least, *they* had won the affections of the people among whom they lived. It is hardly too much to say, that the coming of the friar put off the downfall of monasticism in England for some two centuries. *

* Dean Milman: "Latin Christianity."

* The above account of the life of a great monastery is based on the "Rites of Durham," published by the Surtees Society, and upon various other contemporary monastic records. I have also ventured to borrow from a paper of my own, "The Passing of the Monk," published in 1895 in the *Quarterly Review*.



THE BEDE ROLL (DURHAM CATHEDRAL) ASKING THE PRAYERS OF THE VARIOUS MONASTERIES FOR THE SOULS OF PRIOR EBCHESTER, WHO DIED 1456, AND PRIOR BURNABY, WHO DIED 1468.
(*By permission of C. P. MacCarthy, Esq.*)

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### THE CHURCH AT THE DAWN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

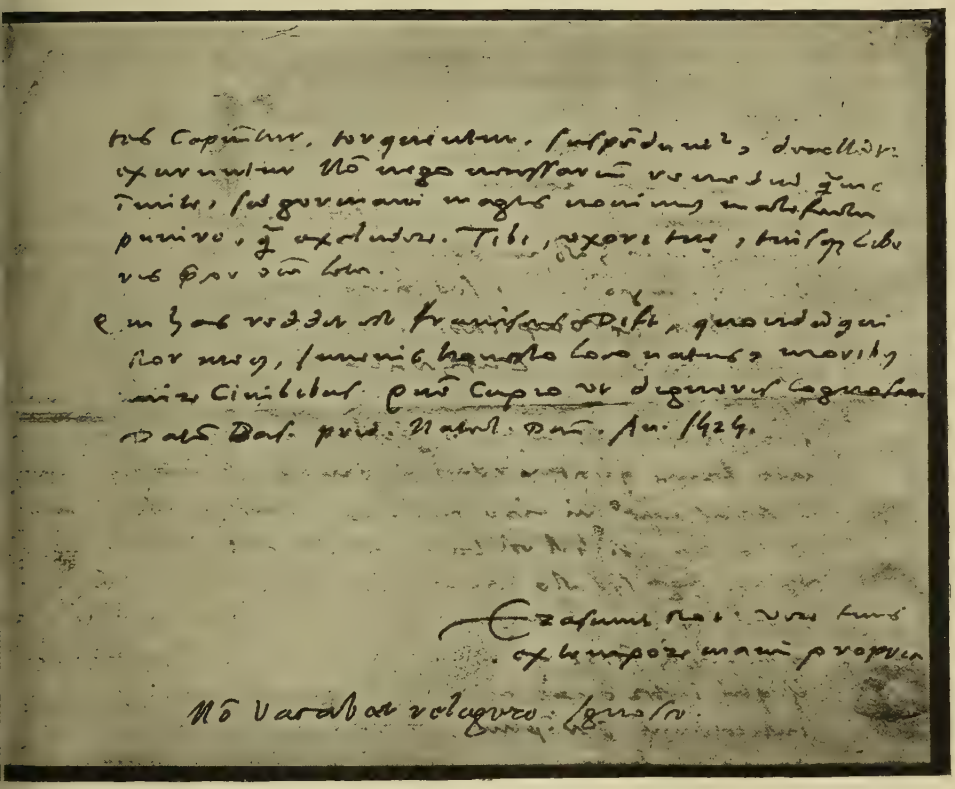
Value of Erasmus as a Witness—His Character—His Picture of the Weakness of the Church—Relig Confounded with Ritual—Cautious Moderation of the Witness—Testimony to Corruption Doctrine and Practice—Bad Character of the Mass-Priests—Erasmus Mourns nevertheless o the Excesses of the German Reformers—Letter of Wicelius—Testimony of Dean Colet Ecclesiastical Abuses in England—Pilgrimage of Erasmus and Colet to Canterbury—Evidence Sir Thomas More to the Excesses of Mariolatry.

THE most fair, and perhaps the most reliable picture which we possess of the church of the west (including England) in the early part of the sixteenth century, is painted in the later letters of Erasmus—letters in which the great scholar poured out his whole heart to correspondents of various ranks and nationalities, to statesmen and his private friends, to ecclesiastics of high degree, including bishops, cardinals, royal personages, and even the Pope himself. The special work of Erasmus for his day and generation will come before us in another chapter: here we only cite him as a witness. These letters, very different from his epistles penned in early and middle life, are rarely bitter; sorrowful often, now and again almost despairing. Many were written under the shadow of death, which Erasmus felt could not be far distant. They were composed, too, at a period when the scholar evidently regretted the bitterness and acrimony of his earlier days, and now and again even mourned over results to which he felt he had largely contributed. With Luther and the German reforms he had little sympathy, and he evidently viewed the acts of the more advanced Protestants with dislike and dread.

These later letters, then, out of whi we shall draw the materials of our pictu contained the thoughts of the profound scholar and theologian of the day; o man, too, who was, if not in sympat with the leaders of the church in Engla and on the Continent, certainly not enmity with them. Many of these mired him with an ungrudging admirati some even loved him with a real lo He might have worn a mitre had pleased, even selecting the see whi would have best suited his precari health and given him all opportunities pursue his favourite studies; and thou he declined the honour, he did so with kindly grace, as conscious of the friendsh and consideration in the highest quart which prompted the offer. In the l years of this busy life we find him ev wavering whether or no he should acce the lofty dignity of a cardinal of t Roman church; his hesitation apparent being based upon the consciousness, n of any unfitness for the distinguish position, but of his inability through wa of private fortune to fulfil its requiremen Indeed, the student of Erasmus's career, he lays down the many-coloured record his eventful life, feels that had that li been prolonged even a little, the red h

ould probably have been worn by the holar whose praise, with good reason, is ll in all the churches.

Words, then, which crystallise the ripe oughts of such a man must have for us a



ND OF A LETTER FROM ERASMUS TO NICHOLAS EVERARD ON THE SUBJECT OF LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.
(*British Museum.*)

ep meaning. As we read them, we feel lat much of the life they describe is truly ctured. Far removed from the violence d impetuosity of a Luther, whom, while miring him for his honesty and bravery, gently condemned, declining altogether share in his passion for destruction; ually removed from the unbending apologists of Roman errors, Erasmus in his later days, in intimate communion with the old church, the friend of Pope and cardinal and bishop, gives us in his letters a picture of the church which must convince any unbiassed student of the past, that a reformation at once of doctrine and of practice was absolutely needed.

The picture drawn by the old man, educated by long experience and years of patient study—in his old age a gentle, friendly, loving critic indeed—was the picture verily of a dying church. Let us

paint it from his own words. In quoting the following extracts,* it must not be supposed for an instant that we mean to indicate entire sympathy with the policy of conciliation or with the *via media* suggested in them. Had the writer's wishes been carried out, although the church, purified of many glaring abuses, purged of much false doctrinal teaching, would have been generally strengthened and invigorated; yet such a partial reformation as he evidently longed for would have left her still burdened with many practices, ancient perhaps, but certainly not traceable to primitive Christianity, and pledged to doctrines many of them utterly unknown to the inspired teachers of the New Testament, and even to writers and theologians of the first three centuries. Besides all this, the dead hand of Rome would still have pressed with much of its old chilling weight upon all the "reformed" churches of the west in communion with it. But Erasmus is chosen as the best contemporary witness of the state of the sixteenth century church, not only on account of his rare ability, but because, from his manifest leanings to the old form of mediæval Christianity, his description of the errors of the church he loved and wished to preserve, with certain purifying changes, is certain not to be exaggerated. And yet the picture he draws will surely satisfy any fair-minded critic that a great and drastic reformation was imperatively necessary, if the church was still to p serve its commanding and benefic influence among men.

See how calmly and beautifully writes to Louis Marlianus, Bishop Juy, in Gallicia: "Christ I know; Lut I know not. The Roman church I kn and death will not part me from it the church departs from Christ. I prove of those who stand by the Po but I could wish them wiser than t are. . . . I would have the chu purified of evil, lest the good in suffer by connection with what is defensible . . . I have sought to s the dignity of the Roman pontiff, honour of Catholic theology, and welfare of Christendom. . . . Ev wise man knows that doctrines and usa have been introduced into the chu which have no real sanction, partly custom, partly through obsequious can ists, partly by scholastic definitions, pa by the tricks and arts of secular sovereig Such excrescences must be remov though the medicine must be administe cautiously, lest it make the disorder wo and the patient die."

Erasmus felt, and felt truly, that m of the disorders of Christendom had ari from the dogmas which the church the priests had forced upon the peo Piety was too often held to be acceptance of these dogmas, impiety to doubt or disagreement. Hence relig was inextricably mixed up with a huma invented ritual, and morals were forgott Writing to duke George of Saxony, says: "I will speak my mind fre Christendom is being asphyxiated w formulas and human inventions. Noth

* The extracts from Erasmus, both in this chapter and the two following, are, by the kind permission of Messrs. Longmans and Co., mainly taken from the translations by Mr. Froude, first given in the Oxford Lectures (1893-4), and published in "The Life and Letters of Erasmus," 1895.

s heard of but dispensations, indulgences, and the powers of the Pope." In another letter to the same duke George he says: "The world was besotted with ritual, scandalous monks were ensnaring and strangling consciences, theology had become sophistry, dogmatism had grown to madness, and, besides, there were unspeakable priests and bishops and Roman officials." And yet, in spite of these strong expressions, Erasmus in the same letter considered it was a case for compromise and agreement. "If you put out the fire by force," he wrote, "it will burst up again."

In the midst of all his deep indignation at the corruptions which were sapping all the life of the church, we see the famous scholar again and again striving rather to mend than to end the existing state of things; now grieving over the dogged obstinacy of the hierarchy, refusing to see the awful corruption of religion and the idolatrous degradation into which so many of the most solemn services had fallen; now vexed and dismayed at the ruthless destruction and wholesale condemnation by Luther and his school of much that was venerable and beautiful. Against this longing of Erasmus to reform rather than to destroy, Luther was very bitter, and he did not hesitate to accuse the scholar of half-heartedness. "Erasmus," he once wrote, "should leave theology alone, and give his mind to other subjects. Theology demands seriousness and sincerity of heart and love for God's word." The German reformer in his zeal and earnestness forgot that had it not been for Erasmus, and his rescuing the true text of the New Testament from oblivion, no Reformation on conservative lines would have been possible.

Such a letter as Erasmus wrote in 1528 to the elector Herman, archbishop of Cologne, who afterwards joined the Lutherans and was deposed for it, was simply maddening to one like Luther. "The mass," so runs this celebrated epistle to Herman, "has been made a trade for illiterate and sordid priests, and a contrivance to quiet the consciences of reprobates. So the cry is raised, 'Abolish the mass, put it away, make an end of it!' Is there no middle course? Cannot the mass be purified? Saint-worship has been carried so far that Christ has been forgotten. Therefore respect for the saints is idolatry, and orders founded in their names must be dissolved. Why so violent a remedy? Too much has been made of rituals and vestments; but we might save, if we would, the useful part of such things. Confession has been abused, but it could be regulated more strictly. We might have fewer priests and fewer monks, and those we keep might be better of their kind. If the bishops will only be moderate, things might end well after all; but we must not hurt the corn in clearing out the tares." But his heart was very heavy, in spite of his kindly hope of some *via media* being generally and by universal consent adopted. This comes out often in such expressions as his words to the bishop of Augsburg in 1528: "The state of the church distracts me." Things were very evil, and the kindly scholar knew it too well.

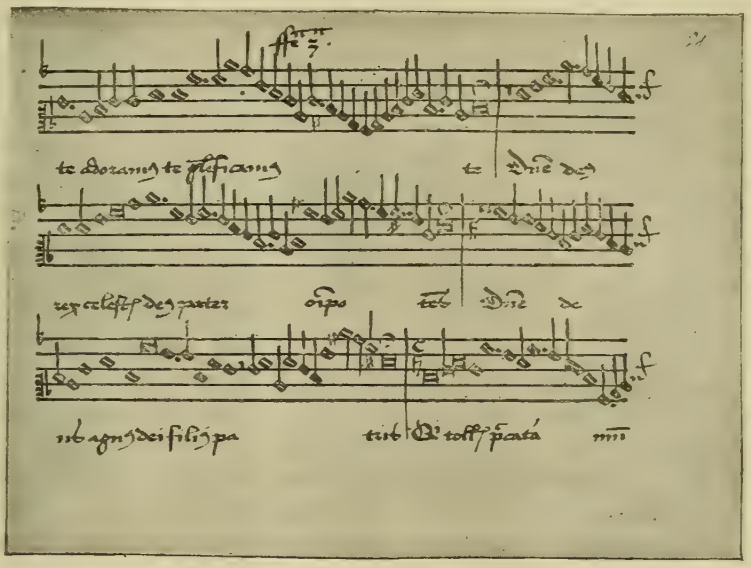
Notwithstanding Luther's fierce denunciation of Erasmus, saintly reformers like Melancthon loved the dying scholar, and

prayed that his views might be adopted. In 1530 Melancthon, for instance, writes to him thus: "I hope your words will weigh with him (the emperor Charles V.). Continue your good works, and deserve the thanks of posterity. You cannot use your influence to better purpose. We have given in our views without condemning others. We are told that our concessions are too late. . . . Great changes are imminent. God grant that our rulers may be so guided that the church is not wrecked in the process."

MARTIN LUTHER.
(*From the portrait by Louis Cranach.*)

In a letter written from Freiburg in 1529, Erasmus draws a terrible picture of the state of religion in that period when, thanks largely to his own labours, men were awakening to the knowledge of what true Christianity meant. "Alas!" he wrote, "Christianity has sunk so low that scarce a man knows now what calling on the Lord means. One looks to cardinals and bishops, another to kings, another to the black battalions of monks and divines. What do they want? What do they expect from protectors who care nothin for Catholic piety, and care only to recov their old power and enjoyments? W were drunk or asleep, and God has se these stern schoolmasters to wake us u The rope has been overstrained: it migl have stood if they had slackened it a littl but the would ra ther have break tha save it b concessio The Pope the head the church and as suc deserves t be hon oured; h stretched hi authorit too far, an so the firs strand of th rope parted Pardons an indulgence were toler able withi limits; monks and commissaries filled th world with them to line their own pocket In every church were the red boxes an the crosses and the papal arms, and th people were forced to buy. So th second strand went. Then there was th invocation of saints. The images i churches at first served for ornament and examples. By-and-by the wall were covered with scandalous picture The cult ran to idolatry. So parted

third strand. The singing of hymns was an ancient and a pious custom; but when music was introduced fitter for weddings and banquets than God's service, and the sacred words were lost in the affected intonation, so that no word in the liturgy was spoken plainly, away went another. What is more solemn than the mass? But when stupid vagabond priests learn up two or three masses, and repeat them over and over as a cobbler makes shoes; when notorious profligates officiate at the Lord's table, and the sacredest of mysteries is sold for money—well, this strand is almost gone too. Secret confession may be useful, but when it is employed to extort money out of the terrors of fools, . . . this part of the cord will not last much longer either."



PAGE FROM A COLLECTION OF MASSES FOR EACH DAY OF THE WEEK, FOR FOUR VOICES, PROBABLY USED IN THE ROYAL CHAPEL, EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY. (*British Museum.*)

Writing to an English bishop (about 1528), he especially dwells upon confessions, which he says were notoriously betrayed; such confessions were enjoined, not to benefit men's souls, but to gather harvests out of their purses, to learn their secrets, and to rule in their houses. He complains also of the extravagant importance attached to fasting, and says there were too many holy days. Alluding to the necessity for reform of the religious communities among the mendicants, Erasmus, in the same letter to the unnamed English bishop, says: "The most respectable, if not the largest part of these communities desire it themselves. To abolish them is a rude remedy. It has been done in some places (*i.e.* in Germany), but they ought to be brought back to their original purpose as schools of piety; and it will be a good day for the monks when they are reformed. They must not be allowed to live longer in idleness. Their exemptions must be cancelled, and they must be placed under the bishops; and as to their images, the people must be taught that they are no more than signs. It were better if there were none at all, and if prayer was only addressed to Christ."

Erasmus was very severe upon the evil character and lives of too many of the priests of the church of that time. Speaking of the over-zeal of German reformers, in a letter which Froude considers was meant for the eye of the emperor Charles V., he says: "They (the reformers) will have no more priests. It would be better to have priests of learning and piety, and to provide that orders are not hastily entered into. There would be fewer of them, but better three good than three hundred bad. Debauched priests, who do nothing but mumble masses, are generally hated. Do away with these hirelings, and allow but one celebration a day in the churches. Indulgences, with which the monks so long fooled the world, with the connivance of the theologians, are now exploded."

In 1530, writing to the bishop of Hildesheim, he again with extreme anger complains of the lives and conversation of these mass-priests. "In earlier times there was but one celebration in a day; now, partly from superstition, partly from avarice, the saying of masses has become a trade like shoemaking or bricklaying—a mere means of making a livelihood. And again, some attention should be paid to the priest's character; dress and office are not enough: the life must answer to the function. Nowadays, when the celebration is over, the man who has offered the sacrifice adjourns to drinking parties and loose talk, or to cards or dice, or goes hunting, or lounges in idleness. While he is at the altar angels wait on him; when he leaves it he seeks the refuse of mankind. It is not decent. Priests should not by their loose living teach heretics to despise the ineffable mystery." But he by no means includes all the clergy in this evil catagory. In another letter, also bearing the date of 1530, we come upon this passage: "Some are saints, like the archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) and the bishops of London and Rochester."

Yet, with all his early memories and detestation of the monastic life, which had been forced upon him; with all his riper experience of what he justly deemed false interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, of false teaching, of purely man-invented doctrines, which marred all the work and influence of the church; in spite of his wide knowledge of evil living in the case of many—very many—of the church's accredited ministers; in spite, too, of his accurate acquaintance with the corrupt ways and fatal policy of the see of Rome, which he condemned with a terrible condemnation, even though the lordly prelate who ruled at the Vatican was his sincere friend and admirer; in spite of all these melancholy facts, Erasmus feared the great reformer Luther, and even while he loved the man for his honest outspoken words and his fearless passionate acts, dreaded their effects.

This is what the prince of scholars feared and dreaded. In Germany, before 1530 well-nigh two-thirds of the German nation had accepted the scheme of reformation too hastily sketched out by Luther and his disciples. Then a Communion Service something like our own was substituted for the mass: so far good. But the German reformation did not stop there; bishops and episcopal ordination were dispensed with as occasions of superstition. German Christianity has rued the day

when it thus tore up Catholic traditions, which can be traced up to aspostolic and sub-apostolic times. Erasmus mourned over much of this, in such words as these: "Can these gospellers have no patience with men who cling to doctrines sanctioned by ages, and taught by Popes and councils and saints, and cannot gulp down the new wine?"

"There is much," wrote Erasmus, as early as 1524, to Melancthon, "in Luther's teaching that I dislike; he runs everything which he touches into extravagance. It is true Christendom is corrupt, and needs the rod. . . . Luther sees certain things to be wrong, and in flying blindly at them causes more harm than he cures. . . . . Is it so great a thing to have removed images and changed the canon of the mass? What good is done by telling foolish lads that the Pope is antichrist, that confession carries the plague, that they cannot do right if they try, that good works and merits are a vain imagination, that free-will is an illusion, that all things hold together by necessity, and that man can do nothing of himself? Such things are said. You will tell me that Luther does not say them, that only idiots say them; yes, but Luther encourages men who say them . . . Would that Luther had tried as hard to improve Popes and princes as to expose their faults."

"In some German states," he writes in another letter, "the Pope is antichrist, the bishops are hobgoblins, the priests swine, the princes tyrants, the monasteries Satan's conventicles, and the power is in the hands of Gospel mobs, who are readier to fight than to reason." How these mobs, thus fatally taught, acted, our scholar had personal experience of in 1529, when the ecclesiastical revolution reached Basle, where he was then residing, and where he, not many years after, closed his brilliant life with its many lights and shades. This is how he describes the acts, not violent, but calmly and deliberately carried out with the consent of the majority of the governing body of the renowned and wealthy city: "Smiths and carpenters were sent to remove the images from the churches; the roods and unfortunate saints were cruelly handled. . . . Not a statue was left in church, niche, or monastery. The paintings on the walls were whitewashed. Everything combustible was burnt; what would not burn was broken to pieces. Nothing was spared, however precious or beautiful." And in another letter of the same date he thus describes the strange fury: "As it was, no blood was shed, but there was a cruel assault on altars, images, and pictures." After this the great scholar-theologian refused to remain in Basle; he was sorry, he said, "to leave it, but if I stayed I should seem to approve of what had been done."

We were able to describe with some detail the church and its life in England during the second half of the fifteenth century. Our knowledge of this time was singularly assisted by bishop Pecock's vivid and picturesque writings, which told us how the teaching and practices of the Church of England appeared to one seated in its high places, and by the interesting Paston correspondence, which showed us how the church influenced the quiet family life of the middle classes. Certain acts of contemporary ecclesiastical synods and convocations of the clergy made up our picture,

which is pretty full of detail. But for the early part of the century which witnessed the Reformation we have with us fewer English materials. It would seem eminently desirable that some picture of the church, its life and influence, its shortcomings, and its grievous errors, which so excited our people during the quarter of a century which immediately preceded the momentous struggle, should be painted. "I believe," said the picturesque historian, to whose edition of many of the great scholar's letters we are here so largely indebted,* "that you will best see what it really was, if you will look at it through the eyes of Erasmus." We have taken his advice, and told our little story of those thirty years almost all in the very words of that marvellous man who was the principal hero of the period in question, pointing out reasons why his view was probably the true one. The great scholar and theologian was a "laudator temporis acti"—was one who could see, dimly perhaps, but still with no imperfect vision, the beauty and the holiness of the past. And what he writes with his tear-dimmed eyes of the churches of the continent of Europe, is absolutely true of the Church of England in the same sad age. Indeed England, which Erasmus knew thoroughly and loved well, supplied not a few of the materials of his melancholy but too true picture.

JOHN COLET, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.
(*From the Drawing by Holbein.*)

One more quotation from the Erasmus correspondence. One of the latest biographers of the famous scholar (Mr. Froude) considers that the thoughts of the letter of George Wicelius to his friend perhaps expressed the thoughts of millions. It bears date 1533, only some three years before the end of that brilliant busy life. "I can think of nothing but the council" (a general council of the church to take in hand the burning questions which were then agitating men). "Our miseries will never end till the cause of them is removed. War will settle nothing, and will leave an incurable ulcer. Germany is rent in two. Christianity itself is in peril. O ears of Rome! O heart of Rome! deaf and dead to the one thing needful, and buried in the pleasures of the world! Have not Catholics waited long enough?

* Mr. Froude.

Will you do nothing for the poor flock of Christ? Will not our cries move you at last? Our hope is that the emperor will lay demands before the court of Rome which it will be ashamed to refuse, and persuade or weary it into compliance. What Luther's party will do I know not. . . . Luther himself will be less violent when he hears how often learned men think of him. His haughty crest will droop and his horns drop off when he is no longer on his own dunghill, and has to defend his theories of yesterday against the sages of Christendom. But you, Erasmus, of all men must be there." [Alas for that council and its unhappy results! The voice of the great master, which might have charmed the fathers of Trent into paths of true reform and wise conciliation, was hushed some nine years before, that memorable assembly met.]* "You plead age and illness. Were I emperor, I would take no excuses from you. . . . You can prove — you can answer — you can explain as no other living man can do. You can silence the rival fanatics. We will not listen to Luther. We will not listen to the sophists of the schools. We will listen to Erasmus and to those who think like Erasmus—to those who love Christianity better than they love a faction."

OLD ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

Among those who thought like Erasmus was Colet, the dean of St. Paul's, whose life and vast influence in the Church of

* Erasmus died A.D. 1536, and the first session of the Council of Trent was held in December, 1545.

England during the first two decades of the sixteenth century will be presently dealt with. He died in 1519. Colet was the most famous preacher of his time, and a few extracts from his noble sermon preached before the convocation of bishops and clergy, especially summoned in 1512 for the extirpation of heresy, will show us how grave and serious some of the more glaring abuses which disfigured the life of the Church of England in the early years of the reign of king Henry VIII. appeared to earnest and devout men like him. These abuses Colet and his school of thought were burningly anxious to see corrected from within, rather than from without. The sermon was a memorable one in many respects, and is distinguished not only for its lofty tone and winning eloquence, but, considering the audience to whom it was addressed, for its exceeding boldness. Though gentle and persuasive in its language, it was outspoken and fearless, even daring. It veiled nothing—went to the root of the matter, lashing with terrible earnestness the glaring faults and fatal shortcomings of the most important and influential of the English hierarchy, many of whom were doubtless spellbound as they listened to the winning voice of the preacher pouring forth scathing denunciations of the life they were leading, and the fatal example they were setting.

"Fathers," he said, "you are come together to-day to hold a council. I wish that at length you would consider the reformation of ecclesiastical affairs, for never was it more necessary. Never did the state of the church more need your endeavours, for the church is become foul and deformed. . . . Nothing has so disfigured the face of the church as the secular and worldly way of living on the part of the clergy." (His text was taken from Romans xii. 2.)

He began by speaking of the English bishops. "What eagerness and hunger after honour and dignity are found in these days among ecclesiastical persons! What a breathless race from benefice to benefice, from a lower to a higher!" He was here specially alluding to the way bishoprics were attained and exchanged. A bishopric, when Colet preached, was a thing to be sued for or purchased by money or influence. It mattered little what was the age of the candidate, whether he lived abroad or in England, whether he was illiterate or educated. The very general custom among bishops was to use their sees as stepping-stones to yet higher ones. For instance, in Colet's time the bishop of Bath and Wells had been bishop of Hereford; the bishop of Chichester had been translated from the see of St. David's; the bishop of Lincoln had been bishop of Lichfield; Audley of Salisbury had filled in succession the sees of Rochester and Hereford; Fitzjames of London had first been bishop of Rochester, then of Chichester; the famous Fox of Winchester had occupied successively the sees of Exeter, Bath and Wells, and Durham. And these numerous and rapid promotions were not a reward for any special diligence or success in pastoral duties, or for profound studies in theological lore, but were too often the guerdon of success in purely secular and political affairs, such as in foreign embassies. Some were foreigners, and rarely, if ever,

even visited the sees over which they were placed. The bishop of Bath and Wells, for instance, was a foreigner, and lived altogether abroad. The bishop of Worcester owed his mitre to a papal provision, and lived and died at Rome. His predecessor and successor also both were foreigners.

He then spoke of the lives led by the "most part of priests." They "give themselves up to feasting and banqueting, spend themselves in vain babbling, take part in sports and plays, devote themselves to hunting and hawking, are drowned in the delights of this world, patronise those who cater for their pleasure." He spoke bitterly, too, of the universal seeking after rich benefices. "We rush after them with such eagerness that we care not how many and what duties, or how great benefices we take, if only they have great revenues."

The incessant worldly occupations in which many priests and bishops entangled themselves are sharply commented upon. The clergy and priests, neglecting spiritual things, involve themselves in earthly business; from this neglect, he said, many evils follow. "We are troubled in these days with heretics, but this heresy is not so pestilential to us and the people as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy; for as Bernard, that holy father of so great and ardent spirit, told his people that there were two kinds of heretical pravity, one of perverse doctrine, the other of perverse living, of which the latter is the greater and most pernicious. Such wicked priests are by so much worse than heretics, as actions are stronger than words. . . . Reformation," said Colet on this memorable occasion, addressing the prelates present, "must needs begin with you, our fathers, and then afterwards descend upon us, your priests, and the whole clergy. To you we look as waymarks for our direction."

He pressed, also, that greater care should be taken in admitting persons to holy orders, "for here is the source whence other evils flow. Hence proceed and emanate those hosts of both unlearned and wicked priests which are in the church. For it is not enough, in my judgment, that a priest can construe a collect, propound a proposition, or reply to a sophism, but much more needful are a good and pure and holy life, approved morals, moderate knowledge of the Scriptures, some knowledge of the sacraments—above all, fear of God and love of the heavenly life."

It was a bold thing before such an assembly, composed of the leading ecclesiastics of England, to say, "Let the laws be recited which direct that ecclesiastical benefices should be conferred on the worthy, and promotions in the church made with just regard to merit, not by carnal affection, whereby it comes to pass in these days that boys instead of old men, fools instead of wise men, wicked instead of good men, reign and rule. Let the laws be recited against the guilt of simony, which plague, which contagion, which dire pestilence now creeps like a cancer through the minds of priests, so that most"—this was a tremendous assertion—"are not ashamed in these days to get for themselves great dignities by petitions and suits at court, by rewards and promises." He attacked also, in plain, unvarnished

language, the crying evil of non-residence. "For many evils," he assured his audience, "spring from the custom in these days of performing all clerical duties by help of vicars and substitutes, men, too, without judgment, unfit and often wicked, who will seek nothing from the people but sordid gain—whence spring scandals, heresies, and bad Christianity amongst the people. Let the laws and the holy rules handed down from our ancestors," he went on to say, be recited, "which prohibit any churchman from being a merchant, usurer, or hunter, or common player, or from bearing arms; the laws which prohibit the clergy from frequenting taverns, which command morality, sobriety and modesty, and temperance in dress."

Among many other grave recommendations in this stern sermon of rebuke, which tells us so much of the sad falling away in life and practice among the bishops and clergy of the church, he urged also that the laws be recited which command that the goods of the church be spent, not in sumptuous buildings, not in magnificence and pomp, not in feasts, not in luxury and lust, not in enriching kinsfolk, nor in keeping hounds, but in things useful and needful to the church. Provincial councils, he considered, should be held more frequently. Then, turning to the prelates, with great force he urged that these reforms in life and practice should begin with them, "so that by your living example you may teach us priests to imitate you. . . . And we, seeing our fathers keep the laws, will gladly follow in the footsteps of our fathers."

In the peroration of this remarkable sermon before Convocation, in praying his great audience to pardon the preacher he should seem to have gone too far, h concluded with the weighty words: "Fo give it me, and pardon a man speakin out of zeal, a man sorrowing for the ru of the church. . . . Consider, father the miserable state and condition of th church, and bend your whole minds to i reformation. Suffer not this so illustrio an assembly to break up without resul Go now in the Spirit whom ye hav invoked, that ye may be able with h assistance to devise, to ordain, and decree those things which may be usef to the church."

This tremendous and public piece accusation was printed and distributed Latin, and most probably in Englis But Colet was henceforth a marked ma The words raised up a storm of enmi against the speaker, a storm which, as f as Colet was concerned, was never lulled.

A curious and telling commentary o the gross superstition of these times, a how perverted was the authoritati teaching of the church, and what discipl of the new school of learning, devout a saintly men like dean Colet, and profoun scholars like Erasmus, were beginning think of these unhappy perversions truth, is contained in one of Erasmus vivid and picturesque colloquies.

Pilgrimages, in the age immediate preceding the Reformation, were muc in vogue in England among all sorts a conditions of men. Soldiers and sailors the highest distinction would promise gif to famous shrines like that of "our Lad at Walsingham" or of "St. Thomas Canterbury," and when the war and pe

COLET PREACHING.

was over, would go on pilgrimage to the shrines in question to fulfil the vows they had made. A royal and illustrious personage like queen Katherine of Arragon would go as a pilgrim to such a shrine to invoke the Virgin's aid upon her husband king Henry's French campaign, and at the same shrine would return thanks for the English victory over the Scots. Erasmus tells us how, during his Cambridge residence, he paid a visit to Walsingham (A.D. 1513), somewhat in a satirical and sceptical mood, and how when there he hung up a Greek ode as a votive offering, doubting all the while the genuineness of the much-prized relics displayed there, and offered to the veneration of the many pilgrims. Erasmus gives us also a detailed account of a pilgrimage to the yet more famous Canterbury shrine of St. Thomas which he made in 1514, in company with his friend dean Colet. He relates with his customary brilliance and vivid picturing the impression left upon Colet on this occasion.

The journey to Canterbury is made on horseback; the two friends, with a letter from archbishop Warham to the authorities of the cathedral to assist them in their pilgrimage, enter the great nave of the metropolitan cathedral. There they especially take note of the "Gospel of Nicodemus," a curious, early legendary history of little historical value, affixed among other books to the columns. On the north side of the church, on a plain ancient wooden altar of the Virgin, is exhibited the point of the dagger which pierced the brain of St. Thomas at the time of the murder, and whose sacred rust pilgrims are expected devoutly to kiss. In the vault below, the martyr's skull covered with silver is shown, also the hair shirt and girdle of the saint. Other relics of saints' bones, skulls, teeth, etc., are shown, which the pilgrims were also expected to kiss. Colet, so says the account, soon showed signs of impatience, upon which the verger in attendance shuts up the strange collection of prized remains. The pilgrims were then shown the high altar with its many costly ornaments; then they were conducted into the vestry, where was preserved the staff of St. Thomas amidst many costly silken and broidered vestments and precious golden candlesticks. Thence they were taken into a chapel behind the high altar, and the face of St. Thomas was shown them set in gold and gems. Here Colet asked whether St. Thomas, when he lived, was not very kind to the poor. The verger replying in the affirmative, "Surely," said Colet, "he cannot have changed his mind. Would he not," he asks, "be pleased, now that he is dead, that these riches of his should be disposed of to lighten the poor men's burden of poverty, than that they should be hoarded up here?" The cathedral attendant looks astonished at these bold criticisms, but is appeased by a few kind words and some small coins from Erasmus, remembering too that these eccentric pilgrims had come with letters of introduction from the archbishop.

The pilgrims' circuit goes on. At length a chest is opened containing the holy rags on which the saint of Canterbury was accustomed when in life to wipe the sweat from off his brow. Here the prior, who had joined the little company, aware of the position and dignity of Colet, the famous

preacher and dean of St. Paul's, offers him as a costly present one of the little precious rags. Colet takes up the rag, looks at it with a somewhat disdainful chuckle, and then lays it down again in evident disgust. The prior will not notice the strange profanity of the distinguished pilgrim, but abruptly closes his relic-chest, and invites them to partake of some refreshment.

Then the two friends mount their horses and prepare to ride back to London. As they journeyed, near Canterbury, an old mendicant monk comes out of a house, and, sprinkling Colet with holy water, offers him the upper leather of an old shoe to kiss. Colet asks what he wants. The old mendicant replies that the relic thus offered him for veneration was a piece of St. Thomas's shoe; on which, passionately turning to Erasmus, he exclaims, "Do these fools wish us to kiss the shoes of every good man? They pick out the filthiest things they can find, and ask us to kiss them!" Erasmus, to pacify the old mendicant, gives him a coin, and the pilgrims pass on. Then they proceed to discuss what they had seen and heard, and how such abuses carried on in the name of religion were to be remedied. Colet was most indignant, but Erasmus argues that a rough and sudden remedy might have a worse effect upon men's mind than even the disease. These gross superstitions must be tolerated until an opportunity arises of correcting them without disorder.

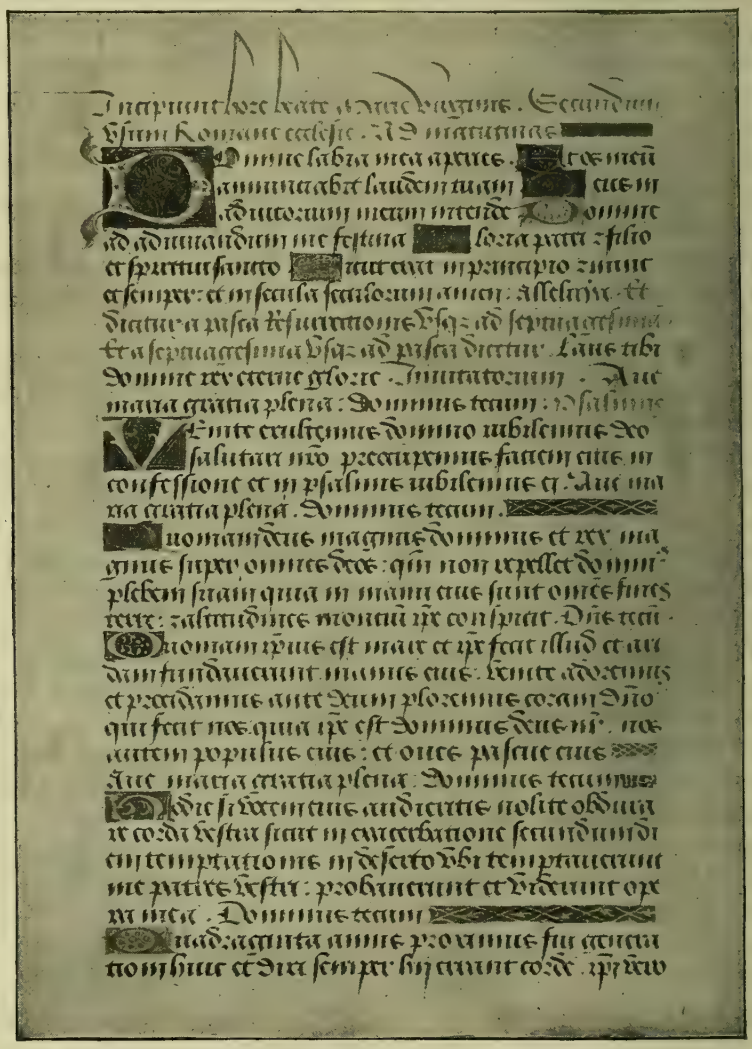
"Little did the two friends dream," writes the biographer of Colet, "as they rode back to town debating these questions, how soon they would find a final solution. . . . Little did they dream that in another five-and-twenty years the far-famed image of the Virgin of Walsingham would be dragged to Chelsea by royal order, there to be publicly burned; that in five-and-twenty years St. Thomas's bones would share the fiery fate of the image of "our Lady of Walsingham," and that the gold and jewellery of St. Thomas's Canterbury shrine would be carried off in chests upon the shoulders of eight stout men, and cast without remorse into the royal exchequer."* The early reformers, indeed, little guessed the terrible and destructive storm which was so shortly to arise in peaceful, quiet England.

Besides the disastrous influence upon popular religion of the old traditional shrines, and the undefined importance attached to pilgrimage to and veneration of the special image or relic which constituted the glory of the shrine, there was a grievous and ever-increasing amount of false teaching throughout England, in these early years of the Reformation century. Mariolatry, for instance, quite unknown in the early ages of Christianity, threatened positively to supersede all definite Christian teaching. How deeply this strange and saddest of human errors affected such a mind as Sir Thomas More's, will be seen from the following extract from one of his letters, written about 1517—the exact date is uncertain. More, it will be remembered, with all his splendid accomplishments, his profound learning, and fervid earnestness, was, though the dear friend of men like Colet and Erasmus, in a manner different from them, one who revered the past, and opposed, as we know, to death, any destructive reformation,

* Seebohm: "The Oxford Reformers—Colet, More, and Erasmus."

any rough sweeping away the old landmarks of mediæval faith and practice. His words, therefore, of stern condemnation on such a point of sixteenth-century popular theological teaching have a special weight, and stand out with a special impressiveness when we remember the circumstances of his death.

Coventry at this time was a celebrated home of religious establishments. It possessed a famous Benedictine monastery and a noble church attached to it. The



PAGE OF A MS. OF OFFICES OF THE VIRGIN, WRITTEN LATE IN THE 15TH CENTURY. (*British Museum.*)

Franciscans and the Carmelites had each their separate houses and churches. The stern and ascetic rule of the Carthusians had also chosen Coventry as one of their English centres. Just at this juncture a Franciscan monk at Coventry put out the strange doctrine from his pulpit, "that whoever should daily pray through the psalter of the Blessed Virgin could never be damned." The teaching was readily accepted, and became popular. Not a few, trusting in the friar's doctrine, were sedulous in their devotion to the Virgin's psalter, but at the same time grew more lax in their way of life. The secular pastor of the city, when he advised the people not to be led astray by this strange preposterous teaching, was publicly hissed, and denounced as an enemy of the Virgin.

"When this curious frenzy was at its height," says More, "I chanced to visit a sister of mine resident in Coventry. Scarcely had I alighted from my horse, when the question was put to me, 'Was the friar's teaching true?' I laughed at the question as positively absurd. I was told my attitude was a dangerous one." Very soon More met the friar who was preaching this monstrous doctrine; he at once began to dispute the question with me. "I spoke what I thought, but in few words." The friar replied at great length, drawing all his arguments from miracles, which he took from the "Marial" and other like books. More then replied. In all the long discourse the friar had said nothing to convince those who perchance did not admit the truth of the miracles he had recited, and *this*, he added, *might well be, and a man's faith in Christ be firm notwithstanding*. And even, More conceded, if these were mostly true, they proved nothing of any moment, for, though you might easily find a prince who would concede something to his enemies at the entreaty of his mother, yet never was there one so foolish as to publish a law which should provoke daring against him by the promise of impunity to all traitors who should perform certain offices to his mother. Eventually More found the friar was lauded to the skies, while he was laughed at as a fool.

In good truth, things were going badly in the ecclesiastical world—badly in practice as in matters of faith. Novel or comparatively novel doctrines were being piled upon the old truths, and were successfully obscuring them; idle superstitions were taking the place of holy faith. The usurpations and ever-growing claims of Rome were crushing all real life out of the churches of England and France, Germany and Spain; and, worse perhaps than all, a sad deterioration in life and conversation was too visible among many of the vowed servants of the church. But all this might have gone on; this state of things might have been indefinitely prolonged; the church might have grown better or grown worse, had it not been for the sudden and momentous changes already indicated which passed over the world, as the din and confusion of the terrible Wars of the Roses in England began to be forgotten.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### THE NEW LEARNING. DEAN COLET AND SIR THOMAS MORE.

Renaissance of Greek Literature due to the Fall of Constantinople—Grocyn of Oxford—John Colet—His Lectures on St. Paul—Sketch and Biography by Erasmus—Colet's Testimony against Current Errors—Supported by the King—Work as an Expositor and Preacher—As an Educational Reformer—His Foundation of St. Paul's—His Death—Early Life of Sir Thomas More—Sketch by Erasmus—Their Intimacy—Close Connection with Henry VIII.—The "Utopia"—More becomes Chancellor—Recoils from the King's Reformation Measures—His Resignation—Charge of Treason—Refuses to acknowledge Henry as Head of the Church—Trial and Condemnation of More—Scenes at his Execution.

CHANGES both vast and various were indeed passing over the whole civilised world during the dawn of modern history. All of a sudden, the limits of the world known to the ancient civilisations of Egypt, Greece and Rome, known to Saracen and Northman, known to the mediæval kingdoms, were enormously enlarged. Columbus, in his marvellous voyage across the pathless ocean no mariner had ever sailed before, discovered the New World, with all its undreamed-of possibilities. It was a revelation which at once bore fruit, opening as it did almost limitless fields to human industry and hope; while the fall of Constantinople and the arrival of a crowd of homeless Greek-speaking exiles with their rolls of yellow and discoloured manuscripts, provided a rich material for the new invention of the printing-press to work at.* Thus to western Europe was restored, in an incredibly short space of time, the matchless literature of a forgotten world.

* The dates of these events are roughly as follow: the effects of them, of course, must be placed some years later. *Fall of Constantinople*, 1453; *Caxton* set up his printing press at Westminster, 1471; *Columbus* discovered the continent of America, 1497.

The cities of Italy were the natural cities of refuge for these homeless exiles of the fallen Greek empire. Not only were they nearest at hand, but their repute as immemorial centres of learning would attract the wandering scholar and student. Among these famous homes of literature and of art, Florence in the fifteenth century was pre-eminent, and the beautiful city by the Arno became quickly the resort of foreign scholars, eager to share in the revival of the long-buried language and literature of Greece. Among the students from distant countries who came to Florence in search of the new learning, was one Grocyn, a fellow of New College, Oxford. This Grocyn, when his studies in Florence were completed, returned to Oxford, and became the teacher of Greek to the many English youths who sought their training in the famous English university. These lectures of Grocyn, which inaugurated a new era among English scholars, are usually dated from 1491, when Henry VII. was at the height of his power, and Cardinal Morton, the archbishop of Canterbury, was his chancellor and chief minister. It is noticeable, that while in Florence and other towns in Italy, in this revival or Renaissance of Greek literature the Pagan classics

attracted the deepest interest, in Oxford, and a little later in Cambridge, the Greek Testament and its newly-recovered original text became the object of absorbing interest to English scholars.

Among these English scholars, who studied Greek in Italy and then at Oxford, John Colet, known afterwards as the famous dean of St. Paul's, stands pre-eminent. His Oxford lectures, delivered at the close of the fifteenth century—lectures especially devoted to the exposition of the Pauline Epistles—came as if it were a revelation to the students of theology. Clinging fast to the plain grammatical sense of the text, the eloquent and fervid scholar swept away the strange and curious explanations, partly mystical, partly allegorical, with which generations of schoolmen had obscured the plain and obvious meaning of so many of the passages. "In the life and sayings of its Founder he found a simple and rational Christianity whose finest expression was the Apostles' Creed. About the rest he said with characteristic impatience, 'Let divines dispute as they will.' " *

Of this remarkable pioneer-reformer, "Erasmus has left us a portrait in words as exquisite as Holbein's drawing of him. He stands out before us as fresh in Erasmus' story as if we saw and heard him ourselves." † "Colet was born in London A.D. 1466. His father was twice lord mayor. He was the eldest of twenty-two children, of whom he was the only survivor, tall in stature and well-looking in face. In youth he studied scholastic theology, then read Cicero and Plato, and made himself a first-rate mathematician. He went abroad, travelled in France and Italy, kept up his Scotus and Aquinas, but worked besides at the early Christian fathers, while Dante and Petrarch polished his language. Returning to England, he left London, settled at Oxford, and lectured on St. Paul. It was then my (Erasmus') acquaintance with him began, he being then thirty (this was about 1496)—I two or three months his junior. He had no theological degree, but all the university doctors went to hear him. Henry VII. took note of him, and made him dean of St. Paul's. His first step was to restore discipline in the chapter, which had all gone to wreck. He preached every saint's day to great crowds. He cut down the household expenses (of the chapter) and abolished suppers and evening parties. At dinner a boy reads a chapter from Scripture. Colet takes a passage from it, and discourses to the universal delight. Conversation is his chief pleasure, and he will keep it up till midnight if he finds a companion. Me he has often taken with him in his walks, and talks all the time of Christ. He hates coarse language; furniture, dress, food, books are all clean and tidy, but scrupulously plain, and he wears grey woollen when priests generally go in purple. With the large fortune which he inherited from his father, he founded and endowed a school at St. Paul's entirely at his own cost, masters' houses, salaries, everything.

"He was a man of genuine piety. He was not born with it. He was naturally hot, impetuous, resentful, indolent, fond of pleasure and of women's society, disposed to make a joke of everything. He told me

* Green: "History of the English People."

† Mr. Froude, whose version of Erasmus' pictures of Colet and More we have here slightly abbreviated.

that he had fought against his faults with study, fasting, and prayer; and thus his whole life was, in fact, unpolluted with the world's defilements. His money he gave to pious uses, he worked incessantly, talked always on serious subjects to conquer his disposition to levity—not but what you could see traces of the old Adam when wit was flying at feast or festival. He avoided large parties for this reason. He dined on a single dish, with a draught or two of light ale. He liked good wine, but abstained on principle. I never knew a man of sunnier nature. No one ever more enjoyed cultivated society; but here, too, he denied himself, and was always thinking of the life to come.

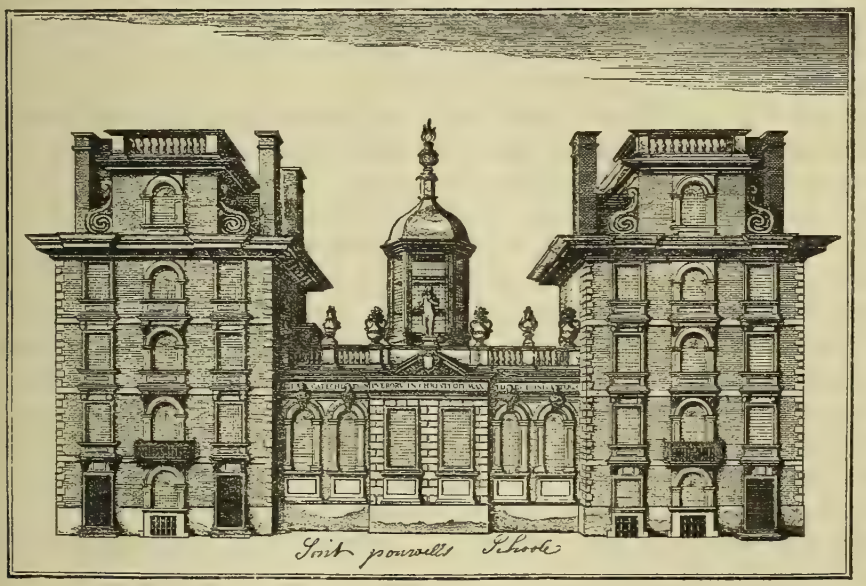
"His opinions were peculiar, and he was reserved in expressing them, for fear of exciting suspicion. He knew how unfairly men judge each other, how credulous they are of evil, how much easier it is for a lying tongue to stain a reputation than for a friend to clear it. But among his friends he spoke his mind freely. He thought the Scotists [a well-known party among the schoolmen], who are considered so clever, were stupid blockheads. He regarded their word-splitting, their minute subdividings, as signs of a starved intellect. He hated Thomas Aquinas [one of the greatest of the schoolmen] even more than Scotus. I once praised the 'Catena Aurea' to him. He was silent. I repeated my words. He glanced at me to see if I was serious, and when he saw that I meant it, he became really angry. Aquinas, he said, would not have laid down the law so boldly on all things in heaven and earth if he had not been an arrogant fool, and he would not have contaminated Christianity with his preposterous philosophy if he had no been a worldling at heart. He did no make light of impurity, but he thought i less criminal than spite and malice, an envy, and vanity and ignorance.

"He had a peculiar dislike of bishops He said they were more like wolves tha shepherds. They sold the sacraments— sold their ceremonies and absolutions They were slaves of vanity and avarice He disapproved of the great educationa institutions in England. He thought the encouraged idleness. As little did he lik the public schools. Education was spoil he said, when the lessons learnt wer turned to worldly account, and mad the means of getting on. Such laboriou wisdom, he said, was fatal to sound know ledge and right feeling. He approved of fine ritual at church, but he saw no reaso why priests should be always mutterin prayers at home or on their walks. H admitted privately that many things wer generally taught which he did not believe but he would not create scandal by blurtin out his objections."

Erasmus went on to say that this bishop hating dean was not unnaturally dislike by Fitzjames, the aged bishop of London— he was past eighty—who did his best t discredit Colet with the young king Henr VIII., then only about twenty-one, bu who was already famous among the Euro pean sovereigns. "I will speak no harn of the bishop of London, except that h was a superstitious and malignant school man. I have known other bishops lik him. I must not call them wicked, but would not call them Christians either." The accusations urged against dean Cole were curious. Besides introducing

everer and simpler rule into the chapter ife at St. Paul's among the greater and esser officials, he had, among other things, aid in a sermon it was wrong to worship mages; he had denied that the command n the Gospel to feed the sheep was pecially addressed to Peter. But it was of no avail; the king liked Colet, and admired his learning and brilliance, while he respected his grave simple life, telling him that he approved heartily of his words and works. "Let every man," the king was reported to have said, "choose his own doctor; dean Colet shall be mine."

Colet ranks among the three or four who prepared the way for the Reformation in England. He was the first of the new school of *expositors of the New Testament*, the school which, as has been said, began a new era in theology. He was followed in this honoured work by Erasmus, Luther, and a number of other less known scholars. In his own day he was perhaps best known for his great pulpit powers. As dean of St. Paul's he became the great preacher of England. But the real life-work of Colet, in which he stands pre-eminent, was his work of educational reform. His own foundation of St. Paul's school, built and maintained out of the ample fortune he inherited from his father, though the old site under the shadow of the metropolitan cathedral has been exchanged for a quieter and more reposeful habitation, is still with us, one of the great schools of England.



OLD ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.
(*From an old print.*)

Colet's school of St. Paul's was far more than a solitary educational foundation. It gave the impulse to the many noble grammar-schools founded in different parts of England by Edward VI. and Elizabeth.

To the great dean may be ascribed that system of middle-class education, which before the close of Elizabeth's reign had accomplished such far-reaching results for our country. Colet's important foundation set the example, which was quickly followed in the many schools that sprang up; and the new study of Greek and its splendid literature became a regular part of middle-class education. Fresh grammars, composed by Erasmus and other scholars, were introduced into the school of St. Paul's, and Lilly, an Oxford scholar who had studied Greek in the East, became the head-master. The deep religiousness of Colet came out in the scanty efforts to adorn the schoolroom of his foundation, where an image of the child Jesus over the master's chair, with the words "Hear ye him" carved beneath it, reminded the teachers and scholars of the Redeemer, whose pure worship their founder and his friends longed to restore to England.

The tender love of this great precursor of the Reformation for children, was the characteristic feature of his character. Erasmus tells us he would often remind his guests and inner circle of friends, how that Christ had made children the example for men, and ever and again he would compare the little ones to the angels above. In his preface to the Latin grammar which he wrote for his school of St. Paul's, there are some touching sentences, which bring out this absorbing passion of the stern reformer. The impassioned preacher, the vehement and indignant rebuker of the vices and soul-degrading superstitions of his day, when he thought of his dear children, would forget for a season his message of stern censure, would put aside his sorrow for and anger with the corrup tions of doctrine and practice, which he felt acutely were poisoning all real religious life in England. Trying to make study easy to the boys of his school, he wrote thus of the divisions of his grammar: "I have made them a little more easy to young wits than methinks they were before, judging that nothing may be too soft nor too familiar for little children especially learning a tongue unto them all strange, in which little book I have left many things out of purpose, considering the tenderness and small capacity of little minds. I pray God all may be to His honour, and to the erudition and profit of children, my countrymen, Londoners especially, whom I had always before my eyes . . . Wherefore I pray you all, little children, learn gladly this little treatise trusting of this beginning that you shall proceed and grow to perfect literature, and come at last to be *great clerks. And lift up your little white hands for me*, which prayeth to God for you."

When Colet in early life studied in Italy it is certain that he came under the influence, if not of Savonarola himself, certainly under that of the great Florentine reformer's disciples, and that the fire of religious zeal, kindled by the saintly and fervid prior of San Marco, touched the heart of the young English scholar. Not a little of the work and words of Colet in after-days were evidently a memory of what he had heard in Italy, from the lips of the men who had caught something of the inspiration of that truest saint and martyr, the illustrious Savonarola.

As life went on, this quiet toiler for God who in his day, amidst many foes, did so

ıch to awaken men's minds to the sad sition into which religion, faith as well practice, had unhappily sunk, seemed to ıw nearer and ever nearer the mind of sus. "O Erasmus," he wrote to his life-ıg friend some two years before his death, f books and of knowledge there is no d. There is nothing better for us in s short life than to live holily and rely, and to make it our daily care to be rified and enlightened, . . . but in opinion there is no other way for us attain this than by the earnest love and itation of Jesus. Wherefore, leaving se wandering paths, let us go the short y to work. I long to the best of my lity to do so. Farewell.—*From London*, . 1517."

The dean died in 1519. Erasmus was rking hard at Louvain in Belgium, en the news reached him that Colet s dead. When the great scholar and wearied worker heard of it, he could refrain from weeping. "For thirty ırs," he wrote to a mutual friend, "I ve not felt a death so deeply." Writing another correspondent, he said, "I seem though only half of me were alive, Colet ng dead. What a man has England, l what a friend have I lost!" To ther Englishman he wrote: "What il these sobs and lamentations? They not bring him back again. In a little ile we shall follow him. In the mean-e we should rejoice for Colet. He now afely enjoying Christ, whom he always l upon his lips and in his heart." To ıop Fisher, Erasmus wrote: "I have tten this, weeping for Colet's death. I ow it is all right with him. I cannot p mourning in the public name the loss of so rare an example of Christian piety, so remarkable a preacher of Christian truth."

In another of Erasmus's letters written at this time he thus speaks of his dead friend: "O true theologian! O wonderful preacher of evangelical doctrine! With what earnest zeal did he drink in the philosophy of Christ! How eagerly did he imbibe the spirit and feelings of St. Paul! How did the purity of his whole life correspond to his heavenly doctrine! How many years, following the example of St. Paul, did he teach the people without reward!"

"For generations," wrote Sir Thomas More, "we have not had amongst us any one man more learned and holy."

Colet was laid in his cathedral of St. Paul's in a tomb prepared by himself, and on a leaden plate fixed on his coffin was an inscription which spoke of the grief of the whole people, by whom, for his integrity of life and divine gift of preaching, he was the most beloved of all his time.

There was another of the little group of pre-Reformation giants with whom Erasmus, whose sketch of Colet we have just quoted, was on terms of the most intimate friendship; one far greater and more renowned even than Colet, one whose praise is and ever will be in all the churches. The stern Protestant, who could see no beauty in anything, however venerable and revered, which the corrupt church of his fathers had loved and cherished; the bigoted Romanist, whose eyes were blinded and ears dulled to all the sights and sounds with which a fatal soul-destroying superstition had overlaid Catholic doctrine and

practice; the gay pleasure-loving courtier of Henry VIII.; the ascetic scholar; such different personalities as the emperor and the Pope, Erasmus and Thomas Cromwell —all loved and admired Sir Thomas More, and grieved with a true mourning when that honoured head, in the first wild blast of the Reformation, fell on Tower Hill.

The future chancellor and somewhiles chief minister of king Henry VIII., the scholar and philosopher, the brilliant writer and the eloquent statesman, was first heard of in the household of cardinal Morton, the well-known minister of Henry VII. Morton predicted his future greatness. It was at Oxford that he became associated with Colet and Erasmus. Nor is it too much to assume that to the life-long friendship with More, Erasmus owed that new spirit which gradually passed over his character, which changed the wayward, impulsive, vagrant student into the first of European scholars, the friend and trusted counsellor of well-nigh every great one in Europe.

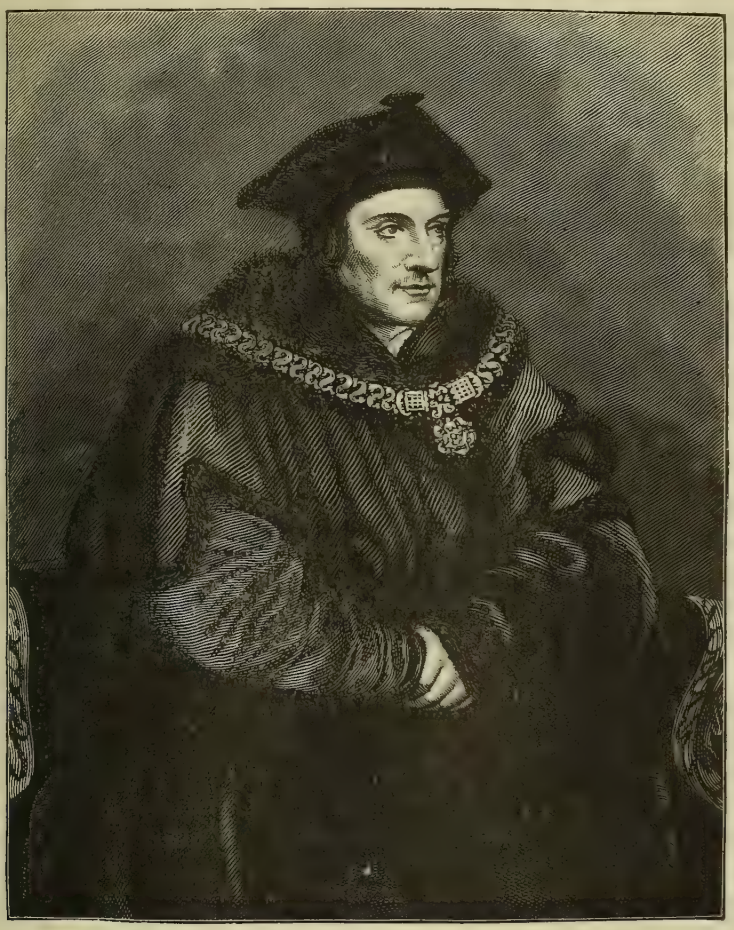
"Young as he was, More no sooner quitted the university than he was known throughout Europe as one of the foremost figures in the new movement. The keen irregular face, the grey restless eyes, the thin mobile lips, the tumbled brown hair, the careless gait and dress, as they remain stamped upon the canvas of Holbein, picture the inner soul of the man: his vivacity, his restless, all-devouring intellect, his keen and ever reckless wit, the kindly, half-sad humour that drew its strange veil of laughter and tears over the deep tender reverence of the soul within. In a higher because in a sweeter and more lovable form than Colet, More is the representative of the religious tendency of the n learning in England."*

No one among the thought-leaders that period was more convinced than M of the worldliness and fearful corruption the church, and that unless a compl and thorough alteration took place soon terrible catastrophe was at hand. For t superstitions of the day, which so disfigu Catholicism, he had an utter contem In his "Utopia," the most important his works, there breaks out a spirit wh condemned the sacerdotal assumptions the pre-Reformation age in terms scathing, that he appeared to have an cipated the more advanced thoughts the foreign reformers. "Christianity h reached his ideal realm of Utopia, but it h few priests; religion found its centre rat in the family than in the congregati and each household confessed its err and sins to its own natural head." A yet with all this freedom of thought, M was an intense believer in the cardi Christian verities—so firm a believer, instance, in the future life, as to surpr his dearest friend, Erasmus. It was w memories drawn from the New Testam that he accepted the condemnation of judges in the concluding scene in t court-house; it was with the cross in hands that he knelt calmly down on t scaffold, and devoutly repeated the beau ful and touching *miserere* psalm. austerities were severe, but were carefu concealed—for God's eyes, not for man's and his last gifts to his best loved ch were the rough hair shirt he used to we and the scourge he was wont to use. sent these strange memorials of his inn

* Green: "History of the English People."

fe to Margaret Roper, when, as he said, e had no more use for these things.*

Erasmus has left us a beautiful picture that we reproduce it in the great scholar's own words. It occurs in a long letter written to Ulrich von Hutten, who wished to



SIR THOMAS MORE.
(*From the painting by Holbein.*)

his friend, to whom he owed so much—kind of companion sketch to the one we ave already given by the same hand of olet, dean of St. Paul's. It is so lifelike, natural, so free from all exaggeration,

* Froude: "Hist. of England," chap. ix.

know something personal concerning this Englishman, More, whose name was on all lips. Von Hutten was another, but one less generally known, of that brilliant band of men of genius and of learning whom we have termed pioneers of the Reformation;

but, alas! Ulrich von Hutten, with all his sparkling wit and profound learning, has left behind him a name and a moral reputation sadly inferior to that of Colet, More, and Erasmus.

"The task of describing this Englishman," wrote Erasmus to Von Hutten, "is hard; for not everyone understands More, who is as difficult a subject as Alexander or Achilles. He is of middle height, well shaped, complexion pale without a touch of colour in it, save when the skin flushes. The hair is black, shot with yellow, or yellow shot with black; beard scanty, eyes grey with dark spots, an eye supposed in England to indicate genius, and is never found save in remarkable men. The expression is pleasant and cordial, easily passing into a smile, for he has the quickest sense of the ridiculous of any man I ever met; the only sign of rusticity is in the hands, which are slightly coarse. From childhood he has been careless of appearance, but he has still the charm which I remember when I first knew him. His health is good, though not robust, and he is likely to be long-lived." [O the pity of it, Erasmus was no prophet here!] "He is careless in what he eats; I never saw a man more so. Like his father, who, though in extreme old age, is still vigorous, he is a water-drinker. His food is beef, fresh or salt, bread with fruit, and especially eggs. His voice is low and unmusical, though he loves music, but it is clear and penetrating. He articulates slowly and distinctly, and never hesitates.

"He dresses plainly—no silks, velvets, or gold chains. He has no concern for ceremony, expects none from others, and shows little himself. He holds forms and courtesies unworthy of a man of sense, a for that reason has hitherto kept clear the court. All courts are full of intrigu there is less of it in England than el where, for there are no affectations in t king, but More loves freedom and likes have his time to himself. He is a tr friend. When he finds a man to be of t wrong sort, he lets him drop, but he enj nothing so much as the society of th that suit him." (The friendship of M and Erasmus only ended with the de of More.) "Gambling of all kinds, ba dice, and such like, he detests. None that sort are to be found about him. short, he is the best type of companion

"His talk is charming, full of fun, never scurrilous or malicious. He used act plays when young; wit delights h though at his own expense. He set me my 'Encomium Moriæ.'" ["The praise folly"—the title is a play on More's nam This brilliant satire was one of Erasmu comparatively early works, and had enormous circulation all over Europ "He is wise with the wise, and jests w fools, with women especially, and his w among them. He is fond of animals of sorts, and loves to watch their habits. the birds of Chelsea come to him to be f He has a menagerie of tame beasts— monkey, a fox, a ferret, a weasel. He bu any singular thing which is brought hi His house is a magazine of curiosities whi he delights in showing off.

"He had his love affairs when you but none that compromised him. was entertained by the girls running af him. He studied hard at that time Greek and at philosophy. His fath wanted him to work at English law, b

ne did not like it. The law in England is he high road to fame and fortune, and nany peerages have risen out of that pro-ession. But they say it requires years of abour. More had no taste that way, Nature having designed him for better hings. Nevertheless, after drinking deep n literature, he did make himself a lawyer —and an excellent one. No opinion is ought more eagerly than his, or more ighly paid for.

"He worked at divinity besides, and ectured to large audiences on Augustine's City of God.' Priests and old men were not ashamed at learning from him. His riginal wish was to be a priest himself. He prepared for it with fast and prayer nd vigil, unlike most who rush into rdination without preparation of any kind. He gave it up because he fell in love. The wife that he chose was a very young ady, well connected but wholly unedu-ated, who had been brought up in the ountry with her parents. Thus he was ble to shape her character after his own attern. He taught her books, he taught er music, and formed her into a com-anion for his life. They had several hildren—Margaret [his favourite, to whom e left the hair shirt and scourge], Cecilia, nd Louisa, who are still with him, and ne son, John. Unhappily his wife was aken from him before her time. He ontrols his family with an easy hand—no ragedies, no quarrels. He has never made n enemy or become an enemy. His hole house breathes happiness, and no ne enters it who is not better for the visit.

"He is indifferent to money. He sets part so much of his income as will make future provision for his family; the rest he spends or gives away. It is large, and arises from his profession as an advocate, but he always advises his clients for the best, and recommends them to settle their disputes out of court. For a time he was a judge in civil cases. The work was not severe, but the position was honourable. No judge finished off more causes, or was more upright, and he often remitted the fees. He was exceedingly liked in the city. He was satisfied, and had no higher ambition.

"Eventually he was forced upon a foreign mission, and conducted himself so well that the king would not afterwards part with him, and dragged him into the circle of the court. 'Dragged' is the word, for no one ever struggled harder to gain admission there than More struggled to escape. But the king was bent on surrounding himself with the most capable men in his realm. He insisted that More should make one of them, and now he values him so highly, both as a companion and as a privy councillor, that he will scarcely let him out of his sight. [Only a few years later this same king cut off his head. More at the time of his death was considered the most gifted man in Europe.]

"More has been never known to accept a present. Happy the commonwealth when the magistrates are of such material! Elevation has not elated him, or made him forget his humble friends, and he returns whenever he can to his beloved books. He is always kind, always generous. Some he helps with money, some with influence. When he can give nothing, he gives advice. He is patron-general to all poor devils.

"The history of his connection with me [Erasmus] was thus:—In his early life he

was a versifier, and he came to me to improve his style. Since that time he has written a good deal. [Here Erasmus enumerates his principal works, dwelling especially on the "Utopia."]

"He has a fine intellect and an excellent memory, information all arranged and pigeon-holed to be ready for use. He is so ready in argument that he can puzzle the best divines on their own subjects. Colet, a good judge on such points, says More has more genius than any man in England.

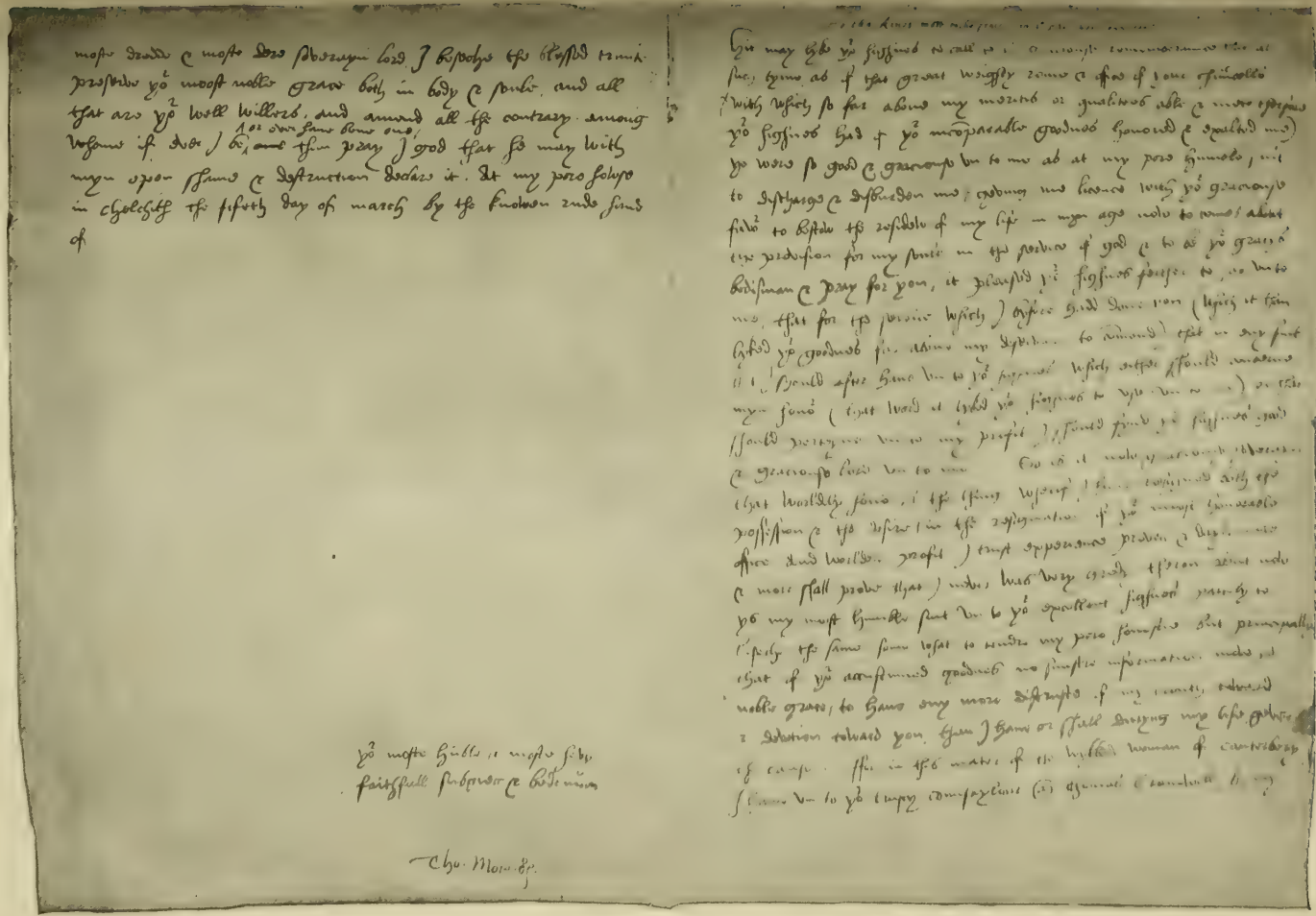
"He is religious, but without superstition. He has his hours for prayer, but he uses no forms, and prays out of his heart. He will talk with his friends about a life to come, and you can see that he means it and has real hopes. Such is More, and More is an English courtier, and people fancy that no Christians are to be found outside monasteries!

"The king not only admits such men into his court, but he invites them—forces them—that they may be in a position to watch all that he does and share his duties and his pleasures. He prefers the companionship of men like More to that of silly youths or girls [this was written before the days of Anne Boleyn], or the rich or the dishonest, who might tempt him to foolish indulgences or injurious courses. If you were here in England, my dear Hutten, you would leave off abusing courts. A galaxy of distinguished men now surrounds the English throne."

The subject of this beautiful picture, says the latest biographer of its writer (Erasmus), had built himself a house at Chelsea on the Thames. It was of moderate and unpretentious dimensions, with a garden leading down to the river. "The life there, Erasmus tells us, was like the life in Plato's Academy, and Erasmus was a permanent guest whenever he was in London. No two men ever suited each other better, their intellectual differences only serving to give interest to their conversations as they strolled together and talked of things human and divine by the silver river." *

We will briefly trace More's career to its tragic close, of course thus anticipating much that has to be told in more detail. His close friendship with king Henry VIII. lasted nearly twenty years. It commenced early in the reign, when Henry was only on the threshold of manhood, and it only cooled when the sinister and perplexed issues of the divorce began to influence and to cloud the hitherto clear and stately manlike policy of the English king. Very unwillingly, the scholar and lawyer was persuaded to enter into political life again, his experience of it, when still comparatively a young man, in Henry VII.'s reign had been unfortunate, and he thoroughly disliked it. But Henry VIII. desired so earnestly his friendship and counsel, that More yielded. The story is told how the two friends, the king and the scholar, were wont to pace the palace leads at night, and discourse together of the high and holy things, of which More could speak with a charm peculiarly his own. His life for many years was a busy one; his friendship with the king cost him much time and thought, as he was the trusted counsellor in many a weighty state affair. He had little time to spare for

* Mr. Froude.



LETTER FROM SIR THOMAS MORE TO HENRY VIII. IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING. (*British Museum.*)

that beautiful and ever absorbing home life he loved so well, of which we have such fair and attractive records. His work, too, was unremitting with and among the scholars of the new learning and the new teaching, who were preparing the way, as More and his fellow-toilers hoped and believed, for a quiet but thorough reformation in the church—for a reformation that should weed out the many tares without injuring the great corn harvest, which in the eyes of men like More, in spite of the tares, promised so much.

All this, these varied duties and occupations, this great position in the state, in the worlds of religion and letters, did not hinder More from writing. It was in 1516 (seven years after Henry VIII.'s accession) that he put out the most celebrated of his works—known and read amongst us still—the "Utopia."

He picturesquely describes the genesis of this winning and original writing. It was on one of his diplomatic missions in king Henry's service that he was in Antwerp. After hearing mass in the gorgeous church of "Our Lady," he was returning to his lodgings in the city, when he chanced to espy his friend, Peter Gilles, talking to a stranger with a black, sunburnt face, whom he judged to be a mariner. The sailor turned out to have been a companion of Amerigo Vespucci in those voyages to the New World "that be now in print and abroad in every man's hand." More took this mariner to his house, "and there in my garden, upon a bench covered with green turves, we sate down talking together." The sailor told him his tale of marvellous adventure, how he was abandoned by Amerigo, and how he wandered about over the vast unknown continent till he chanced upon the kingdom of "Nowhere," or "Utopia." A picture of this strange unknown country in the heart of that charmed land, which was then exciting, and with good reason, the heart of every adventurous youth or man in Europe, gave More an opportunity to paint an ideal society.

The book was the most remarkable outcome produced by the new learning for many a year, and was far in advance of the age—and, in fact, of a much later age—in the way it handled social problems. The picture he drew of the state of society of Utopia, was a painful contrast in the mind of the sixteenth century, to the life in the midst of which More lived. It was a great cry of pity for the poor, whom as a class More looked upon as sadly neglected and down-trodden. The questions of labour, of dwellings for the humbler classes, of treatment of crime, the problems of education, are all handled by the famous writer in his marvellous book. What he said of religion and Christianity was a gentle but unmistakable protest against the sacerdotalism of the age. But some of the opinions put forward in the "Utopia" seem to have been considerably modified, if not changed, when More at a later period was shocked by the destructive policy of the Reformation in Germany under its great teacher, Luther.

Time passed on. On the fall of Wolsey, More was induced by Henry VIII. to accept the highest office in the state—that of chancellor. It seems as though his reason for accepting the enormous responsibility which belonged to the chief minister and adviser of the king, at such a moment,

when the world was changing its old opinions, was his hope of being enabled to carry out the religious revolution in England on the lines laid down by men like Colet and Erasmus. These, and More was with them, longed to see the wild and baseless superstitions with which true religion was well-nigh hidden, swept away; in the new state of things he hoped to see, the clergy must be better educated and trained to lead nobler and more self-denying lives; the mendicant orders especially must be reformed. But the ark of the church was not to be touched lightly by profane and heedless hands, nor was its splendour to be one whit diminished. More and Erasmus saw in it a noble instrument of human training, a link between earth and heaven.

But More found the storm which was rising too violent for the course on which he hoped to pilot the ship of the state. He saw that the Reformation in England, as it had done in Germany, would lead to changes in doctrine, in ritual, and in government, of which he could not approve. Measures were brought forward in Parliament, and were sanctioned by the king, which he intensely misliked. The chancellor was powerless; he could neither stop them or even guide their inevitable tendencies; so after two years and a half's tenure of the supreme office he resigned the seals. This was in A.D. 1533. Erasmus, in one of his later letters, refers to his friend's resignation in the following terms: "Report says that More has been dismissed from office. . . . The story has flashed over Europe like lightning. I was sure it was false. I know how unwillingly the king parts with a servant whom he has trusted, even for a real fault. More's retirement was by his own wish. The chancellorship is a great office, next to the crown. The chancellor is the king's right eye and the king's right hand. More was appointed because the king loved and respected him. The cardinal of York [Wolsey], when he found he could not return himself to office, admitted that More was the fittest man to succeed him. All were pleased when he accepted the great seal; and he lays it down to the universal regret. . . . More detests the seditious doctrines with which the world is now convulsed. He makes no secret of it. He is profoundly religious, and if he inclines either way it is towards superstition." Erasmus's astonishment, mingled with loving admiration at More's intense faith, has been already noticed.

Directly after his resignation of the chancellorship, More wrote to Erasmus: "By the grace of God and the king, I am at last free, but I am not as well as I could wish. Some disease, I know not what, hangs heavily about my heart. It is not pain, it is distress and alarm at what lies before us. . . . You allow frankly that if you could have foreseen these pestilent heresies, you would have been less outspoken on certain points. Doubtless the fathers, had they expected such times as ours, would have been more cautious in their utterances. They had their own disorders to attend to, and did not think of the future. . . . The bishops and the king try to check these new doctrines, but they spread wonderfully. The people read them partly in thoughtlessness; . . . they enjoy them, not because they think them true, but because they wish them to be true."

After his resignation More lived in strict retirement in his house at Chelsea. In 1534, the following year, he was unfortunately mixed up with the treasonable impostures of the Nun of Kent, hereafter referred to,* and at one time believed her utterances to be genuine, afterwards, however, freely expressing his regret. Cromwell, who was then in power, and who admired and respected More, interceded with the king that the matter might be passed over. Henry consented, but expressed his sorrow that Sir Thomas More should have acted so unwisely. The matter ended, as far as More was concerned, but it doubtless was not forgotten when, a few months later, More ventured for conscience' sake resolutely to oppose the king's will in the matter of the oath of allegiance.

Events succeeded each other at this juncture with startling rapidity, as will be detailed in the history; but we are simply here completing the sketch of More's life and career. The breach between Henry and the Pope had come to a head, and Convocation had declared that the Pope's authority in England was abolished. Parliament passed the "Act of Succession" entailing the crown on the children of Anne Boleyn. But this Act was not confined to the question of the succession only, but "embraced other particulars of a doubtful and painful nature," dealing especially with the king's former marriage with Katherine of Arragon. An oath was to be taken by every one of the king's subjects to observe the whole contents of the Act. More was specially cited by the Royal Commission appointed to administer the oath, and was required to subscribe to it. He expressed his willingness as far as the "succession" was concerned, but to some parcels of the oath as it was framed he could not subscribe from fear of jeopardising his soul.

The end now rapidly drew on. More was committed under the charge of treason to the Tower, where he lay for many months subject to ever-increasing rigour. It is one of the saddest stories connected with the Reformation drama. That More was absolutely innocent of all treason by thought, word, or deed, is acknowledged even by the warmest apologist of Henry VIII. But he was one of the leading personages in England, and undoubtedly had the highest reputation of any living man; he had made himself conspicuous by his open disapproval of the ecclesiastical measures of Henry and his parliament; and if these measures were to be carried into effect, then the life of the great statesman must be forfeited. There was no middle course possible, and of this More was conscious. Other circumstances, too, were against him—notably his late unfortunate connection with the affair of the Nun of Kent, and his close and intimate friendship with Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who was accused, and not apparently without some ground, of treason. It was during those sad months in the Tower that he wrote his last and most beautiful religious treatises —"The Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation," and the unfinished "Meditation upon the Passion of Christ."

Among the points objected to by More was the acknowledgment of Henry VIII. under the title of "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England under Christ." He was frequently visited by members of the king's council, who endeavoured, but in

* See Excursus D, Vol. III.

SIR THOMAS MORE AND HIS DAUGHTER.

*(From the picture by W. F. Yeames, R.A.)*

vain, to persuade him to submit himself to the king. Once the all-powerful minister, Cromwell, came alone, and, by the memory of his old friendship with Henry, urged him to relent from his resolution. But memories of old friendship suggested by Cromwell, or the terrors of a public death, equally failed to move him. More was fearless in the presence of death; it meant little to him, so intense was his faith in the future and serener life; and from the day of his arrest he had looked forward to the scaffold as a certain and not far-removed goal.

About the middle of 1535 he was tried for treason in Westminster Hall—"the most illustrious prisoner who ever listened to his sentence there," as he is termed by a famous historian, who had little love for More's views. He walked from the Tower but feebly, being weak from long confinement. The state trial ended, as such trials in those days almost invariably did, by the condemnation of the prisoner. The frightful punishment for treason was commuted to death on the scaffold; and the presiding judge, lord chancellor Audley, mentioned this last favour as an instance of the royal clemency. "God forbid," replied More, with a solitary touch of bitter wit, "that the king should use any more such mercy unto any of my friends, and God keep all my posterity from all such pardons." When all was over and the condemnation had been pronounced, for the last time the judges adjured him to have pity on himself, and offered to reopen the court if he would reconsider his determination. The condemned man smiled, and with his old winning charm replied in words which will never be forgotten: "My lords, I have only to say that, like as the blessed Paul was present when the martyr Stephen died, and kept the clothes of them who stoned Stephen, and yet both Paul and Stephen now be both saints in heaven, and therefore shall continue friends for ever, so I trust and pray that though your lordships have been on earth my judges, yet we may hereafter meet in heaven together to our everlasting salvation. May God preserve you all, especially my sovereign lord the king, and grant him faithful counsellors."

He was to return to the Tower by water. On the stairs of the Tower wharf was waiting his best beloved daughter, Margaret Roper. The story here is told by More's grandson. When she espied her father, she broke through the armed guard surrounding the notable prisoner, fearing she might never see or touch him again in this world, and, then kissing him, able to say nothing but "Oh! my father, my father!" He blessed her, and told her that whatsoever he should suffer, though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, urging her to accommodate her will to God's blessed pleasure, and to be patient for his loss. The touching story goes on to say: "She was no sooner parted from him, and had gone scarce ten steps, when she, not satisfied with the former farewell, like one who had forgot herself, having neither respect to herself nor to the press of people about him, suddenly turned back and ran hastily to him, and took him by the neck and divers times together kissed him; whereat he spoke not a word, but, carrying still his gravity, tears fell also from his eyes; yea,

there were very few in all the troop who could refrain thereat from weeping, no, not the guards themselves. Yet at the last, with a full heart, she was severed from him, at which time another of our women embraced him, and my aunt's (Margaret Roper's) maid, Dorothy Collis, did the like, of whom he said after it was homely but very lovingly done."

He never saw this dear daughter, who was, perhaps, the only person he very deeply loved on earth, again. Four days yet remained to him. These he spent in prayer and thought. At daybreak on the day he was appointed to suffer, Sir Thomas Pope awoke him out of sleep and told him it was the king's pleasure he should die at nine o'clock that morning. "I am much bounden to the king," he said, "for the benefits and honours he has bestowed on me; and so help me God, most of all am I bounden to him that it hath pleased his majesty to rid me so shortly out of the miseries of this present world." Pope told him that the king desired he would not "use many words on the scaffold." More replied that it should be as his grace wished; he had intended to have spoken, but no matter wherewith the king would have been offended. Then he talked of his funeral, and begged that his family might be present.

Pope, who was an old friend, rose to leave; he took More's hand and burst into tears. "Quiet yourself, Mr. Pope," said the man who was just about to die, "and be not discomfited, for I trust we shall once see each other full merrily, when we shall live and love together in eternal bliss." He then proceeded to dress himself in his most costly attire. "It was for the profit of the headsman, who was to do him so great service," he said. Sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, begged him to put on a plainer suit. He at once complied, and sent the executioner instead a gold angel, as a token that he loved him extremely. About nine of the clock he came out with the lieutenant of the Tower, pale, and often looking up to heaven; he carried in his hand a red cross.

The scaffold had been somewhat clumsily put together, and as he put his foot on the ladder, it shook. "See me safe up," he said to Sir William Kingston; "for my coming down I can shift for myself." He began to speak to the crowd standing near. The sheriff begged him not to say anything, so he just asked for their prayers, and that they should remember that he died in the faith of the holy Catholic church, and a faithful servant of God and the king. Then he repeated a psalm, and kissing the headsman, bound a cloth over his eyes, and kneeling down, laid his neck on the block. Immediately he made a sign with his hand, as if to stay for a moment the fatal stroke, then he moved aside his beard, murmuring, "Pity that should be cut, *that* has not committed treason." With "which strange words—the strangest, perhaps, ever uttered at such a time—the life most famous in Europe for eloquence and wisdom closed for ever." *

"So," writes his grandson and biographer, "with alacrity and spiritual joy, he received the fatal axe, which no sooner had severed his head from his body, but his soul was carried by the angels into eternal

* Froude.

glory ; . . . and then he found those words true which he had often spoken, that a man may lose his head and have no harm."

"This was the execution of Sir Thomas More, an act which was sounded into the far corners of the earth, and was the world's wonder, as well for the circumstances under which it was perpetrated as for the preternatural calmness with which it was borne. Something of his calmness may have been due to his natural temperament,

SIR THOMAS MORE'S HOUSE AT CHELSEA.

something to an unaffected weariness of a world which in his eyes was plunging into the ruin of the latter days. But those fair hues of sunny cheerfulness caught their colour from the simplicity of his faith ; and never was there a Christian's victory over death more grandly evidenced than in the last scene, lighted with its lambent humour." *

The comment of the eloquent and able apologist of Henry VIII. on this close of the fair life of Henry's victim is remarkable. "It was at once," he wrote, "most piteous and most inevitable." The last words are emphatically true, though perhaps scarcely in the sense in which the writer intended. The cutting off of More was surely inevitable and necessary, if the Reformation were to be proceeded with on the lines chalked out by the king and his advisers. More intensely disapproved of these lines thus chalked out ; and the marked disapproval of so splendid a genius, of so pure and devout a soul as More's, might—probably would—have wrecked the work of Henry. Here for the present we must leave this terrible episode of our story, having anticipated much, for the sake of presenting a fairly complete picture of this great and beautiful figure.

A thrill of horror ran through Europe when the news of the execution became generally known. The general grief and indignation was common to Rome, to the emperor, to the king of France, and even to some of the Protestant princes of Germany. So general was the grief and amazement abroad, that Henry, through his foreign ambassadors, deigned to give a formal vindication of the act. To brand him as a traitor, no indignity was spared to the lifeless remains of the scholar, the writer, the statesmen, so long the ornament of his country. The head was boiled, and the disfigured features of him whom the world so loved and admired looked down from the traitors' spikes on the stream of heeding or of unheeding traffic passing and repassing over London Bridge. The state papers circulated at Rome and Paris and among the courts of Europe spoke of him as a traitor, but upon evidence never produced at the trial, and of which no trace has ever since been seen or heard.

* Froude : "History of England," chap. ix.

## CHAPTER XL.

### ERASMUS, AND THE RECOVERY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

English Inspiration of the Work of Erasmus—His Early Life—Removal to England—Acquaintance with Colet and More—Their Profound Influence upon his Character—Greek Professorship at Cambridge—Undertakes a Version of the Greek New Testament Text—Recovery of this Text by Europe on the Fall of Constantinople—Its Immeasurable Importance to the Church—Enthusiastic Reception of it—Its Preface—Its Transforming Power—Groundwork of our present Version—Elevates Erasmus to a Position of European Fame—Letter from the Emperor Charles V.—Later Years and Death of the Scholar—The Complutensian Polyglott of Cardinal Ximenes—Place of Erasmus in the Reformation of the Church.

THERE was a third pioneer of the Reformation in England, greater than Colet, or even More, whose influence was more far-reaching, more lasting, than either of the first two, whose lives and works we have been painting. We have already mentioned and quoted from Erasmus as the contemporary and intimate friend of Colet and More; but we must now recount more definitely, though briefly, his own life and work. We in England are not wrong in claiming Erasmus as specially the chiefest of *our* pioneer reformers. He was, it is true, a native of Holland; his early unhappy life was mostly spent in the Low Countries and in Paris; and the works by which he will always be known were printed and published at Basle in Switzerland, where he closed his eventful, honoured

career. But in spite of this, England was the country he loved best; his chosen friends and associates were Englishmen. It was *their* love and friendship which, speaking from a human standpoint, really ordered his life and inspired the noblest efforts of his surpassing genius. It was in England that most of his best work was done, although his actual sojourning among us did not exceed eight or ten years altogether. He ever speaks and writes of England with the tenderest affection, and far on in life styles it his "adopted country" and the "chosen home of his old age." In the wide world which loved and hated, admired and feared him, Erasmus possessed no friends like Colet and More; no generous helper and patron like archbishop Warham; no sovereign who was ever ready to welcome and back him up like Henry VIII.

Desiderius Erasmus was born in Rotterdam in A.D. 1467, when Edward IV. was reigning in England. His parents, who were in fairly prosperous circumstances, died when the subject of our memoir was still quite young. His was a desolate, unloved youth, with the old story of careless guardians and an orphan boy, and a little heritage melted away. The friendless orphan Erasmus, still quite young, was partly forced, partly cajoled, to take the irrevocable vows in a house of Augustinian canons. He was a brilliant and sickly youth, always passionately devoted to books and learning, but utterly without any vocation for the monastic life; and in the house in which he made his profession he found little sympathy. He despised his companions, and hated the life. The bishop of Cambrai took notice of him, and, with the consent of the prior of the religious house, allowed him to leave the community, and for a time he resided at Cambrai with the bishop. But the young Erasmus's one master-passion was study, and after a time he went to study at the university of Paris.

Dates and times are very uncertain during the early manhood of the young scholar. It was not a happy, and save for the somewhat fitful friendship and kindness of the bishop of Cambrai, was a lonely and desolate season for Erasmus. The period of his Paris studies was evidently darkened by excesses and extravagances, possibly even with something akin to riotous living; and all this time be it remembered, the young student was bound by the stern vows of the Augustinian order to which he belonged. Still, he worked as few men of his day and time worked, and laid the foundation of his subsequent marvellous proficiency in languages, philosophy, and theology. Among his fellow-students at Paris he obtained a great repute, and was reckoned among the most promising scholars of his time. Poverty, however, dogged his footsteps. His slender patrimony had disappeared; the little allowance made him by his patron the bishop of Cambrai was utterly insufficient for the life he was leading at Paris. He eked out his resources by taking pupils, and soon obtained a high reputation as a teacher. But we know little of these "Paris" days; in after life he said little about them. They were at best but a blurred, disfigured page of memories, containing little that Erasmus cared to dwell on when he became the first man of letters—the world-famed scholar of his generation

We have mentioned his sickly, delicate ıstitution. In the midst of his Paris ıdent life he was seized by a severe ıess. This was not surprising, for the ld and somewhat irregular life he was ding was ill-fitted for the strain of ntal effort required for the studies to ich he in real earnest devoted many ıg hours each day and night. Then, , his purse was unequal to the expenses the gay and often costly recreations th which he enlivened his study hours; d, no doubt, often the young student s ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-warmed. The ıess well-nigh swept him into the grave. shuddered at the thought of dying, d higher thoughts seem to have in-red him as he slowly mended and gained his strength. One of his many ters which we possess, written about is time, foreshadows something of his bler after-life. We find this sentence in "All I ask for is leisure to live wholly God, to repent of the sins of my foolish uth, to study Holy Scripture, and to ıd or write something of real value." dreaded being recalled, or being obliged rough ill-health or utter want of means pursue his studies, to return to his ıister, which he evidently hated. "I uld do nothing of this," he went on to , "in a convent; never was a tenderer ınt. I could not bear fasts and vigils ıen I was at my best; even here, where ım well cared for, I fall sick." He was idently forgetting the wild, careless life had been leading at Paris. Just then longed to go to Italy and study eology, and he lamented sorely that had neither health for the journey or ɔney for the necessary expenses.

He made at this time some influential and wealthy friends, and for a time he was absent from Paris; but he soon returned, and was again surrounded with pupils. At Paris and elsewhere men began to speak of the young sickly scholar-priest, with his great learning, his sparkling wit, his ceaseless railings against his hard destiny, poverty, ill-health, and longings he was unable to realise; ever the most charming of companions, of men of the world and scholars alike. In his letters he shows how wretched he was—tossed to and fro; longing for higher things, yet always dragged down to the things of the flesh; ever carrying about a dying body; with a soul capable of the highest things, yet without any vital religion or sure ground of Christian hope. How near was the scholar whose name was soon to be in all the churches, over and over again, to utter shipwreck of body and soul! "I am in utter wretchedness," he wrote to a dear friend, "worn out with sorrow, persecuted by enemies, deserted by my friends, and made Fortune's football; yet I have committed no fault. . . . . I am a sad afflicted being who hates himself, who hates to live, and yet is not allowed to die. . . . . May God change my state for the better or make an end of me."

Happily, at this moment one of his Paris pupils, a son of lord Mountjoy, a distinguished English nobleman, invited him to England, and a new chapter in his life began. Here we have a certain date: the wandering scholar came to London at the close of 1497. In London, under the Mountjoy protection, he was received with great kindness, and was introduced to two of the most promising of English scholars—

More, who then only twenty years of age, and Colet, who was the same age as Erasmus, about thirty.

With his new friends, in the spring of 1498, we find him at Oxford, where his fame as a rare and striking scholar and genius had preceded him. Richard Charnock, prior of St. Mary's college, became his friend, and the life-long friendship with Colet and More became fast cemented in that first Oxford residence. Colet, who was then delivering some of his famous lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, became the object of Erasmus's fervid admiration. At last the poor erring genius had found an ideal which he felt he could worthily strive after. The burning words of the eloquent lecturer, fervid preacher, generous, loving, self-denying student, who lived the life he preached, touched the wayward, passionate heart of Erasmus; and the new life of the greatest scholar of the century may be dated from that Oxford visit, where he had the rare fortune of becoming Colet's dearest friend and More's intimate associate. The friendship of these three men, who did so much to bring about the great change in England which was now impending, remained unbroken until death; and it is not too much to say that the master-work of Erasmus's life, which we shall presently describe, may be looked upon as the outcome of Colet's influence upon him. It is singularly interesting to read the letters of the gay and frivolous wandering scholar *before* his saintly friend had inspired him with nobler views of duty, and to compare them with what we know of the subsequent life of the great biblical scholar, who consecrated most of his remaining years to a work on the Book of Life—to which work may ascribed much of what was truest a most enduring in the Reformation yea after.

Between 1498 and 1514 much of Era mus's time was spent in England betwe London, Oxford, and Cambridge. played the part alternately of a stude and teacher at each of these places. Cambridge during several years he w the recognised teacher or professor Greek. The materials for his maste work he gradually collected, and t scholarship necessary for its executi he slowly and painfully acquired, for was ever sickly and often laid by wi illness. A somewhat detailed account this his chiefest and most enduring wo will be interesting and useful, consideri how enormous an influence its publicati and subsequent wide popularity exercis upon the Reformation, on the Contine as in England.

The Renaissance of Greek literatu and the publication of the original Gre text of the New Testament, helped fo ward the Reformation in a way scarce yet grasped by the great majority of me who have little time for study. T (Latin) Vulgate translation, then universal use, was faulty and inaccurat was in many places a bad rendering of t original Greek. Not a few of the curre interpretations of the text were seen be impossible, when brought into co tact with the original language in whic the Gospels and Epistles had been writte A mass of scholastic subtleties overlaid t New Testament writings. Men like Col felt that the urgent necessity of the ag

CONVOCATION OF CLERGY.

*(By permission, from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy.)*

was to give to the church the *original simple text* of the New Testament scriptures, with all the later mediæval errors stripped off; then men would see for themselves what was the mind of Christ, what was the real teaching of Paul and his inspired companions. At this juncture a great scholar and original thinker, Erasmus, came forward, and, largely under the influence of men like Colet, devoted the best years of his life to the production of an edition of the New Testament in the original Greek, with a new and free Latin translation of his own, which men might compare with the original Greek printed in the same volume. This work was especially an English one. The Renaissance of *Greek Theology* is one of the glories of England. It sprang from Oxford and Cambridge, not from Rome and Florence.

In the last half of the fifteenth century, when, as we have already shown, owing to the fall of Constantinople and the presence of the Greek exiles, the western world found itself face to face with an ancient literature with which it was absolutely unacquainted, Italy at once recognised that this ancient Greek literature was finer than any which was already familiar. With intense ardour its scholars devoted themselves to its study. The newly-discovered printing-press came to their assistance, and a curious classical revival passed over all the Italian schools. Plato and Aristotle, at Rome and Florence, were preferred to Paul and John. As in architecture, where we see the mediæval church of St. Peter at Rome giving place to the huge classical temple which still throws its vast shadow over the apostle's tomb; so in theology, the teaching of th apostles was largely put aside, and th Greek philosophy of the newly-recover ancient writers substituted in their roo Colet, when as a student he visited Ital found the general tendencies of the Italia schools sadly sceptical. The atmosphe of the papal court was more semi-pag than Christian. The famous school Padua had even become positively a foc of atheism.

But among the precious manuscrip brought by the exiled Greeks, were oth writings besides those of Plato and Ar totle, the Greek dramatists and historia Many of those yellow and time-discolour parchments contained books and treatis also written in the long-forgotten Gre characters, more precious far, in the ey of some scholars and thinkers, than th choicest works of Plato and Aristotle, than the most brilliant of the tragedies Æschylus and Sophocles. These were th gospels of the holy four, and the epist of the chosen servants of Christ; and in lesser degree precious, but still of pricele value, the scanty remains of writers wh lived in the age immediately succeedi the death of John and Paul. In estimati the importance of the Renaissance of th Greek language, it should never be fo gotten that the early church was almo exclusively a *Greek-speaking communi* Not only was Greek the language of th whole New Testament, but well-nigh the important early treatises, apologi etc., of the Christian fathers that possess, are written in Greek. In Rom strange as it may seem, very many amo the poorer population were Greek eith in descent or in speech. Out of th

ames of the fifteen bishops of Rome up ) the close of the second century, four nly are Latin. Even in the far west, in aul, the churches of Vienne and Lyons sed Greek in the well-known story of ieir persecutions, A.D. 177; and the great ork of Irenæus of Lyons against heresies written in the same language. It as been conjectured, with good reason, iat Greek was at first the liturgical lanuage of Rome.*

This was the literature, which included ie New Testament and the writings of ien, some of whom had known the postles—writings few in number, but ieasureless in their importance to Chrisanity, to which the knowledge of Greek as the indispensable key; and it was for iis high end that Colet and his Oxford chool valued the new learning. To men ke Colet, and the yet greater Erasmus, hom Colet inspired with a large portion f his own devout and fervid spirit, classical ntiquity had comparatively little signifiince compared with ancient Christianity. hese men, this *English* school, different om the scholars of Italy, studied Greek iainly that they might better know the iind of Paul and the Evangelists.

The idea of Colet and of Erasmus, in ie matter of reforming a church which iey felt with good reason was, indeed, fast osing its influence over the people, was quiet though earnest reformation from *ithin*. This they hoped to bring about irough the good sense of the nobler spirits mong the hierarchy of the church; who, hen they quietly compared the very ords of Christ and His apostles with the superstitions which disfigured the practices and once simple ritual of the church; when they saw these words without the glosses with which the schoolmen and others had hidden and obscured the true text, would surely do away with all those soul-destroying customs and practices so utterly foreign to the mind of Christ: such as relic-worship, image-adoration, indulgences, Mariolatry. Colet's wonderful exposition of St. Paul's epistles at Oxford, and then his burning and eloquent sermons in London after he became dean of St. Paul's, began this grave scholarly work; which was taken up, developed, and published abroad far and wide by Erasmus's edition of the Greek Testament, with his own Latin translation and his weighty preface.

It was in A.D. 1516—some twenty years after that first meeting at Oxford—not very long before his death, that Colet thus wrote to his old friend, whom he had turned from the way of death to the way of life. Reading these old letters, we seem to hear the voice of the true teacher of righteousness—feeling that his own life was drawing to a close—rejoicing in his successful work, as he praises with no unstinting praise his old pupil and imitator. The letter is written after reading the edition of the New Testament just produced by him.

"You cannot easily believe, my dear Erasmus, how much joy your letter gave me, . . . for I learned from it that you are likely to return to us, which would be very delightful to me, and to your other friends, of whom you have a great many here. . . . What you say about the 'New Testament' I can understand. The volumes of your new edition are

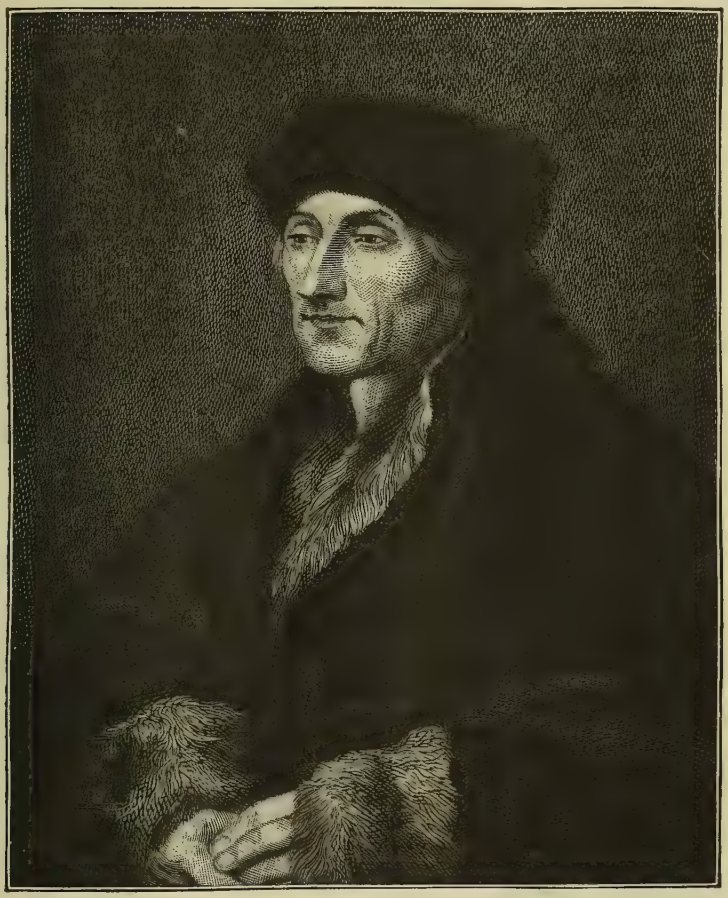
* See Bishop Westcott: "On the Canon of the ew Testament."

here both eagerly bought and everywhere read. By many your labours are received with approval and admiration. . . . For myself, I so love your work, and so clasp to my heart this new edition of yours, that it excites mingled feelings. For at one time I am seized with sorrow that I have not that knowledge of Greek, without which one is good for nothing; at another time I rejoice in that light which you have shed forth from the sun of your genius. Indeed, Erasmus, I marvel at the fruitfulness of your mind in the conception, production, and daily completion of so much during a life so unsettled, and without the assistance of any large and regular income. . . .

"As to the peaceful resting-place which you say you long for, I also wish for one for you, both peaceful and happy; both your age and your studies require it. I wish, too, that this your final resting-place may be with us, if you think us worthy of so great a man; . . . you have here some who love you exceedingly. Our friend the archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) a few days ago spoke much of you, and desires your presence here very much. . . . Go on, Erasmus, as you have given us the New Testament in Latin" [this was a new translation by Erasmus appended to the famous Greek text], "illustrated it by your exposition, and given us your commentary most at length on the Gospels . . . you will confer a great boon on those who delight to read your writings, if you will explain the meaning of the Gospels; and in so doing, you will make your name immortal. Immortal, did I say? The name of Erasmus can never perish, but you will confer eternal glory on your name; and toiling on in the na of Jesus, you will become a partaker of eternal life. . . . That you should call happy, I marvel. I should think mys happy if, even in the extremest pover I had a thousandth part of that learni and wisdom which you have got witho wealth. If you will let me, I will beco your disciple even in learning Greek, n withstanding my advanced years, rec lecting that Cato learned Greek in his age, and that you yourself, of equal a with me, are studying Hebrew. Love as ever. Farewell."

The New Testament in Greek of Era mus, with its faithful Latin translation a its noble preface, was not only the fi Greek New Testament printed and pu lished, but it was the first New Testame in its original language ever given to t churches of the west. With its impressi preface, it may be taken as the expressi of the views held by the little band Oxford reformers, of whom Colet was t head, and Erasmus the great exponen It was published in 1516, and its succe was amazing, considering how unaccu tomed as yet were the public to print books. It is said that one hundred thousa copies were sold in France alone. T interest in the work was unabated; fi successive editions, each containing vario emendations from MSS. and other source were published during the lifetime Erasmus. The fifth edition appeared A.D. 1535, the year before his death, a although it contained many severe a even bitter comments upon the stat of things which then prevailed, it w published with the leave and approbatio of the reigning Pope, Leo. X.

The preface, or paraclesis, as it was termed, contained much weighty matter. In it Erasmus appeals to the two great schools into which, roughly, the western church was then divided. He alluded, or rather appealed to the free-thinking philosophic school of the Italian Renaissance, comparing Christ with the great philosophers so much admired and studied in Italy. Christ's teaching, he urged, was simpler, better adapted for all. "No age, no sex, no condition of life but could grasp its teaching and its promises, while other philosophies were removed out of the range of most minds; for the Christian, no anxious preparatory learning was needful. Its viaticum was simple, and at hand for all. Only bring a pious and open heart, imbued, above all things, with a pure and simple faith. For Christ," he went on to



DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.
*(From the portrait by Holbein.)*

say, "wrote his mysteries to be published as openly as possible. I wish that even the weakest woman should read the Gospel —should read the epistles of Paul; I would that these were translated into all languages. . . . I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey."

Then, turning from the free-thinking classical Renaissance to the conservative school, which clung with an unreasoning persistence to the schoolmen, to the old mediæval corruptions of Christianity, to the errors of the Vulgate, to the false interpretation of texts, to the mass of legendary lore and superstitious additions, and bringing into contrast with all these the simple Gospel message, he asked, "Why is a greater portion of our lives given to the study of the schoolmen than of the Gospels? . . . What are Alexander, Albertus, Thomas [Aquinas], Occam, in comparison with Christ; what in comparison with Peter, or Paul, or John? If the footprints of Christ be anywhere shown to us, we kneel down and adore. Why do we not rather venerate and adore the living and breathing picture of Him in these books? If the vesture of Christ be exhibited, where will we not go to kiss it? Yet if the whole wardrobe of Christ were shown, nothing could represent Christ more vividly and truly than these evangelical writings. Statues of wood and stone we decorate with gold and gems for the love of Christ. They only profess to give us the form of the body. These books present us with a living image of His most holy mind. Were we to have seen Him with our own eyes, we should not have had so intimate a knowledge as they give of Christ—speaking, healing, dying, rising again, as it were, in our own actual presence."

We have quoted at some little length from this noble preface of Erasmus to his edition of the Greek New Testament (A.D. 1516), because in it, in a few words, we have the mind of the English early Reformation school, as well as of Erasmus, whom we fairly claim as an English reformer, seeing that he drew his inspiration mainly from English scholars and thinkers; seeing that during the eight or ten years he spent in England he prepared the really great and enduring work of his life, his edition of the Greek New Testament, at the instance of his English friends, who induced him to devote his magnificent talents and splendid industry to the noble work they deemed of such paramount importance.

The peaceful, quiet reformation of the church by the church, hoped for, prayed for, worked for, by Colet and More and their brilliant disciple Erasmus, never came to pass. The great change, in the divine Providence, was destined to pass over the church in another and more fiery form. But their work, nevertheless, was to endure; and through all the period of stress and storm, while the reformers in England, as on the Continent, were tossed hither and thither, were swayed backwards and forwards by the wild storm-winds which had arisen, the great principles laid down by Erasmus and his friends remained the groundwork of all reformation teaching.

The Book of God, the New Testament, purified of all human additions and misconceptions, which Erasmus first restored to western Christendom, was ever looked to as the one source of all true faith. With these pioneers of the Reformation, as we have loved to style them, the Christian religion consisted not in the blind, unreasoning reception of a creed upon any human authority, however venerable, but in loving and loyal devotion to the person of Christ; "and where should they go for a knowledge of Christ, if not to the authentic writings of those who were nearest in their relations to Him? . . . They would go to the books themselves which contained these writings, and read them in their original language, and, if possible, in the earliest copies, and so catch the spirit of Him whom they were striving to know for themselves." *

"It was finished at last—text and translation printed," writes Froude in his vivid biography of Erasmus, "and the living facts of Christianity, the persons of Christ and the Apostles, their history, their lives and their teaching, were revealed to an astonished world. For the first time the laity were able to see side by side the Christianity which converted the world, and the Christianity of the church with a Pope, cardinal princes, ecclesiastical courts, and a mythology of lies. The effect was to be a spiritual earthquake.

Erasmus finally left England a little more than a year before the publication of the great work of his life. His presence was necessary at Basle, where the New Testament was being brought out at the famous printing establishment of Froben. More than thirty years had passed since the Basle printing-press had been first set up by Johann Amerbach, and it had acquired already a European reputation, and had won for the city of Basle, on the green rushing waters of the Rhine, the proud position of one of the principal centres of reviving learning. Once more, therefore, Erasmus found himself on the Continent. He had bade farewell to England, and was now nearly fifty years of age; still sickly, often laid by with painful and weary illness, but confessedly the first man of letters in Europe. His witty and entertaining books, such as the "Adagia," his graver treatises, such as the "Enchiridion of a Christian Soldier," had been read and admired by tens of thousands in all countries, by all ranks and orders. His Greek teaching work at Cambridge, as the foremost of the teachers of the new learning; the high estimation in which he was held by famous scholars, such as Colet and More, had given him a name and a place among the known wits and scholars of the western world. He was admired, petted, and feared as a brilliant, wandering man of letters; was looked upon by the old conservative mediævalist party in the church as a somewhat erratic and dangerous writer, thinker, talker; but was hardly as yet regarded as a serious friend or enemy.

But the publication of the New Testament in Greek, with its translation and scathing notes, with its profound and powerful preface, setting forth the meaning and object of the work in language

* See Seebohm: "The Oxford Reformers," chapter xi.

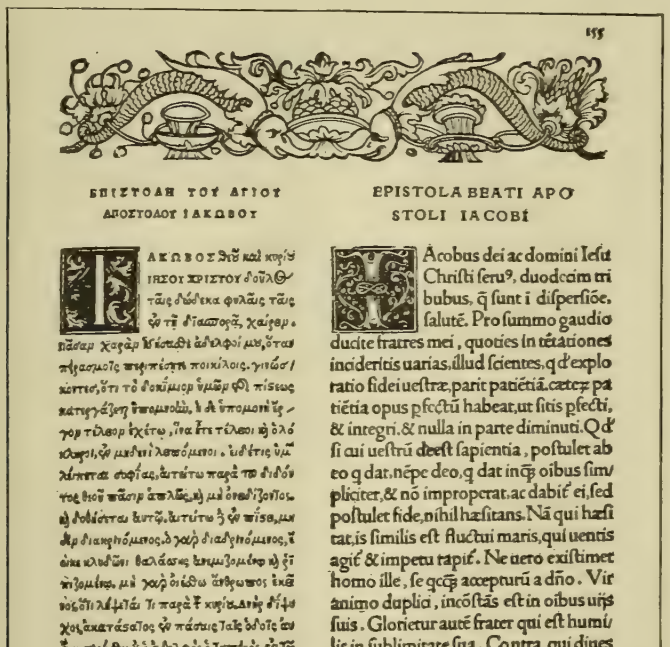
which breathes intense conviction, literally took the world by storm. For many years he had been patiently labouring at it; and when it appeared, with Pope Leo X.'s approval stamped upon its marvellous pages, its editor received a general ovation, in some respects commensurate with its weight and acknowledged importance. It is not too much to say that during the long roll of Christian centuries —from the date of the death of St. John —no book had appeared which has so largely influenced humanity; and the still novel introduction of the printing press sent it out rapidly over the whole western world.

It is with us still. The history of the English Bible, as far as the New Testament is concerned, is as follows. Our translators chose as their Greek text—from which they mainly worked—the edition of *Stephens'* Greek Testament put out in A.D. 1550. But Stephens in that famous edition chiefly adopted—save only in the Apocalypse, where he largely followed the Greek text printed in the Complutensian Polyglott—*the text he found in Erasmus's fifth edition*, published the year before his death, in 1535. This has been taken as the standard or "received text" in England, and, until the noble efforts in our own day to further revise the Greek text, has been universally used and read. It is still styled the "received Text." The uncounted multitudes in England who have found and are finding still in the Book of Life, in the words of the Redeemer and His immediate disciples, their joy, their comfort and hope, owe their priceless treasure mainly to the labours of the strange man and matchless scholar, whose life-story we have been trying to paint.

The change in Erasmus's fortunes, after the day when Froben, the Basle printer, forwarded the bulky packages containing the first edition of the "Greek Testament" into every European centre of culture and commerce, was very striking. He found himself no more the poor vagrant scholar, ever impecunious, ever obliged to play the mendicant, if not for daily bread, at least for ways and means to pursue his deep and successful studies; now dancing attendance on some great lord or wealthy ecclesiastic, now wearing out his slender thread of health and energy, by teaching and lecturing at Cambridge or elsewhere. After 1516 he had but to select a luxurious home. Learned and famous universities, wealthy populous cities, stately royal courts, literally begged for the honour of his presence, offering him position, wealth, dignity, if he would but take up his abode among them. In universities like Basle in the south, and Louvain in the north, he was more than a welcome, honoured guest. In such homes of learning, where naturally he best loved to dwell, he found it difficult to preserve the hours of solitude necessary for his perpetual studies, so great was the court paid to him by the scholar world of Europe. King Henry VIII. and his minister Wolsey placed at his disposal a suitable London house and a handsome income, if only he would come back to England. The magnificent Francis I., so soon as he had become king, asked him to make France his home. At Brussels the young archduke Charles—afterwards known as the emperor Charles V.—and

his brother Ferdinand, welcomed him with the greatest warmth. From these imperial potentates, he had but to say what position, place, or honour he desired. Perhaps stranger than all, Rome, to whose exorbitant pretensions, although a loyal servant of the church, he had dealt the severest blows, was eager to receive him among her trusted adherents; and if Erasmus had chosen to accept her overtures, he might have worn the mitre of some distinguished see in the papal gift, or even aspired to the yet higher dignity of the red hat of a cardinal and a prince of the church.

But none of these things moved him.



155

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ

EPISTOLA BEATI APOSTOLI IACOBI

PAGE FROM THE FIRST EDITION (BASLE, 1516) OF ERASMUS' NEW TESTAMENT, CONTAINING THE BEGINNING OF THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES. (*British Museum*)

Laden with costly presents, which, constantly repeated from various quarters, enabled him to live in affluence without care, Erasmus preferred his perfect independence of pope or emperor or king, and lived out his next twenty honoured years as an untitled, unbeneficed, wandering scholar. The only dignity he deigned to accept was the great though indefinite position of imperial councillor, which was conferred on him by the emperor Charles V. directly after his election to the imperial throne. This was a rank in some respects corresponding to the present position of an English privy councillor, involving no special duties. The appellation, however, well expressed the general status of Erasmus in the western world during the last eighteen or twenty years of his career.

He was the counsellor whose advice was eagerly sought on all sides, and by most parties, in the burning theological disputes which were then so largely occupying the attention of the western nations. In England his many friends continually corresponded with the distinguished divine who was so closely and intimately associated with the party of religious reform, and who was regarded as the brightest ornament of the devoted English company, whose undying title to honour it will ever be, that it had consecrated the new learning to the cause of true religion. The German reformers were eager that Erasmus, with his all-powerful reputation, should put himself at their head; and later, when he doubted the wisdom of Luther's action, and openly avowed his disapproval of many of his words and works, the more thoughtful and moderate of Luther's friends—men like Melancthon—still sought his advice and scholarly counsels. With the emperor Charles V. his relations partook almost of an affectionate intimacy. "His loving letters," wrote Erasmus to a friend in 1530, "are more precious than his gifts." Only considerations of a tortuous policy, which ever mainly influenced this mighty potentate, kept Erasmus from being the trusted counsellor in religious matters of the sovereign whose dominions stretched from the Spanish shores washed by the Atlantic and Mediterranean to the countries watered by the Danube in central Europe. At Rome, during the pontificate of the magnificent Leo X., and of his successors, Adrian VI., Clement VII., and Paul III., with brief intervals of coldness and mistrust, Erasmus was ever honoured, and even courted. His advice was constantly sought, and his powerful support desired. No honour in the gift of Rome, however great, was too great for Erasmus, had he only deigned to accept it.

On the educated classes of Europe generally, his influence, after the publication of his Greek New Testament, was enormous. His voluminous and varied correspondence tells us how many of these constantly wrote to him for advice and counsel during this momentous period. Everything he wrote was multiplied by the printing-presses into thousands of copies, and was eagerly devoured in all countries by thinking men of very different degrees and parties. A few lines of his in a letter addressed to an anonymous personage of the highest importance—perhaps the elector of Saxony, before the Diet of Worms—in 1521, when his assistance was

earnestly asked for, both by the Lutheran and the Catholic parties, will show the attitude adopted by Erasmus in the great dispute, and the special work he considered God had called him to do.

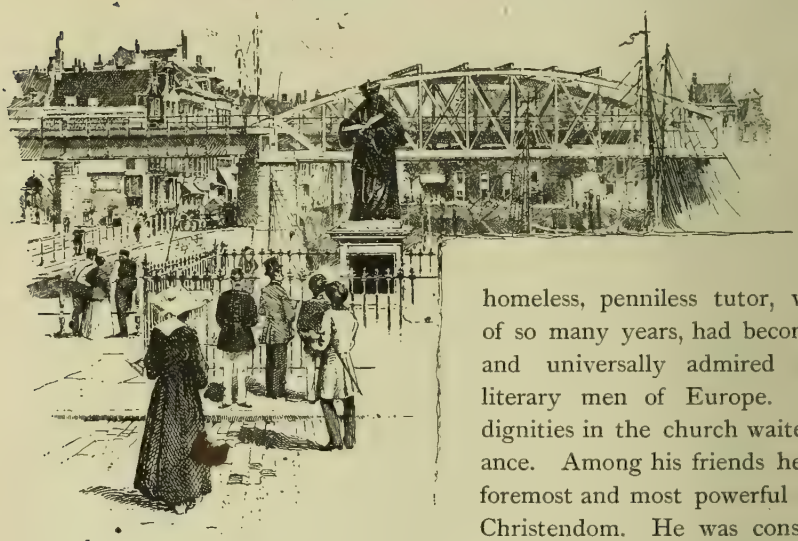
"You tell me that a few words of mine will carry more weight than papal thunderbolts. You could urge nothing more calculated to keep me silent. Who am I, that I should contradict the Catholic church? If I was sure the holy see was wrong, I would say so on a proper occasion; but it is no duty of mine to decide. *My work has been to restore a buried literature, and recall divines from their hair-splitting to a knowledge of the New Testament.*"

What that work had been, and how it was regarded by all whose opinion carried real weight, is admirably shown in a letter addressed to him by the greatest in dignity and power in the world of his day—the emperor Charles V. The letter is dated December, A.D. 1527:—

"Dear and honoured sir,—Two things make your letter welcome to me. The receipt of any communication from a person whom I regard with so much affection is itself a pleasure. . . . The whole church of Christ is your debtor as much as I am. You have done for it what emperors, popes, princes, and academies have tried in vain to do. I congratulate you from my heart. You must now complete the work which you have begun so successfully, and you may rely on all possible support from me." Then, alluding apologetically to a promise he had given to the Inquisition to examine the writings of Erasmus, in reference to a clamorous request on the part of the enemies of the great reformer, the emperor goes on, in language of remarkable assurance, to express his sure confidence respecting the issue of such an inquisitorial examination into writings and works which he, in common with the majority of thoughtful, earnest men, admired with an ungrudging admiration: "It is true we have allowed your works to be examined, but in this you have no reason for alarm. Human errors may be discovered in them, but the worst that can befal you will be an affectionate admonition. You will then be able to correct or explain, and Christ's little ones will not be offended. *You will establish your immortal reputation*, and shut the mouths of your detractors. Take courage, therefore; be assured that I shall never cease to respect and esteem you. . . . Remember me in your prayers."

Erasmus' work-filled life produced much besides his *opus magnum*, which we have been dwelling on with so much loving admiration; but with the exception of his great edition of the works of St. Jerome, his other writings are chiefly interesting owing to the strong light they throw on the history of public opinion of the time. Many of his letters and his "colloquies" are of inestimable value to the student of the Reformation era. Vivid, picturesque, and lucid, possessing a peculiar charm of their own, they will ever preserve a high value among the treasures of historic literature. His other writings, such as his "Praise of Folly" (Encomium Moriæ), "Religiosi et Monachi," etc., great though their influence was at the time, contain much that is regrettable and exaggerated; brilliant, witty, and amusing, it may be

questioned whether the harm they worked among the many thoughtless and irreligious readers who eagerly perused them, did not more than counterbalance the good they no doubt effected by calling attention to the crying abuses and errors of the religious practice of the day.



The Statue of Erasmus in Rotterdam.

The end of the great life came in A.D. 1536. Nearly seventy years of toil and struggle, darkened by much painful sickness, were to end at last. Parts of the years 1535-6 were quietly spent at Basle, where this world-famed scholar had many friends: this city, he fancied, suited his failing health. We have some of his letters, written in that concluding stage of his life-journey, which tells us something of his mind as he felt the end approaching. Would we had more; for the thoughts of Erasmus, at such a time, possess for us an absorbing interest.

What a retrospect was his as he sat and mused on the past during these last months! The gay, thoughtless, pleasure-loving, careless scholar—the wandering, homeless, penniless tutor, writer, satirist of so many years, had become the famous and universally admired chief of the literary men of Europe. The highest dignities in the church waited his acceptance. Among his friends he counted the foremost and most powerful personages in Christendom. He was conscious he had accomplished a work the result of which would endure till "time should be no more." Some ten months before his death, he wrote in one of his letters the following beautiful words: "My life has been long—if measured by years (nearly seventy). Take from it the time lost in struggling against gout and stone, it has not been very much after all. You talk of the great name I shall leave behind me, and which posterity is never to let die. I care nothing for fame, and nothing for posterity. *I desire only to go home, and to find favour with Christ.*"

Erasmus had had the rare fortune to

meet in the course of his life's journey two really great and good men, who had taught him the true secret of life, and how to use the vast and precious talents entrusted to him. Colet and More had shown him how beautiful a thing it was to be a Christian. These two friends had inspired him to work at his Greek New Testament, the publication of which

RALPH ROISTER DOISTER.
(*From a sketch by Holbein in Erasmus' "Encomium Moriæ."*)

revolutionised religious thought. Of these friends to whom he owed so much, Colet had died years before, and Erasmus had indeed mourned his irreparable loss. And More was just gone. Now Erasmus, as he sat in his quiet study-chamber at Basle, must often have thought of that sunny, loving man, his dearest friend for years—scholar, saint, and statesman—whose disfigured head just then was the ghastly ornament on the gate of London Bridge. Thus he wrote of him a few months before his own death: "You will learn, from a letter I enclose, the fate of Thomas More and the bishop of Rochester (Fisher). They were the wisest and most saintly men that

"THE PALMER'S EXPERIENCE."
(*From a sketch by Holbein in Erasmus' "Encomium Moriæ."*)

England had. In the death of More I feel as if I had died myself. . . . We had but one soul between us."

With all his honours and undreamed-of success, a sense of failure must have oppressed the sick and weary old man at the end. The quiet but thorough reformation he had worked for, he must have seen would never be seriously taken in hand. The hierarchy in different lands were blind. The papal court was indifferent. His friend the emperor too often allowed policy, not righteousness, to guide him; he was

THE SCRIVENER.
(*From a sketch by Holbein in Erasmus' "Encomium Moriæ."*)

what men would nowadays term a skilful opportunist — little more. Henry VIII., king of England, from whom he hoped so much, must have grievously disappointed him, as he watched him of whom quite recently he had written, "I love the king, who has always been good to me," becoming entangled in the meshes of an illicit passion, and shaping his policy, civil and religious, with a view to its gratification. Germany was almost aflame with civil war, so intensely in earnest were its bold reformers. The general council of the church he had so longed for, seemed farther off than ever. Wherever he cast his tired eyes, clouds and thick darkness met his anxious gaze. He longed "*to go home*."

He still wrote playfully with a dash of his old winning humour, but the fun was sad at best. The year before he died we come upon this passage in one of his letters: "The cardinal of St. Angelo (the ambassador in Germany from Pope Paul III.) has given me a magnificent gold cup as a sign of his goodwill. I produced it for my friends, G—— and R——, who were dining with me. R—— insisted that I should take my medicine as well as my wine out of it." To the exalted personages who wished even to the end to confer some high dignity upon him, he thus replied, writing to the cardinal of Trent, who was deputed by the king of the Romans to tell Erasmus to ask what he would of him: "I am much gratified, and I regret that I am not able to thank the prince in person. You bid me ask some favour of him, which you undertake that he will grant. Would that king Christ had sent me such a message: of Him I should have much to ask. From the king of the Romans I can desire nothing beyond what his goodness already supplies. I am fit for nothing but study. High office would be a fresh burden on the back of a broken-down old horse. Wealth at the end of life is but fresh luggage, when the journey is over. Neither Pope nor emperor can delay the advance of years, or make bad health into good. Would they could!" This was written in 1532.

In 1535 he writes to similar purpose on hearing that the Pope desired to raise him to the cardinalate: "His Holiness spoke of me in high terms, and mentioned me for a cardinalate. Alas! I can scarce put my head out of my room, or draw a breath of air which has not been warmed artificially. And am I to be thinking of red hats? However, I am glad that the Pope wishes me well."

A few months later, in 1536, Erasmus breathed his last, without fear, and was buried in state in the cathedral of Basle.

One more important work of the same nature as the Greek Testament of Erasmus must be noticed. Some six years after the bringing out of the latter, was published at Alcala (Complutum), in the Spanish province of New Castile, the book known as the Complutensian Polyglott. This noble work, in six folio volumes, contained the New and Old Testaments and the Apocrypha. In the Old Testament the Latin Vulgate holds the chief place in the middle of the three columns, the Hebrew and the Septuagint Greek being printed on either side. The New Testament contained the Greek text and that modification of the Vulgate then current, in parallel columns.

In any age this folio edition of the Holy Scriptures in various languages would have been reckoned as a most important and valuable work; but, considering how short a time had elapsed since the first introduction of the art of printing, it was indeed a marvellous production. It was designed and carried out by the perseverance and splendid munificence of Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain. Nearly twenty years passed from the date of Ximenes' first conception of the mighty work, before it was published and given to the world. It is said to have cost an enormous sum. From the first this edition of the Scriptures must have been scarce and dear, for only six hundred copies were printed. Various Greek manuscripts of the New Testament were procured by the cardinal and his agents, and were used in the construction of the text. It is not, however, probable that any of those documents, which are now considered of high antiquity or of first-rate importance, were employed by the editors. The text it exhibits does not widely differ from that of most Greek manuscripts written from the tenth century downwards.

Its rarity and costliness, of course, prevented any wide or general circulation, and its influence upon public opinion was incomparably less than the handier and more accessible Greek Testament put out by Erasmus, who, besides, had the start of Ximenes' Complutensian edition by nearly six years. This great Spanish Polyglot was seen and examined by Erasmus in A.D. 1522, and he availed himself of its aid in the improvement of his own text in the later editions of the Greek Testament which he published.

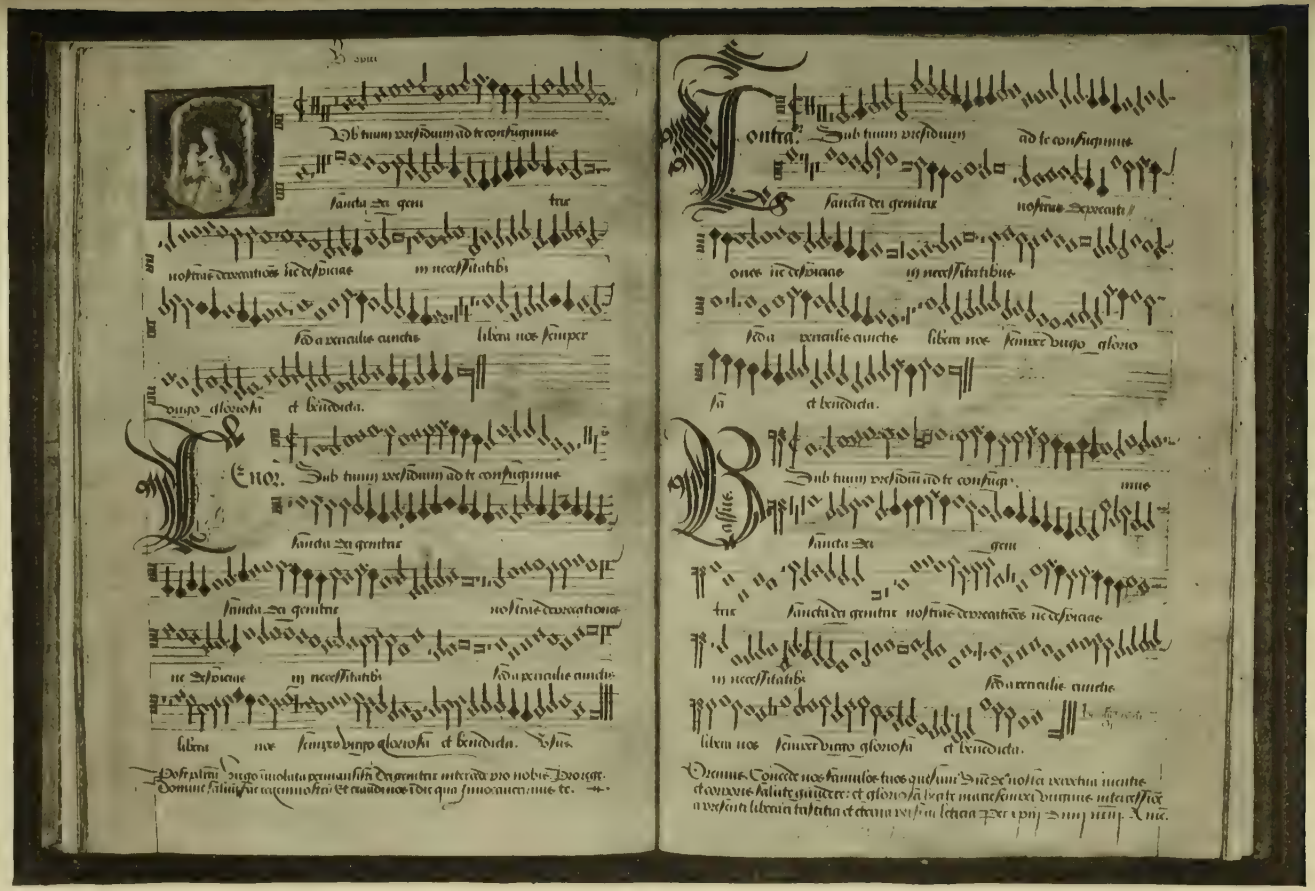
When the archbishop of Toledo was shown the Greek Testament of Erasmus, which thus appeared before his grander edition was quite ready for publication, his principal editor, Stunica, tried to depreciate it. The old man very nobly replied: "Would to God all the Lord's people were prophets! Produce better, if thou canst; but condemn not the industry of others."

Without the work of Erasmus and Tyndale, the English translator, the Reformation would never have been possible. A new light burst upon men when they read the New Testament. Primitive Christianity was, as Erasmus wrote to Colet, "overgrown with thorns and briars." The Christian religion, as taught and practised in the later mediæval ages, largely consisted in the mass and in confessions; in elaborate ceremonials, rituals, processions, pilgrimages; prayers to the Virgin and the saints; in an exaggerated and unhealthy reverence for shrines, relics, and images. It seemed as though the Christian world was sunk in a long deep sleep. Out of this deathlike torpor it was awaked by Erasmus, who put the New Testament once more in the hands of scholars; and by Luther in Germany and Tyndale in England, who made it in their German and English translations accessible to all sorts and conditions of men. Erasmus's work, to use his own nervous words, was "to restore a buried literature; to recall divines from hair-splitting to a knowledge of the New Testament." The view which English scholars took of him is expressed

by Colet, who wrote to him, in the letter already quoted, how he "so loved his friend's work that he clasped it to his heart." He tells him how he admires his eloquence; his very length he felt was brevity. "Go on, Erasmus," he wrote in the passage already cited, and then proceeds: ". . . In making known the Scriptures your fortune cannot fail you. Only put your trust in God, who will be the first to help you, and will stir up others to aid you in your sacred labours."

Dean Colet was not alone in his admiration of Erasmus's work on the New Testament. Other scholars at once joined in the chorus of praise of the noble student of the "Word." For instance, William Latimer of Oxford, one of the earliest great scholars in England, expressed his ardent approval of the new Latin translation; archbishop Warham, the pious and learned archbishop of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.—the link, so to speak, between the old and new learning—recommended the Greek version and new Latin translation to his brother bishops and to divines. "All," he wrote to Erasmus, "acknowledge that the work was worthy of the labour bestowed upon it." Fox, bishop of Winchester, in a great assembly of magnates, declared that "Erasmus's new Latin version threw so much light on the New Testament that it was worth to him more than ten commentaries." The dean of Salisbury, another famous scholar, used well-nigh the same words. More's praise is well known. On the continent of Europe, to take two conspicuous examples: Melancthon, that deep, profound, and tender theologian, was amongst the foremost of his admirers; and Luther caught the spirit which the labours of Erasm had diffused, and set himself to the stud of Greek and Hebrew, with a result th western world was soon conscious of.

Before Erasmus brought out and ga to the world his first edition of the Ne Testament in Greek and Latin in 151 and Luther his German translation 1522, and Tyndale his English translatio in 1525–26, so much only of the Gospe and Epistles of the New Testament w known to the laity, as was read in chur services. Of the rest of the Bible litt comparatively speaking, was practical known at all. Copies of the Scriptur were rare, shut up in monastic librari and studied only by professional the logians. Conventional interpretations, to were given to the text, which too oft corrupted or distorted its meaning. Mu even of what was read in the publ services, was so read or intoned as convey little meaning to the ordina listener. Erasmus bitterly remarks ho "St. Paul said 'he would rather speak fi words with a reasonable meaning in the than ten thousand in an unknown tongu They chant nowadays in our churches what is an unknown tongue, and nothi else. . . . Modern church music is constructed that the congregation cann hear one distinct word. The choriste themselves do not understand what th are saying. . . . Why will they n listen to St. Paul? In college or monaste it is still the same—music, nothing b music. There was no music in St. Pau time. Words were then pronounc plainly. Words nowadays mean nothin they are mere sounds striking upon t ear. . . . Boys are kept in the Engli



MOTETT FOR FOUR VOICES BY BENEDICTUS DE OPICIIS, A.D. 1516.

*From a Volume of Motetts, etc., which belonged to Henry VIII. (British Museum.)*

Benedictine colleges solely and simply to sing morning hymns to the Virgin. If they want music, let them sing psalms, like rational beings." . . . "They bray out psalms," he says in another writing, "in the churches like so many jackasses. They do not understand a word of them, but they fancy the sound is soothing to the ears of the saints." This picture is probably somewhat exaggerated, but there is no doubt that the way in which the Scriptures were read or said or intoned or sung, was too often utterly unintelligible to the masses.

In his "paraclesis" or preface to his New Testament, Erasmus inveighs bitterly against the mediæval spirit, which was evidently unwilling that the sacred Scriptures should be read by the unlearned and translated into the vulgar tongue, "as though Christ had taught such subtleties that they can be scarcely understood even by a few theologians, or as though the strength of the Christian religion consisted in men's ignorance of it. The mysteries of kings," he added, "it may be safer to conceal; but Christ wished His mysteries to be published as openly as possible. The weakest should read the Gospel," went on our scholar reformer, "should read the Epistles of Paul. I wish these were translated into all languages." "Why," he asks, "are the schoolmen studied rather than the Gospels? What are Albertus Magnus, Aquinas, and Occam in comparison with Christ? The New Testament—the evangelical writings—these are the food of the soul. They must permeate the very depth of the heart and mind." "Too often was Christ utterly forgotten," said Erasmus. "Doctrines of human invention were too often preached; so the Gospel of Christ faded out; in a little while," wrote the scholar reformer, "would the last spark of Christianity have been extinguished, and we should have been enslaved in a worse than Jewish ceremonial; and there were good men even among theologians who see these things and deplore them. . . . The sacred writings are set aside as antiquated. No word of Christ is heard in the pulpits."

The awakening of men's minds was sudden, the effect tremendous. When scholars read, as many of them did in all the lands of western Christendom, the words of Christ and His Apostles in the Greek New Testament published by Erasmus, and in his faithful Latin translation when the people read and listened to the same divine sayings in the beautiful true renderings of Tyndale in English and of Luther in German, then was, indeed, a new, strong light thrown upon religion. In these divers writings there was much about *Christ* and His loving work, much about the ever-blessed eternal sacrifice, the precious blood which cleanseth from all sin; but nothing about the images which men had come to look on with such awful reverence, or about the roods they had been taught to visit and to pray before, nothing bearing upon the intercession of saints or the wondrous virtue of relics, nothing about pilgrimages to holy sites, to tombs, and places hallowed by holy martyrdoms and saintly lives. Above all, in that New Testament, so long a sealed book, as they turned over its charmed pages they sought, but sought in vain, for any hint as to the power of the Blessed Virgin with her divine Son. Blessed, indeed, was she mirrored there among women, but for the

resentment of the "Queen of Heaven and arth" men looked, but looked in vain!* It was indeed a strange awakening. he great result of this recovery of the ew Testament, accomplished through the od-blessed toil of Erasmus, Tyndale, and uther, the foremost of the great band of reat reformers, which included such other ames as Colet, More, and Melancthon, as the recovery of the historical Christ, hose divine figure had been largely obured and veiled owing to the introduction of a number of objects of reverence—reverence too often shading into an idolatrous worship. This was followed immediately by a simple yet transcendent devotion to the person of Christ, by an entire sense of dependence on the Redeemer, by a true reverence for Him, *and for Him alone*, all other reverence and dependence being swept away for ever.

In this entire devotion to Christ consisted the tremendous power of the Reformation. "Men who had lived once under a proud and noble church system, now fallen into impotence and unreality, found themselves face to face with an ancient literature, and through it with an older world. Comparison became not only possible but necessary. . . . The ancient literature was finer, the ancient world fresher, than anything the moderns knew."* Men—the scholars and the masses—for the first time, when the Greek Testament of Erasmus and the translations of Luther and Tyndale appeared, read the very words of Christ, and of the men who had companied with Christ. The awakening was a rude one, but it was unspeakably blessed. We who live long after the storm and tempests of the Reformation, admire the quiet, patient courage of such men as Erasmus and Colet, of Luther and Melancthon, of More and Tyndale, who in the presence of an angry and indignant world, told their wondrous true story. As it has been well remarked:—"Can we wonder that the faith, propagated by men who feared no human face, should have spread so far, and become so prolific a nurse of heroes?"†

* It is often pleaded that the reformed churches il to understand the nature of the devotion of the oman Catholic world in the present day, inherited om the mediæval teaching, for the Blessed Virgin ary. The following passage on the "History of e Rosary," and the connection of St. Dominic th that popular form of prayer, occurs in a learned d exhaustive Life of the saint, written generally a spirit of great tenderness and undoubted piety, e work being formally sanctioned by the Roman tholic Church in 1891:—"We have no *historic* tice of that sublime moment when the servant God [Dominic] received, as we believe, from our essed Lady herself, the command to preach her alter, and to make known to the world that form prayer [the rosary], which thenceforth [that is, m about the years 1212–15] was to become, alike ong rich and poor, the badge of Catholic devo-n" ("The History of St. Dominic," by A. T. ane, 1891). "The Rosary Meditated with our ly Father the Pope" (translated from the 30th ition of the Italian) is well known. It breathes, doubt, the most ardent spirit of devotion and f-sacrifice throughout, but is fatally scarred by t saddest of all deviations from primitive Catholic th, known as Mariolatry. In it we come on h passages as—"Grant, O Lord God, . . . that ough the intercession of the blessed Mary . . . may be both delivered from present sorrows, l be brought to Eternal life." And "Hail! ly Queen, Mother of Mercy, . . . to thee do cry, poor banished children of Eve; to thee we send up our sighs . . . Turn thou, most cious advocate, thine eyes of mercy toward It has received several times the especial sing of the present Pope (Leo XIII.). See, for ance, in his brief *Salutaris*, i., 118: "We most estly exhort all the Faithful to persevere ontly in the daily reciting of the Rosary."

* Dr. Fairbairn: "Christ in Modern Theology."

† *Ibid.*

# EXCURSUS C.

## ST. DOMINIC AND THE INQUISITION.

QUESTIONS have been raised as to the accuracy of Milman's statements respecting St. Dominic, that "His heroic acts as moving in the van of bloody battles; his title of founder of the Inquisition, belong to legend, not to history; . . . that calmer inquiry must release him from these questionable glories—viz., his presence on the tribunals, where the unhappy heretics were tried for their lives—the part he took in delivering them over to the secular arm to be burned by hundreds." The latest history of St. Dominic,* published in 1891, a very learned and exhaustive work, confirms Dean Milman's views on this point, and shows us that the "order" utterly repudiates the traditional cruelties which have been so often associated with the name of the founder. A brief summary can only be given of these latest studies on the life of the saint, which establish the following facts.

Prior to 1205, the date of the Council of Lateran, the office of Inquisitor certainly did not exist; nor from the acts of that council does it appear that the *title* of *Inquisition* was then used. The title of "Inquisition," probably, and certainly the tribunals known as "the Inquisition," belong without doubt to a later period. "No evidence exists that he ever took part in the condemnation of heretics, or possessed any power to do so. No document giving him such powers can be quoted, no single example of his exercising them can be adduced." The learned writer of this latest history of St. Dominic winds up the inquiry into this portion of his life thus: "It matters little if the office which he held in Languedoc (between the years 1209–1215) were or were not identical with that which afterwards bore the name of Inquisitor. The fact, if it be a fact, in no way contradicts the other fact established by all historic evidence, that his mission, and that of his immediate followers there, was entirely one of mercy and reconciliation. . . . No single act is recorded of that portion of his life (when the cruelties charged upon him were perpetrated) which was not an act of love and self-devotion."

* "The *History of St. Dominic*," by A. T. Drane (the sister Frances Raphael), published with the sanction of the order of the Dominicans in 1891.

The Calvinist historian of the Inquisition, Phi de Lymborck, from whose work probably most the ordinary stories as to the supposed cruelt of St. Dominic inflicted in Languedoc upon Albigenses were largely derived, after quoting so doubtful testimony, the unsatisfactory nature which he was evidently conscious of, adds his o view: "*However that may be, it is well known t Dominic was a bloody and cruel man.*" In support this sweeping and apparently utterly unsuppor assertion, he cites especially a certain canoni penance assigned by him to a heretic Ponce Rog this being evidently the only positive evidence could bring forward to substantiate his asserti Whatever this penance was, is unknown. It co not, however, have been very severe, for Po Roger joined himself to Dominic, and lived in company for many years.

Only one definite instance is on record Dominic's interference in any case of capi punishment inflicted upon a so-called heretic; a here the saint is represented as interceding w the secular authorities for the release of a priso condemned to death. The story goes on to rel that he obtained the condemned man's par on this occasion. The cruelties inflicted on Albigensian heretics were evidently carried exclusively by the leaders of the crusading arm who neither asked nor required the consent Dominic or his companions to any of their judi proceedings.

A remarkable passage may be here quoted fr a report on the character of the Inquisition wh was presented to the Spanish Cortes in 1812 report which certainly cannot be suspected of undue favour towards the Inquisition or Inqu tors—*and which was followed by its suppression.* "T *early* Inquisition [the 'popular' name is prese in the 'report,' though it probably belonged later date] encountered heresy with no other a than those of prayers, patience, and instruct *and this remark applies more particularly to Dominic.*" Such a testimony could only have rendered, by such witnesses, on the strengt incontrovertible evidence.

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